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PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND
IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

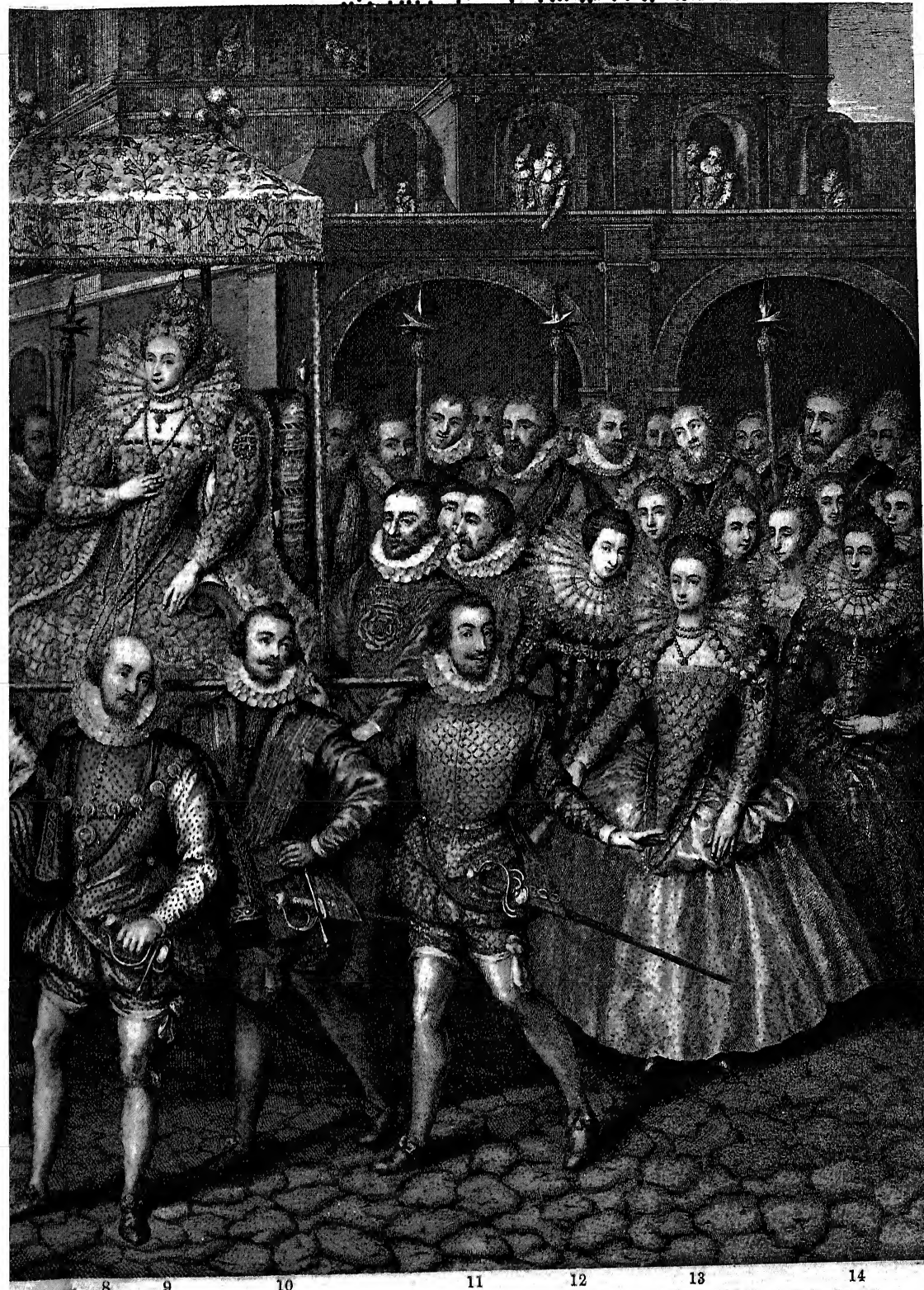
PART I.

[The Editors alone, and not the Committee of the NEW SHAKSPERE
SOCIETY, are responsible for the opinions expresst in the Society's
publications.]



Procession of Q. Elizabeth (in a litter borne by 6 Knights) to the Marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, at Blackfriars, June 16, 1600.

1. Thomas, 1st Lord Howard of Walden. 2. The Lord High Admiral, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, with velvet land. 5. Henry Brooke, 6th Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, with Sword of State. 6. Roger Manners, Elizabeth. 10. ? Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford; or the bridegroom's brother Thomas. 11. Lord Herbert, of the Bride. (Virtue's print, and G. Scharf in *Archaeol. Journal*, xxiii. 131. The original painting is Lord 11



Marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, at Blackfriars, June 16, 1600.

ull cap. 3. George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, with white wand. 4. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, 4th Earl of Rutland. 7. Lord Herbert of Cardiff. 8. Edward, 4th Earl of Worcester, father of the bridegroom. 9. Queen Elizabeth. 12. Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford. 13. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell. 14. Lady Russell, mother of the Bride. The replica of Mr. Digby, Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, differs in the Queen's right hand and the Bride's feet).

PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND

IN

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

PART I.

(COLLATED WITH OTHER EDITIONS IN 1583, 1585, AND 1595.)

WITH EXTRACTS FROM STUBBES'S *LIFE OF HIS WIFE*, 1591,
AND HIS *PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE*, 1592 (1610),
AND BP. BABINGTON ON THE *TEN COMMANDMENTS*, 1588;

ALSO

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THOMAS KIRCHMAIER'S (or NAOGEORGUS'S)
REGNUM PAPISMI, or *POPISH KINGDOME*, (ENGLISHT BY BARNABE GOOGE, 1570.)
ON POPULAR AND POPISH SUPERSTITIONS IN 1553.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

PUBLISHT FOR

The New Shakspeare Society

BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57, 59, LUDGATE HILL,
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CLAY AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS, BUNGAY.

TO

Professor Kovalefsky,

THE ENLIGHTEND STUDENT OF ENGLISH SOCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT,

PROFESSOR OF LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MOSCOW,

ONE OF THE

GENEROUS NATION WHO GAVE THEIR BLOOD AND TREASURE TO FREE BULGARIA,

AND WHO WOULD HAVE

FREED MORE FOLK, HAD NOT SELFISH ENGLISH SHOPMEN STOPT THEM,

THIS BOOK

OF AN ENGLISHMAN WHO BELIEVD IN GOD, AND CAR'D FOR CHRISTIANS MORE THAN TURKS,

Is Dedicated

BY ITS EDITOR.



Cut at the back of the Colophon of the 2nd (Aug. 1, 1583) and 3rd (1584) editions of the *Anatomia*. See p. 60*, note 2.

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¹ The chapters are not numbered in the 1st edition, and sometimes not divided, as in chap. vii, on Covetousness, p. 114.

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* "Since leathern Adam, till this youngest hour," 1596. *Edward III.*, II. ii. 121.

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¹ Cp. Harrison's oken men, &c., Pt. I. p. viii, 337-8.

² See the Exeter Regulations about Alehouses in Mr. A. S. Hamilton's *Quarter Sessions*.

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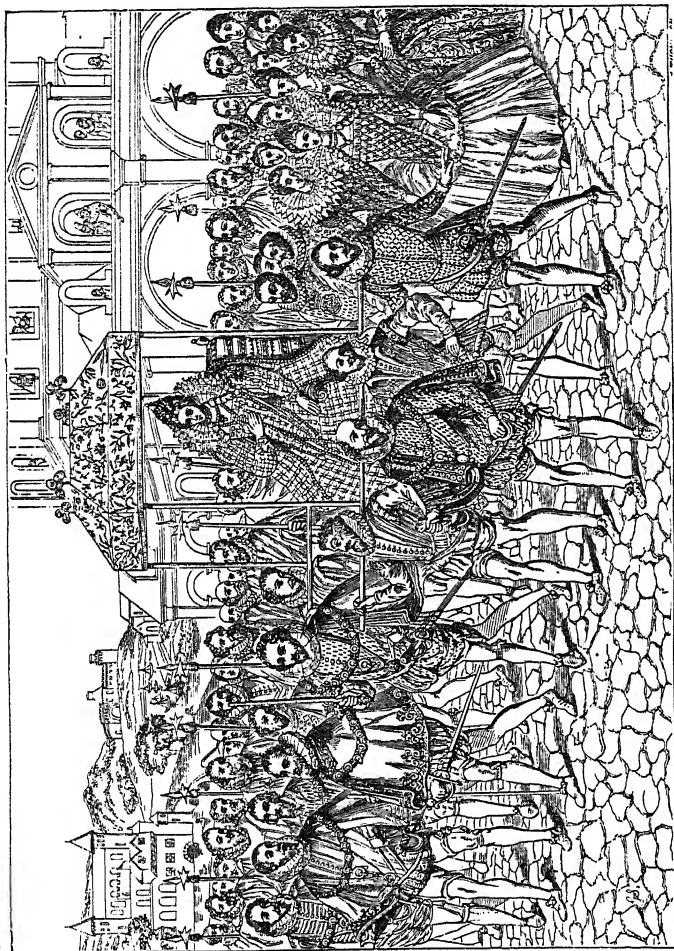
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3. George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon. 4. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. 5. Henry Brooke, 6th Lord Cobham.
6. Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland. 7. Lord Herbert of Cardiff. 8. Edward, 4th Earl of Worcester, father of the bridegroom. 9. Queen Elizabeth.
10. Lord Russell, Countess of Bedford. 11. Lord Herbert, the Bridegroom. 12. Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford. 13. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell. 14. Lady Russell, mother of the Bride.
15. The original painting (?) by Marc Gerard is Lord Dichester's, (Virtue's print, and G. Scharf, in *Archæol. Journal*, xxiii. 132. The original painting (?) by Marc Gerard is Lord Dichester's, Mr. Digby's copy, at Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, puts the Queen's right hand under her dress, and hides the bride's feet.)



Spinster's Ruff and bare neck ; Farthingale (or Crinoline). Miss Anne Russell [formerly supposed to be Lady Hunsdon] ; from Virtue's print. See the Heliogravure, above. *Planché*, i. 187.



Ruff Wings, &c. Queen Elizabeth. *Planché*, i. 246, 435.



Time of James I. The Earl (Carr) and Countess of Somerset (Lady Essex). *Planché*, ii. 239.
Later fashion of married women baring the neck.



Mask, from a print by P. de Jode;
time of James I. *Planché*, i. 366.



Q. Elizabeth : early Portrait, with
'Mary-Queen-of-Scots'-cap.'
Planché, i. 79.



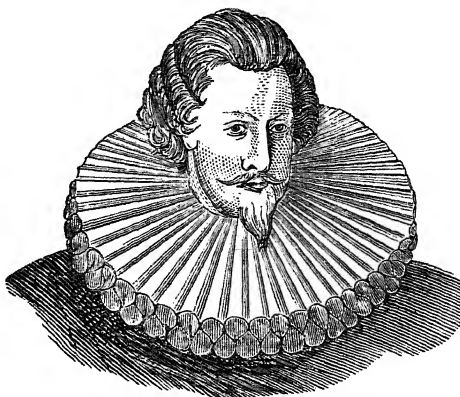
Ruff ' underpropped with Supportasse.
Stubbes, p. 70, foot. *Planché*, i. 443.



Wheel Farthingale (or Crinoline). Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I. *Planché*, i. 187.
 Later Fashion of married Women baring the Neck.



Cap. Earl of Oxford, 1578.
Planché, i. 77.



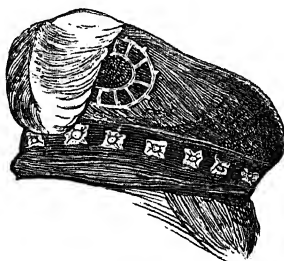
Ruff. Sir William Russell, 1590. *Planché, i. 436.*



Ruff, pointed Doublet, and Netherstockes
(*Stubbs, p. 57*) : time of Elizabeth, from
portrait of Sir William Russell.
Planché, i. 172.



Hat, with Lady's glove in it (gauntlet shown). George
Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. *Planché, i. 256.*



Cap. Sir Christopher Hatton ; time
of Elizabeth. *Planché, i. 77.*

Memorandum:

ON BALLAD-BROADSIDE ILLUSTRATIONS OF COSTUME AND MANNERS.

BY THE

REV. J. W. EBSWORTH.

THE history of the woodcuts illustrating the common street-ballads has never yet been systematically undertaken. Mr. William Chappell, our very highest authority on all matters connected with old songs and ballads, their words, music, and publication, has avowedly left the subject of their woodcuts to other students and specialists. It is of sufficient importance to be assigned to one volunteer, who has already made considerable progress in tracing the source from which many of the woodcuts had descended to the hawkers; and his future gift to the Ballad-Society members may prove the interest attached to the search, and the value of several discoveries. Meanwhile here are some Ballad-Society woodcuts chiefly from the Roxburghe and the Bagford Collections, as reproduced under the editorship of Messrs. Wm. Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth. A few words from the latter may accompany the present selection of woodcuts, without borrowing from the Planché descriptions.

All the street-ballad cuts, of early, middle, or recent times, fall easily into one of two groups. 1. Those which were engraved expressly for some one particular ballad. 2. Those which had originally belonged to a higher class printed-book, and, after having served the purpose of attracting attention and sale to it, became lessened in value, often mutilated of parts, worm-eaten, and cracked, and in such condition fell into the hands of those literary rag-pickers, the professional publishers of street-ballads for hawkers. There is seldom any practical difficulty found by an expert determining to which of these two classes every woodcut belongs, when it is encountered on a broadside. In general the first class, of ballad-cuts proper, are of much coarser execution, more clumsy in design, and later in costume than the book-illustrations. Of these latter a large number were no doubt the work of French and German artists. A few of these here given belong to known books, still extant, and there are many others in the Roxburghe, Bagford, Wood, and Rawlinson collections which are veritable relics of small quarto volumes of pleasantries, which must always be interesting to students of old literature. Thus the cut marked (A)

18* Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations.

belonged to Robert Greene's "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," published in 1592. (B) is a mutilated and spoilt illustration from the title-page of Will Kemp's "Nine-Days Wonder," 1600; the figures separated and absurdly misplaced (after each had been elsewhere used singly, and the original intention forgotten): with the bells on Kemp's legs shorn away to disguise their morris-dancer significance. These bells are better seen in the terribly-reduced copy (C) of the morris-dancer receiving his prize-cup and a "modest quencher," that "cheers," if it does no more. The gambling Bordello-scene (D) is an Elizabethan picture of fast-life, that had originally belonged to a small pamphlet. (E) is a very slovenly and inaccurate copy (Planché's) from the wood-cut adorning the title-page of "A Faire Quarrell: written by Thomas Middleton and William Rowley," 1622. This edition is in the present writer's possession, but there was an earlier edition issued in 1617. The cut may have been used before that date, as evidently the two shields on the ground, with armorial-bearings emblazoned, mark some special duel.

The single figure (F) represents Gabriel Harvey, as caricatured offensively by Thomas Nash (as though Harvey had anticipated Alderman Atkins of Civil-War date, in forgetting his manners; even as Hogarth misrepresented Felix when he "trembled"). It is from "Haue with you to Saffron Waldon," 1596, and become a favourite adornment among ballad-prints. There is clever satire embodied in (G), showing how drink develops the latent *animalism* of human beings. The original cut, before it descended to the ballad printer Rich. Harper, was on the title-page of Thomas Heywood's "Philocothonista; or, the Drunkard opened, dissected, and anatomised," 1635. At the Bodleian Library, when engaged on the Bagford-Ballad editing, the present writer found the Maypole-dance (H); with its primitive perspective of street-architecture resembling our modern workmen's cottages, and the clear indication of a prize-wreath for the Queen of the May, with the protecting stumps around the May-pole, and the Tabourer with his pipe, calling the flat-capped 'Prentice-boys and the blithe damsels to a dancing-bout. It is apparently of Charles the First's time, and, to the best of our belief, was never copied before, being used as an extra-illustration of the Ballad-Society's Bagford-Ballads.

The Tavern scene (I), with the "Drawer" waiting, was a favourite illustration of Martin Parker's convivial ballads, three of which it adorns. John Wade's publisher often selected (K), with its cavaliers regaling themselves over the Virginian weed:—

Much meate doth gluttony produce,
And makes a man a Swine;
But hee's a temperate-man indeed,
That with a leafe can dine.

Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations. 19*

He needes no napkin for his hande
His fingers for to wipe ;
He hath his kitchin in a box,
His Roast-meate in a pipe. (1641.)

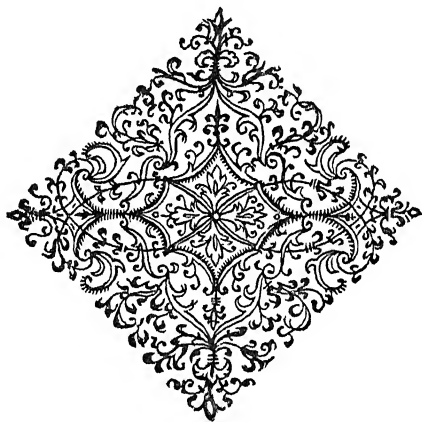
The patient fisherman (L), we believe, appeared in some little precursor of Isaak Walton's "Compleat Angler," and long before his date of 1653. (M) and (N) probably belonged to one story-book, and showed the progress of a love-affair, the garden-scene being a later incident in the tale. To us it seems to be of James the First's time. Most of the other cuts were intended from the first as ballad-illustrations. The Tinker (O) was always a popular, amatory, and reckless character; to whom many old ballads were devoted, and he was always triumphant. The number of representations of Queen Elizabeth (P, Q, and R,) testify to the fondness with which the people regarded "Good Queen Bess," both before and after the Crown had passed to the Stuart family. We have an impression that the picture of a Queen with a veil depending from her head (S) represented "Bloody Mary." It is of rare occurrence, in comparison with those of her more popular sister, Elizabeth. The obtrusively-indelicate exposure of the bosom (T) was a court-fashion of James the First's time, to whose date the woodcut belongs. In Coryat's "Crudities," 1611, both the frontispiece and the illustration of his meeting the Venetian Courtezan shew how this fashion prevailed among the frail sisterhood in other lands. Fuller's "Profane State," an early edition, has a portrait of Joan of Naples, with exactly similar display; probably in that individual case it was a wanton calumny, but it was intended to blacken her character. Many upright people love to believe the worst about women who are fascinating. In an extant portrait of the beautiful and wicked Countess of Somerset, Carr's wife, there is an equal obtrusion of her charms, that ought to be kept secret. See the Bagford Ballads, p. 124, for what Dante writes on the immodesty of the Florentine women: "O dolce frate," etc., *Purgatorio*, canto xxiii. See also "Bagnall's Ballad," beginning, "A Ballet, a Ballet," in *Musarum Deliciae*, 1656. An insufficiency of drapery to cover one part of the body seems generally to have accompanied some superabundance at another; as shown in the hoop-extended robes, with shoulder-lappets, and wire-spread starched-Ruff under the ears (U), in another Court-Lady of James the First: perhaps his Queen Anne, or the Lady Arabella. Even thus, bare shoulders and scanty under-garments are now found in conjunction with long trailing skirts. Going down to dinner, like Goldsmith's Traveller, ladies "drag at each remove a lengthening chain." The feather-fans appear in many of the cuts; and examples meet us (X¹ to X⁴) of the same design being often copied; sometimes by rival publishers, but oftener to suit other-sized spaces, or admit of several

20*Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations.

ballads being worked off simultaneously, before stereotyping was understood. The Shepherdess with a crook (Y) affords a specimen of the fantastically Pastoral; her actual costume (compare Y²) being whimsical enough to embody the ideal desired. The dashing Cavalier (Z) with three-plumed hat and fair depending Love-locks, often tied with knots of ribbon, belongs to the reign of Charles the First, and adorns ballads of the date 1639. Until shortly after that time the popular representation of a lover was always as an armed horseman :

" I could not love thee, dear, so much
Loved I not honour more."

J. W. EBSWORTH.





T



S



P

Roxburghe Ballad Cuts (Ballad Society). T. Bare Breasts; Wheel Farthingale (or Crinoline).
S. Queen Mary. P. Queen Elizabeth. Round Farthingale.

X¹



R



X²

Ruffs, Fans, Chains, Farthingales or Hoops. X². Unmarrid Woman, bare-breasted.



Feathers, Ruffs, Fans, Farthingales or Hoops. V. Probably Queen Anne, of Denmark, with wired Ruff.
Q. Queen Elizabeth.



X 4

Women's Feathers, Wired Ruffs, Wheel Farthingales. Men's Bumbasted Breeches, Hat-bands, Feathers, &c. t. Elizabeth or James I.



(? Time of James I.)



Women's Ruffs, Farthingales, &c. 4. Men's fringed Boot-tops, &c

M



N



Y



? time of Charles I.



D. Gambling in a Brothel. Time of Elizabeth.



E. Bombasted Breeches, time of Elizabeth. *Planché*, i. 57. (Slovenly copy from the title-page of Middleton and Rowley's *Faire Quarrell*, 1617.)



A



C



B

Roxburghe Ballad Cuts. A : from R. Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1592.
 B is the famous Clown Kemp's Dance to Norwich 1600, altered from the title-page of his
Nine-Days' Wonder: the Drummer ought to go before Kemp.
 C. Morris-dancer, with bells below his knee, going to take a drink.

Z



F



F. Gabriel Harvey, from T. Nashe's *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596. The rest probably of the time of James I.



Fishing with an angle (? Dutch). Probably time of James I.



The Jovial Tinker. See Memorandum.

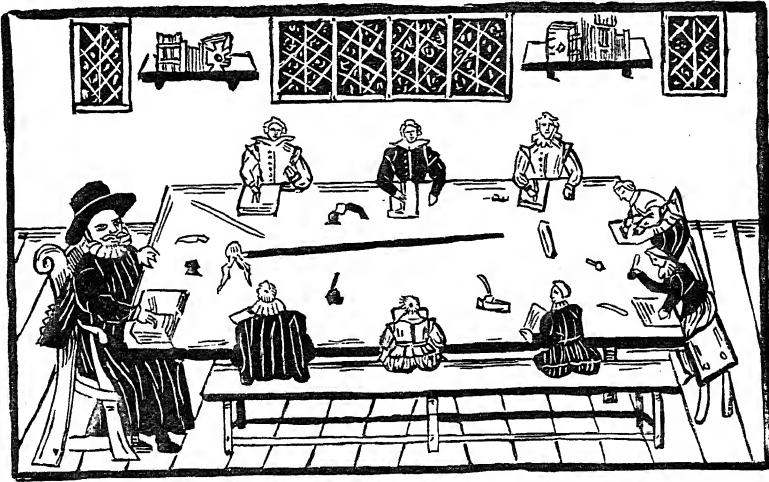


G. Drunkards, from the Title-page of T. Heywood's *Philocthonista*, 1635.



K. Pipes and Ale: final time of Q. Elizabeth or early of James I.
SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND: STUBBES.

d



[Probably a Professor or Lecturer at College, with his Students. Note the Dress, Benches, Chair, Bookshelves. J. W. E.]



A Judicial Complaint: with plaintiff on his knees supplicating for redress, and the defendant standing, but losing courage while being admonished. Their inferior size is an indication of being of lowlier station. J. W. E.



I. Tavern-scene. Drawer attending at a revel.



H. May-pole Dance: time of Charles I. See Memorandum.

FOREWORDS.¹

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|---|---|
| § 1. <i>The Anatomie: its 1st and 2nd Parts</i> , p. 35*
§ 2. <i>T. Nashe's chaff and abuse of Stubbes</i> , p. 36*
§ 3. <i>Did Stubbes write against real Sins or fancied ones?</i> p. 44*
§ 4. <i>Was he a mere Railer, or did his indignation against Vice and Folly spring from an earnest Heart?</i> p. 49*
§ 5. <i>Stubbes, his Wife, and her Family</i> , p. 50* | § 6. <i>His 11 known, and 8 extant Works</i> , p. 55*
§ 7. <i>His Character</i> , p. 69*
§ 8. <i>Miscellaneous: p. 71*</i>
<i>Queen Elizabeth's Procession in 1600, Kirchmaier's Popish Superstitions in 1553, the present Edition, &c.</i>
APPENDIX: <i>Extracts from Bp. Babington more or less justifying Stubbes</i> , p. 75* |
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§ 1. As Harrison's *Description of England* is the best work on the general condition of our country during Shakspeare's early time, so is Stubbes's *Anatomie* the worthfulest for the special departments of Dress—and its extravagances in men and women,—of Amusements and the excesses they ran into, of the Follies and Naughtinesses of the day. No one can pretend to know Shakspeare's England without Stubbes's help, and therefore the *Anatomie* has taken an early place in our Society's Sixth Series, whose purpose is to put before our Members the best pictures attainable of our great poet's time. The First Part only of the book is generally known. The reputation which its slash and life have won for it, has (I have long thought) unfairly darkend the merits of the Second Part, in which Stubbes shows up briefly the Abuses and Corruptions in all classes of Society, Temporalty and Spirituality, and describes, one after the other, the

¹ Prof. Nichol, of Glasgow, calls this good word a barbarism! How happy for us, that a little cherub sits up aloft in the Northern wilds to look after the civilization of us Southerners!

36* § 1. *Contents of the Anatomie*, Part II. § 2. *T. Nashe*.

Country	Landlords
Queen	Tailors
Her Council	Starchers
Shires	Tanners
Judges (delays in law)	Shoemakers
Prisoners, their hard case	Brokers (F. 4, bk.)
Laws	Hospitality, or relief for the poor.
Universities	Beggars
Schoolmasters	Husbandmen
Merchants	Ingraters or Forestallers
Drapers	Chandlers
Clothiers	Barbers
Goldsmiths	Surgeons and Physicians
Vintners	Astronomers and Astrologers
Butchers	Prognosticators and Almanac-Makers.
Grasiers	
Parks	
Sheepmasters	

The list of subjects will show those who have had a taste of Stubbes in this First Part of his *Anatomie* how valuable the Second Part must be; and tho' the spice of it is not equal to that of the First Part, I mean to print it, as well for its own worth as to complete the work. But as the First Part was evidently written as a complete book, the Second Part being only call'd out by the unwonted success of the First, I have put separate Forewords, Notes, and Index to the First Part, so as to keep it distinct from the Second; and I have not quoted in the Notes, any of the many illustrative passages that are in Part II., where, as the reader has seen, some of the Part-I-subjects are dealt with again.

§ 2. The general view of Stubbes is, that he was a mere bitter narrow-sould Puritan, who saw only the dark side of everything,—evil in innocence, sin in mirth, the devil in dancing, and hell in Shakspeare's art. In his own time this opinion prevaild. He was held up to contempt as one of the Mar-Prelate zealots and hypocrites by the sharp-tongued Thomas Nashe, who in 1590 plagiarized Stubbes's title, and helpt his own *Anatomie of Absurditie* into sale by following in Stubbes's wake, and yet had in 1589 cut him (and his fellows) up in the style following:—

(1) NASHE ON STUBBES, in his *Almond for a Parrat*,¹ 1589.

"If they will needes ouerthrowe mee,
let them goe in hand with the
exploite, &c.

[on sign. C. 4.

"H Olla, holla, brother Martin, you are to hasty: what, Winter is no time to make warres in; you were best stay til summer, & then both our braines wilbe in a better temperature, but I thinke ere that time your witte wilbe welny worn thredbare, and your banquerout inuention, cleane out at the elbowes; then are we well holpen vp with a witsnesse, if the aged champion of Warwicke, doe not lay in his shoulders, and support discipline ready to lie in the dust, with some or other demonstration. I can tell you, *Phil.* *Stu.* is a tall man also for that purpose. What, his Anatomy of Abuses for all that, will serue very fitly for an Antipast, before one of *Egertons*² Sermons: I would see the best of your *Trauerses*³ write such a treatise as he hath done, against short heeld pantoffles. But one thing it is great pittie of him, that being such a good fellow as hee is, hee shoulde speake against dice, so as he doth: neuerthelesse ther is some hope of him, for as I heard not long since, a brother of his, meting him by chance (as theeues meete at the gallows) after many Christian questions of the well-fare of his persecuted brethren, and sistern, askt him when they should haue a game at tables together, "by the grace of God, the next Sabbaoth," quoth *Phil.*, "and then if it shal so seeme good to his prouidence, haue at you for ames ase and the dise." I forgette to tell you what a stirre he keepes against dumbe ministers, and neuer writes nor talkes of them, but he calleth them minstrels, when his mastershippe in his minority, plaide the Reader in Chesshire, for fiue marke a yeare and a canuas dublet, couenanted besides, that in consideration of that stipend, he make cleane the patrones bootes euery time he came to towne. What neede more words to proue him a protestant? did not he behaue himselfe like a true Christian, when he went a wooing for his friend *Clarke*? I warrant you, he saide not 'God saue you, or God speed you,' with 'good euen, or good morrow,' as our prophane woers are wont, but stept close to her, with 'peace bee with you,' very demurely, and then told her a long tale, that in-so-much as widowhoode was an vncleane lyfe, and subiect to many temptations, shee

¹ This tract has been attributed also to John Lyly, the author of *Euphues*; but it's surely more like Nashe, and ought to be his.

² The 'zealous Puritan and Preacher at the Black Fryers in London,' Stephen Egerton, author of a *Lecture on Gen.* xii, &c. Lon. 1589, 8vo. *Catechizing*, 1594, 8vo, &c. Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* (1691), i. 754.

³ The famous Puritan, Walter Travers, author of 'An Answer to a supplicatorie Epistle of G. T. for the pretended Catholiques,' 1583, &c. Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* (i. 1691), 741; Cooper, *Ath. Camb.*

might doe well to reconcile her selfe to the Church of God, in the holy ordinance of matrimony. Manye wordes past to this purpose ; but I ¹wotte well the conclusion was this, that since she had hitherto conuerst with none but vnregenerate persons, and was vtterly carelesse of the communion of Saints, she would let him, that was a man of God, put a newe spirite into her by carnall copulation, and so engraft her into the fellowshippe of the faithfull ; to which, that shee might more willingly agree, hee offered her a spicke and spanne new Geneva Bible, that his attendant Italian had brought with him to make vp the bargain. But for all the Scripture he could alledge, it should not bee ; *Phil. Stu.* was no meate for her tooth. God wote, he could not get a penyworth of leachery on such a pawne as his Bible was ; the man behinde the painted cloth mard all ; and so, O grieffe, a good Sabaoths day work was lost. Stand to it *Mar-martin Junior*, and thou art good inough for ten thousand of them ; tickle me my *Phil.* a little more in the flanke, and make him winche like a resty iade, whereto a dreaming diuine of Cambridge, in a certain priuate Sermon of his, compared the wicked. Saist thou me so, good heart ? then haue at you Maister Compositor, with the construction of *Sunt oculos clari qui cernis sydera tanquam*. If you be remembred, you were once put to your trumpes about it in Wolfes ² Printing-house, when as you would needes haue *clari* the infinitiue moode of a verbe passiuue ; which determined, you went forwards after this order : *Sunt* there are, *oculos* eies, *qui* the which, *cernis* thou doest see, *clari* to be cleare, *tanquem sydera* as the Stars : Excellent well done of an old Maister of Arte ! yet why may not hee by authority challenge to himselfe, for this one peece of worke, the degrees hee neuer tooke ? ³ Learning is a iewel, my maisters ; make much of it ; and *Phil. Stu.* a Gentleman, euery haire of his head ; whom although you doe not regard according as he deserues, yet I warrant you, *Martin* makes more account of him then so, who hath substituted him long since (if the truth were well bouted out) amongst the number of those priuy Martinists which he threatens to place in ⁴euery parish. I am more then halfe weary of trotting too and fro in this cursed common wealth, where sinfull simplicitie pufte vppe with pride of singularity, seekes to peruerte the name and methode of

¹ Sign. D. r.

² Reginald Wolfe, the Queen's Printer, and planner of *Holinshed's Chronicle*. See Harrison, I. p. iv, and Stow, p. 65* n. below.

³ This phrase I take to be the ground of Antony Wood's (or his correspondent's) paragraph below, p. 53* n. Stubbes didn't take a degree ; *therefore* he was at a University. No trace existed of him at Oxford ; *therefore* he was at Cambridge, and left before he took his degree. Then, because there was a Justinian Stubbs, M.A., at Glo'ster Hall, Oxford, in 1589 (? entered there in 1583), *therefore* Phillip Stubbes, after his 7 years' ramble about England, 1576-83, settled at Oxford for a time, at Glo'ster Hall.

⁴ Sign. D. r, back.

§ 2. *T. Nashe's Attack on Stubbes and his Anatomie.* 39*

magistracy. But as the moste of their arguments, are drawn from our graue fathers infirmities, so all their outrageous endeouors haue their offspring from affected vainglory.

("An Almond for a Parrat / Or Cutbert Curry-knaues / *Almes.* / Fit for the knaue Martin, and the / *rest of the impudent Beggers, that* / can not be content to stay their stomackes / with a Benefice, but they will needes / breake their fastes with / our Bishops. / *Rimarum sum plenus.* / Therefore beware (gentle Reader) you / catch not the hicket with laughing. / [*Ornament.*] Imprinted at a Place, not farre from / a Place, by the Assignes of Signior Some-body, and / are to be sold at his shoppe in Trouble-knaue / Street, at the signe of the / Standish. /" [1589].)

(2) NASHE ON STUBBES, in his *Anatomie of Absurditie*, 1590
(sign. B. ii.).

"I leaue these [Girls and their praisers] in their follie, and hasten to other mens furie, who make the Presse the dunghill whether they carry all the muck of their mellancholicke imaginations, pretending forsooth to anatomize abuses; and stubbe vp sin by the rootes, when as there wast paper beeing wel viewed, seemes fraught with nought els saue dogge daies effects, who, wresting places of Scripture against pride, whoredome, couetousnesse, gluttonie, and drunkennesse, extend their inuectiues so farre against the abuse, that almost the things remains not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse. Speaking of pride, as though they were afraid somebody should cut too large peniworthes out of their cloth: of couetousness, as though in them that Prouerbe had beene verified, *Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes*: of gluttonie, as though their liuing did lye vppon another mans trencher: of drunkennesse, as though they had beene brought vppe all the dayes of their life with bread and water: and finally of whoredome, as though they had beene Eunuches from theyr ¹cradle, or blind from the howre of their conception. But as the Stage player is nere the happier, because hee represents oft times the persons of mightie men, as of Kings & Emperours, so I account such men neuer the holier, because they place praise in painting forth other mens imperfections.

These men resemble Trees, which are wont eftsoones to die, if they be fruitfull beyond their wont; euen so they to die in vertue, if they once overshoot themselves too much wyth inueighing against vice; to be brainesicke in workes if they be too fruitfull in words. And euen as the Vultures slay nothing themselves, but pray vpon *that* which of other is slayne, so these men inueigh against no new vice, which heere to fore by the censures of the learned hath not beene sharply condemned, but teare that, peecemeale wise, which long since by ancient wryters was wounded to the death, so that out

¹ Sign. B. ii. back.

of there forepassed pains, ariseth their Pamphlets, out of their volumes, theyr inuectives. Good God, that those that neuer tasted of any thing saue the excrementes of Artes, whose thredde-bare knowledge being bought at the second hand, is spotted, blemished, and defaced, through translators rigorous rude dealing, shoulde preferre their sluttered sutes, before other mens glittering gorgious array, should offer them water out of a muddie pit, who haue continually recourse to the Fountaine, or dregs to drink, who haue wine to sell. *At scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter.* Thy knowledge bootes thee not a button, except another knowes that thou hast this knowledge. Anacharsis was wont to say, that the Athenians vsed money to no other ende but to tell it; euen so these men make no other vse of learning, but to shewe it. But as the Panther smelleth sweetelie but onely to brute beastes, which shee draweth vnto her to theyr destruction, not to men in like maner, so these men seeme learned to none but to Idiots, whom with a coloured shew of zeale, they allure vnto them to their illusion, and not to the learned in like sort. I knowe not howe it delighteth them to put theyr Oare in [an] other mans boate, and their foote in another mans boote, to incurre that prouerbial checke, *Ne sutor ultra cre¹pidam*, or that oratoricall taunt, *Quam quisque norit artem, in ea se exerceat*: with the Elephant to wade and wallowe in the shallow water, when they woulde sooner sincke then swym in the deepe Riuer, to be conuersant in those Authors which they cannot vnderstande, but by the translatour their Interpreter, to vaunte reading when the sum of their diuinitie consists in twopennie Caticismes; and yet their ignoraunt zeale wyll presumptuously presse into the Presse, enquiring most curioslie into euery corner of the Common wealth, correcting that sinne in others, wherwith they are corrupted themselues. To prescribe rules of life, belongeth not to the ruder sorte; to condemne those callings which are approoued by publique authoritie, argueth a proude contempt of the Magistrates superiority. Protagenes knew Apelles by one lyne, neuer otherwise seene, and you may knowe these mens spirit by theyr speeche, their minds by their medling, their folly by their phrase. View their workes, and know their vanitie; see the Bookes bearing their name, and smile in thy sleeue at their shame. A small ship in a shallow Riuer, seemes a huge thing, but in the sea a very little vessell; euen so each trifling Pamphlet to the simpler sorte, a most substantiall subiect, whereof the wiser lightly account, and the learned laughing contemne. Therefore more earnestly I agrauate their faulte, because their crime is crept into credit, and their dooinges deemed deuotion, when as purposelie to some mans despyght, they bring into act their cholericke motions.

A common practise it is now adaies, which breedes our common calamitie, that the cloake of zeale, shoulde be vnto an hypocrite in steed of a coate of Maile, a pretence of puritie, a pentisse for iniquitie,

¹ Sign. B. iii.

a glose of godlines, a couert for all naughtines. When men shall publieque make profession of a more inward calling, and shall waxe cold in the workes of charitie, and feruent in malice, liberall in nothing but in lauishe backbyting, holding hospitalitie for an eschewed heresie, and the performance of good workes for Papistrie, may wee not then haue recourse to that caueat of Christ in the Gospell, *Cauete ab¹ hypocritis*. It is not the writhing of the face, the heauing vppe of the eyes to heauen, that shall keepe these men from hauing their portion in hell. Might they be saued by their booke, they haue the Bible alwaies in their bosome, and so had the Pharises the Lawe embroidered in their garments. Might the name of the Church infeasfe them in the kingdome of Christ, they will include it onely in their couenticles, and bounde it euen in Barnes, which many times they make their meeting place, and will shameleslie face men out, that they are the Church militant heere vpon earth, when as they rather seeme a company of Malecontents, vnworthy to breath on the earth. Might the boast of the spirit pind to their sleeues, make them elect before all other, they will make men beleue, they doe nothing whereto the spirit dooth not perswade them: and what Heretiques were there euer that did not arrogate as much to themselues? These they be that publieque pretende a more regenerate holines, beeing in their priuate Chambers the expresse imitation of Howliglasse.² It is too tedious to the Reader to attend the circumstance of their seuerall shyftes, the lothsomnesse of their guilefull wiles, the tract path of theyr treacherie: you know them without my discourse, and can describe their hypocrisie, though I be not the Notarie of their iniquitie, Seeing their workes, shun their waies."

(The Anatomie of / Absurditie: / Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender / imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short / description of the seuerall practises of youth, and / sundry follies of our licentious / times. / No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembred / especially of those, who liue more licentiously, or addic-/ted to a more nyce stoycall austeritie. / Compiled by T. Nashe. / *Ita diligendi sunt homines, vt eorum non / diligamus errores.* / At London, / Printed by I. Charlewood for Tho-/mas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop / in Lumberd Street, vnder the signe of / the Popes heade. / *Anno. Dom. 1590.* /)

Gabriel Harvey, in his *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, against Thomas Nashe, thus (pp. 183-4) answers the latter's attack on Stubbes:—

"It is the destiny of our language, to be pestered with a rable-

¹ Sign. B. iii. back.

² A supposd rough practical joker and dirty doer. Wm. Copland printed (in 1548-60) 3 editions of the book recording his doings. For a list of its contents, see my *Captain Cox*, Ballad Soc., p. xlii-l.

ment of botchers in Print: but what a shamefull shame it is for him [T. Nashe], that maketh an Idoll of his owne penne, and raiseth-vpp an huge expectation of paper-miracles, (as if Hermes Trismegist were newly risen from the dead, and personally mounted vpon Danter's presse¹), to emprooue himself as ranke a bungler in his mightiest worke of Supererogation, as the starkest Patch-pannell of them all, or the grosest hammer-drudge in a country. He disdaineth Thomas Delone,² *Philip Stubbs*, Robert Armin, and the common Pamfletters of London, euen the painfulllest Chroniclers tooe; bicause they stand in his way, hinder his scribbling traffique, obscure his resplendishing Fame, or haue not chronicled him in their Catalogues of the renowned modern Autors, as he meritoriously meriteth, and may peraduenture be remembred hereafter. But may not Thomas Delone, *Philip Stubbs*, Robert Armin, and the rest of those misused persons, more disdainfully disdaine him; bicause he is so much vayner, so little learned, so nothing eleganter, than they; and they so much honest, so little obscurer, so nothing contemptibler, than he? Surely, Thomas, it were pollicy, to boast lesse with Thomas Delone, or to atchieue more with Thomas More. If Vaunting, or craking may make thee singular, thy Art is incomparable, thy Wit superexcellent, thy Learning omnisufficient, thy memory infinite, thy dexterity incomprehensible, thy force horrible, thy other giftes more then admirable; but . . ."

In the same tract (*Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, pp. 190-1), Gabriel Harvey further praised Stubbes³ for his filed and workman-like style:—

"Our late writers are, as they are: and albeit they will not suffer me to ballance them with the honorable Autors of the Romanes, Grecians and Hebrewes, yet I will craue no pardon of the highest, to do the simplest no wrong. In Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe; in Heywood, Tusser, and Gowge⁴; in Gascoigne, Churchyard, and Floide⁵; in Ritch, Whetstone, and Munday; in Stanyhurst, Fraunce,

¹ From which came in 1597 the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*. J. Danter also entered a *Titus Andronicus* in 1593.

² See the long list of Deloney's ballads, tracts, and books, in Hazlitt. Tho' Deloney might have been called a pamphleteer, Robert Armin, the actor and play-writer, couldn't.

³ I assume that he means Phillip Stubbes, and not John Stubbe of the *Gaping Gulfe*, 1579 (p. 53* and 54* below). The Chroniclers who are coupled with Stubbes above, are praised here by name, Grafton, Holinshed, Stowe; and certainly Harvey would admire all the hard inkhorn words in the early editions of the *Anatomic*.

⁴ See a bit of Googe's work in the Naageorgus Appendix, p. 323 below.

⁵ Lodowick Lloyd, of *The Pilgrimage of Princes*, &c., was so called, says Mr. Hazlitt. See the list of his works in Lowndes.

and Watson; in Kiffin¹, Warner, and Daniell; in an hundred such vulgar writers, many things are commendable, diuers things notable, some things excellent. For a polished and garnished stile, few go beyonde Cartwright, and the chiefest of his Confuters, furnished writers: and how few may wage comparison with Reinolds, *Stubbes*, Mulcaster, Norton, Lambert, and the Lord Henry Howarde? whose seuerall writings, the siluer file of the workeman recommendeth to the plausible intertainment of the daintiest censure.²"

Now I don't want, with Harvey, to call the slashing Tom Nashe "the sonne of a mule, a rawe Grammarian, a brabling Sophister, a counterfaict cranke, a stale rakehell, a piperly rymer, a stump-worne railer, a dodkin autor" (*ib.* p. 61); or to say that his books are all like his *Strange Newes* (1592, against Harvey): "Railing, railing, railing: bragging, bragging, bragging: and nothing else, but fowle railing vpon railing, and wayne bragging vpon bragging, as rudely, grosely, odiously, filthily, beastly, as euer shamed Print" (*ib.* p. 64), but I do not believe his story about Stubbes and the widow. Nashe reminds me of a little drunken scribbler I once knew, who, when a man offended him, always said 'the fellow 's a drunken clown.' Nash and his loose-living likes, who sneerd at Stubbes and his mates as eunuchs, did, I believe, invent or get hold of any joking tale—like that of the Bible that wasn't a high enough cushion for a willing sister and an endeavouring brother, because the Apocrypha wasn't in it³ (*Percy Fol., L. & H. Songs*, p. 35),—and stick it on to any Puritan they wanted to chaff. So that it raisd a laugh was all they cared for, and when it had done this, they were satisfied. Nashe's story goes too far. Even if Stubbes had been an Angelo, and the widow an Isabella, the bribe wouldn't have been a Bible. So I reject the

¹ Maurice Kyffin, of the *Blessedness of Brytaine*, 1587, &c.: see Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 322-3.

² See the praises of other authors, &c., before and after, p. 190-2: Southwell, Scot (*Discovery of Witchcraft*), Whitgift, Drant, Dr. Still, &c. On p. 60-1, he calls Nashe "a May-Lord of Primerose-hill, that hath all humours in his liuerie, & can put conscience in a Vices coate." I don't take up space by quoting the chief works of the authors nam'd in the text above, as they are either well known or can be easily found in bibliographical lists.

³ See too in *Dodsley*, ix. 61-2, the jest about the Puritan lass who yielded only to prevent her lover breaking his oath, as he'd sworn to succeed. The point of the Apocrypha joke was that the Puritans calld the Apocrypha a lot of Popish fables, and refusd to acknowledge it as part of the Bible.

44* § 3. *Was Elizabethan Dress outrageously absurd?*

widow tale. Nashe, however, is more to be regarded, and is nearer hitting the nail on the head, when he complains of Stubbes extending his "inuectiues so farre against the abuse, that almost the thing remains not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse."

§ 3. But the question is, 1. whether Stubbes was writing against real abuses or not, and 2. whether he wrote from real earnestness, or only hypocrisy. If the excesses he denounc't were real, and if his zeal against them was righteous, we shall not judge him harshly because he went a little too far in the words he used, or the sharpness of the curb he'd have liked to put on offenders.

On the first point he deals with, Men's and Women's Dress, I ask whether one single writer of the time can be produc'd, who treats the matter, and is satisfied with his contemporaries' practice? I've never seen or heard of one. But on the contrary, every man whose book you open,—from the catholic Shakspeare, who surely liked his cakes and ale, to the sensible cheery Harrison, the odd, and liker of oddities, Tom Coryat,—every single writer condemns the foolery, extravagance and evil of the outrageous garments around him. The Queen and her Council did so (see the fine volume of her Proclamations in the Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., *an.* 1, 4, 8 (p. 94-6), 16 (p. 155-7), 19 (p. 171-3), 30 (p. 253-7), 39 (p. 343-6, A.D. 1597).¹ And we, by our practice, do it too.

Why also did Stubbes condemn these follies? Not only because he saw with Shakspeare that men bore manors on their backs, and sacrific't their inheritances to gratify their stupid pride; not only because he knew, with Harrison, that for this, England's oaks were felld, her country hospitality stopt; but because the follies led to the neglect of the poor—the humble folk that ben Christ's friends, as Chaucer says—who were left to die in the streets like dogs, the dung that rotted, to grow the flowers that adorn'd the Court

Take the next vices with which Stubbes deals, Whoredom and Adultery, Gluttony and Drunkenness; and on the first pair, contrast Shakspeare's Spring Song on the Cuckoo at the end of *Love's*

¹ See *An.* 42, for suppression of Ale-houses, and due observance of Fish-days; and *an.* 43 for prohibiting the carrying of dags (big pistols: *Harrison*, i. 283).

§ 3. *Did Stubbes condemn Whoredom too strongly?* 45*

Labours Lost with Wordsworth's, and judge whether Stubbes had cause to write as he did, or not, and whether we haven't cause to be grateful that he and his fellows did write thus, and set their faces as a flint against the idle wits that treated the soiling of women's purity as a joke, and the debauching of girls as an honourable token of manliness. Thank God, it requires an effort of the imagination to turn from our own state of society—faultful tho' it be—and conceive one in which the so welcome note of the herald of spring, the recaller of youth's 'golden time,' could suggest the idea of cuckoldry to any husband. No longer is it true in England, that

“When Daisies pied, and Violets blew,
And Cuckow-buds of yellow hew,
And Ladie-smockes all siluer white,
Do paint the Medowes with delight,
The Cuckow then on euerie tree
Mockes married men; for thus sings he,
Cuckow!
Cuckow, Cuckow! O worde of feare,
Vnpleasing to a married eare.”

L. L. Lost, V. 904-12, Folio I. p. 144, col. 2.

And we have to thank mainly the Puritan party that this old evil is not ours still.

As to the Drunkenness, that is still the great curse of our land. And ask any one who's been among working men, and seen what a drinker's home and wife and children are like, seen the blessed change that teetotalism makes in all; ask any one who knows what went on in the upper and middle classes as late as my own father's day, my own youth,—the daily debasing of men to worse than brutes;—ask any one who knows but a little of Elizabethan books; ask Shakspeare, thro' Hamlet or Cassio, whether Stubbes has said one word too stern against that “devil drunkenness” (*Oth.* II. iii. 297), which was in his day, as it is in ours, the blight of our native land.

As to the evils next complained of, the enclosure of Commons without due regard to the rights of the poor, the cheating dealers, &c.—what is our Commons-Preservation Society, what are our Co-operative Societies and Stores, but declarations that Stubbes was in the right; that landlords' greed needs check by law, the weakness

46* § 3. *Stubbes's abuse of Cheating, etc., justified.*

of the poor needs help ; and that the Dealer, standing between the workman and the buyer, to make out of both the most he can for himself, without regard to the welfare of either, is a being who has to be turned into the agent of worker or buyer, or if possible both, bound to act honestly, and put down all adulteration, extravagant profit, and tricks of trade. As to the evil of letting usurers get the ownership of mortgagees' lands because the money was not paid on the day fixed for its return, our Courts of Equity and our Laws have long since settled that Stubbes was right, and have secured the mortgagee his equity of redemption, and prevented the mortgagor from taking more than his principal and interest. So also our laws have, by later Insolvency and Bankruptcy Acts, declared Stubbes right in his denouncing of the old iniquitous power of creditors to keep moneyless debtors in prison just as long as they liked, let their heels rot from their buttocks, as Stubbes says, in the foul prisons of the day, and then make dice of their bones.

Swearing has so long ceased to be "good form," that Stubbes's condemnation of it will be acquiescent in by all, though they may not want swearers now branded with a hot iron, or believe in judgments on em.¹

We now come to Stubbes's wholesale abuse of the Amusements of his time ; and it is for this that many folk condemn him, that I allow he was "somewhat too sour," and went beyond the bounds which he had laid down for himself in his Preface. But let the reader recognize how very much there was in the pastimes of the day that deserved the strongest blame, and in how many cases posterity has justified Stubbes's censures. Note first, that the main reason for Stubbes's fierceness was, that all the games and devilry that he complains of so bitterly, were carried on more vigorously on Sunday than any other day. This is the point the whole matter

¹ Years ago I chanced to ask a regular contributor to the *Saturday*—a very high wrangler of my time at Cambridge—what had made the *S. Review* such a success. He said, "Mainly Cook's (the editor's) power of swearing. He swears at everybody so fiercely, from the printer's devil to his best leader-writer or sub-editor, that he makes us all do exactly as he tells us. I never heard such oaths." The like procedure seems to produce contrary effects at the Horse Guards.

§ 3. *Stubbes on Sabbath-breaking. Fairs, etc., now.* 47*

turns on.¹ Stubbes lookt on the Day as specially holy to his Lord, to be spent "in hearing the woord of God truely preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil; in receiuing the sacraments, rightly administred; in vsing publique and priuate prayer; in thanks-giuing to God for all his benefits; in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations; *in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes*; and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man" (p. 140); and instead of this, he saw all the vagabonds and drabs of the country playing the devil's delight all day long, and all night too. No wonder that he rose in wrath, and curst the whole crew. And who—even among us Sunday League and Sunday-Society-men, goers by train and boat—now wants to have bears baited, or theatres open², on Sundays; fairs held then, and markets; the *cancan* danced,³ or drunken jollifications going on in Church or Churchyard? Who would let sister, daughter, or maid, be out with a mixt company of men and girls in the woods all night (p. 149)? Depend on it, there *were* abuses of the grossest kind in the rough games of Stubbes's and Shakspeare's day, abuses even justifying the call that they should in public be put down for a time altogether. We know how many of them have been rightly given up since; and if we care, we may know that there are two sides to great gatherings for amusement now. Two of the occasions on which this has been brought home to me were these. The first time I was saying to a faithful-working curate-friend in a country town in Hampshire, how pleasant all lookt at the fair that morning. "Yes," he answered, "I suppose one oughtn't to grudge the people their gathering; but our annual crop of bastards 'll be sown to-night. We had twelve last year, and eleven the year before; and many of the girls get ruind for life." The second time, chatting to an easy-going acquaintance about

¹ So in his denouncing of the Church-Ales, p. 150—2, one great grievance is that the Churches lie "like swyn-coates (pig-styes), their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall downe, the roof all bare . . . the booke of God rent, ragged and all betorn, couered in dust," p. 151.

² With *Pink Dominoes* (as describd to me) playd, or even the innocent *Venus and Adonis* acted, with next Sunday's *Referee* notice that Miss Phoebe Don's legs were "monuments of managerial perspicacity and plumpness."

³ See p. 146. Note too Chaucer on the dangers of Dances, &c., *Cant. T.*, C. 65-6.

our races on Runnymede, at Egham, and saying that I'd seen no harm going on to justify the outcry against them by some folk, he answered: "Ah, your people just drive down to the course, and go away when the races are over. But if you want to know when the harm's done, and what it is, come with me to the booths the nights before and after, and then take a turn about the grass, and see what's going on there. I'm not one of the strait-laced lot; but knowing what I do, I don't wonder at people trying to stop the whole affair." Folk who like races and fairs and fun in general, either shut their eyes to the evils attending them, or say it's human nature, and there's no such great harm in it after all; but other men and women exist in the world, who can't take sin and the causes of it like this; they're just forced by their souls to fight against it, and its sources, with word and deed, with all their might; and if they do speak a little too sharply, or hit a little too hard, the self-indulgent do-nothings had at least better keep from abusing or sneering at them.

The justness of Stubbes's argument against hunting, on p. 182, is acknowledged by our modern hunts paying for the damage they do to farmers' fences and crops; and his plea that 'For pleasure sake only, no man ought to abuse any of the creatures of God,' cannot be answered, as every one 'll confess who's seen, at the end of his first day's hunt, the tears and distressed look of the stag he's followed, or the last tries of the fox to save his life.¹

In Stubbes's condemnation of cockfighting, gambling, bear-baiting, we all admit that he was right; and on the whole, tho' he would have put me as an inveterate Sabbath-breaker², dancer, and honourer of Shakspeare, into one of the hottest corners of his 'Material Hell,' I do not hesitate to ask his readers to believe that the

¹ The only defence is a shirk, and 'You're another:' "You *can* do without meat if you like; at any rate, you'd be better with little of it, and that of the simplest kind. But, solely for your pleasure, to tickle your palate, you have lots of animals needlessly killed; while we hunting men, for our health and refreshment, as well as our pleasure, only give a stag a good sweating, and kill a stinking fox now and then. Who are *you* to find fault with *us*?" (Mr. E. A. Freeman's articles on hunting and Mr. A. Trollope's answer, a few years back, I haven't seen.)

² And a backslider from the faith of Stubbes, for one Sunday, after a Sabatarian parson's sermon, my father's Sunday newspaper, the *Windsor Express*, to his great disgust disappeared till Monday morning.

§ 4. *Stubbes didn't rail only, but car'd for the Poor.* 49*

Abuses he denounc't were real and not fancid ones, cancers in the body of the commonweal, and that his words in denouncing them were not, in most cases, one whit too strong, We pass then to

§ 4. *Was Stubbes a mere railer?* In my early days in London, when one of a body of workers full of Christian-Socialist plans of social reform, helping in district-visiting, ragged schools, working-men's associations, &c., came out some *Latter-Day-Pamphlets*, by a certain prophet of the time, which seemd to me to do nothing but swear generally all round. Everything was wrong, everybody—except the writer—was a fool, niggers should eternally be slaves, and there was no hope for the world except in the coming of some beneficent hog-herd with a tremendous whip to drive the universal swine along the road they ought to go.¹ One night a well-known naval novelist, a disciple of this faith, was at a friend's house, holding forth with his usual fervour, and I ventured to suggest that he should *do* something to try and cure some of the evils he seemd to feel so keenly. I askt him to teach in our ragged school in Little Ormond Yard. On which he took his pipe out of his mouth, took a sip at his —th glass of toddy, and said, 'My dear Sir, I'll see you and your ragged school damnd first! The world 's going to the devil its own way. Let it go!'

Now Phillip Stubbes wouldn't have given a like answer—if I judge him aright—had John Stubbe, or any such man, askt him to lend a hand to any good work near Lincoln's Inn in his day. He'd have gone and done his best at it, tho' he'd no doubt have insisted on dosing the workees with texts and sermons. On his Sundays, he didn't want only to sing psalms and pray; he'd also collect money for the poor, and do good works (p. 140). He wasn't angry with the rich for their gay clothes and vain show only, but because these led to 'cold charitie to the poore':

"Do they think that it is lawfull for them to haue millions of sundry sortes of apparell lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Iesus Christe die at their doores for wante of clothing?"

¹ If I do injustice to this book, which was a cruel blow to me after the noble *Life of Cromwell*, the *Sartor*, &c., I am sorry. I never open'd it after the Parts were bound. But, had that whip then come to my hands, the prophetic back would have been the first laid open by it.

—p. 59. "And so [the poore diseased] being caried forth, either in carts or otherwyse, and thrown in the streets, there they end their dayes most miserably. Truly, Brother, if I had not seen it, I would scarsly haue thought that the like Turkish cruelty had beene vsed in all the World."—p. 60.

Again and again Stubbes comes back to this, pp. 105, 116, 183, &c. He cares for God's dumb creatures too¹ (pp. 178, 182). And tho' we can't class him with Orlando, who "wil chide no breather in the world but my selfe, against whom I know most fault" (*As You Like It*, III. ii. 297-8), we can honestly refuse to couple him with Jaques, or any of those who merely want to "raile against our mistris the worlde," and "must have liberty Withall, as large a Charter as the winde, To blow on whom [they] please" (*ib.* II. vii. 47-9).

§ 5. *Stubbes and his Family.* Where he came from, when he was born,² where he was taught, and when he died, we don't

¹ He would, were he living now, certainly join the *Fellowship of Animals' Friends* that our Vice-Presidents Mr. and Mrs. Cowper-Temple have just founded. And he'd have curst the putting back Christians under Turkish rule in 1878 as heartily as I did; 'English interests' doing the Devil's work.

² I suppose he was born about 1555,—the year that Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford (Oct. 16) in bloody Mary's reign. If Stubbes's 7-years' travel about England by or before 1583, is to be taken literally, he probably did not start till he was his own master, and 21. I suppose that he didn't die till in or after 1610, when an enlarged edition of his *Pathway* was publisht, with 15 new prayers added, perhaps for the first time. That he was a well-read and learned man is plain from his books.

Here's a suggestion from *The Saturday Review* (Sept. 25, 1869, p. 421, col. 2) as to Stubbes's Christian name: "Why were there so many Philips in those days?—Philip, Earl of Arundel, to whom this book (Stubbes's *Anatomie*) is dedicated; Philip, Earl of Pembroke, to whom the Shakespeare folio is inscribed; Philip Sidney and Philip Massinger, who could write books for themselves. Why but because Philip was the name of the 'father of our Kings to be,' and was the favourite godpapa with the rank-worshipping mammas of the period. And if the word Philip had been called out at a bearbaiting in the sixteenth century, there would have been as many responses to it as there are nowadays when H'albert is shouted for at a Foresters' Fête at the Crystal Palace."

Now, though I can't pretend to measure the infinite flunkeyism of the Victorian or Elizabethan English mother and man, yet I must observe that Philip Massinger was baptizd on Nov. 23, 1583, only five years before the Armada, and Sir Philip Sidney born on Nov. 29, 1554, four years before Elizabeth came to the throne (1558); and if the 'mammas of the period' kept up their fancy for the Popish Philip of Spain during all the changes of feeling in this time, the fact will surprise any one who has studied the period with the least care. How Stubbes must have hated his name if he thought he got it from the pet son of the scarlet whore!

know.¹ His Marriage-license we have, the Certificates of his son's birth, and his wife's death; his own account of his 4½ years married life (below, p. 197-203, 208), and the few words he says of his travels about England, in his *Anatomie*, 1583 (p. 22, below), and *Motive to Good Workes*, 1593, p. 68*, 69*, below. Colonel Chester kindly sends me the Marriage License, from the Bishop of London:

"1586, Sep. 6, *Philip Stubbes*, Gentleman, of St. Mary at Hill,² London, and Katherine Emmes, spinster, of the same parish, daughter of William Emmes, late of St. Dunstan in the West, London, Cordwainer,³ deceased—To marry at any church or chapel in the diocese of London."

Mr. Henry Stubbs of Danby, Ballyshannon, sends me the following extracts from the Parish-Registers of Burton-on-Trent, as all that the latter yield:—

"1590. John Stubs⁴ filius Philippi baptized the 17 November 1590. Catherine Stubs buried the 14 day of December."⁵

¹ I say this notwithstanding the passage from Nashe quoted above, p. 37*, and the extract (evidently bas'd on it) from Ant. Wood that follows, p. 53*, note. But Nash's bit about the Cheshire readership may have some ground.

² Dr. Howard, who has searcht the Registers of St. Mary at Hill, reports that there are no Stubbes entries in them.—J. L. C.

³ Of course you understand that Katherine Emmes's father was something more than a mere "shoemaker," as we now understand the term. His will styles him "Citizen and Cordwainer," *i. e.* a freeman of London, and member of the Cordwainers' Company. Stubbs in his tract intimates that William Emmes had held high office in his company, which elevates him to the level of the superior tradesmen of the old city.—J. L. C.

⁴ 70 years after, a John Stubs, with George Fox and Benjamin Furly, publisht "A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural: *You to Many*, and *Thou to One*: Singular, *One, Thou*; Plural, *Many, You*. Wherein is shewed forth by Grammar, or Scripture Examples, how several Nations and People have made a distinction between Singular and Plural, &c. London, Printed for Robert Wilson, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Black-Spread-Eagle and Wind-mil in Martins le Grand, 1660. folio." Hazlitt. *Collection and Notes*, p. 166, col. 2.

⁵ This is the day of her death, according to Phillip Stubbes. Possibly her fever led to her quick burial, but it looks odd. It was the Vicar, the Rev. C. F. Thornewill, that extracted the above entries in the Burton Registers for Mr. Henry Stubbes, who says, "the Vicar in his letter to me remarked that there was a + against the entry of Baptism of John Stubs, which he did not observe against any other entry; 'and likewise that the entry of Burial had evidently been made at a later date than that of the Burial itself, as it is in different ink from the rest, and is obviously put between the lines, having been forgotten or otherwise omitted at the time.'"

All the facts, then, that we know about Philip Stubbes at present are, that he was a Gentleman—either by birth, profession, or both;—a writer, from 1581 to 1610 (?), of pamphlets and books strongly on the Puritan side, well-read in his Bible and holy books; that before 1583 he had spent “seuen winters and more, trauailing from place to place, euen all the Land ouer indifferently” (p. 21, below) about England; that he married in the autumn of 1586, a sweet, gentle, pious girl of from 14 to 15, with whom he led a happy peaceful life for nearly 4½ years, expounding texts to her to his heart’s content—a blissful contrast to Milton’s first experiment;—that he lost her on Dec. 14, 1590, from a 6-weeks’ fever caught after she had thoroughly recovered from bearing ‘a goodly man childe’—baptized John, on Nov. 17;—that he was in ‘lodging by Cheapside, 8 of November, 1593;’ and that he probably lived till after the new edition of his *Perfect Pathway to Felicitie* was published, with 15 new Prayers, in 1610. Col. Chester writes: “I have again gone carefully over all the Stubbs’ wills in Somerset House from 1550 to 1630, and can find nothing of his parentage. His own will is certainly not here, if he left one, and no letters of administration to his estate were ever taken out.”

Stubbes’s mother-in-law, Mrs. Emmes, is described by him as “a Dutch woman, both discrete and wise, of singular good grace and modestie . . . both religious and verie zealous” (p. 197), and yet she must have been a very Wife of Bath in the matter of husbands, ‘one down, t’other come on.’ Probably after her third husband’s death, she in 1586 “bestowed her [daughter Katherine by her second husband, William Emmes,] in marriage to one maister Stubbes”—our Phillip—p. 197, below, and Col. Chester kindly sends me the following account of her:—

“The mother of Catherine Stubbes (*née* Emmes) was also named Catherine, and she was first the wife of one Reginald Melchior (or Melcher), whose will, as of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, dated 22 Sept. 1563, she proved 12 Nov. following. Melchior directed his body to be buried in St. Martin’s Churchyard. He merely left small sums to his apprentice and his maid, and the residue of his possessions equally to his wife Catherine and his son Melchior.

“The widow did not grieve long, for on the 8th of November

§ 5. *Stubbes's Mother-in-law. A. Wood's Life of him.* 53*

1563, four days before she proved her husband Melchior's will, a license was granted by the Bishop of London for her marriage with William Emmes, then of St. Sepulchre's, London. They subsequently lived in Fleet Street, St. Dunstan-in-the-West."

"The will of William Emmes, Citizen and Cordwainer of London, is dated 26 Nov. 1583. He bequeathed considerable property in houses, &c. to his wife Catharine, and his children, William, John, *Catherine* [Stubbes's wife], Anne, Susan, and Alice, all under age. The widow Catharine Emmes proved the will 14 Jan. 1583/4.

"Four days later, viz. 18 Jan 1583/4, the Bishop of London granted another license for her to marry Richard Tompkins, of St Mary at Hill, London. She outlived her third husband, for, on the 24th of April, 1591, letters of administration to her estate, as a widow, were granted to her daughter Alice, who was then wife of (blank) Dumper."

(Of course the natural temptation has been yielded to,¹ to make

¹ By Antony Wood (or his informant)—whose account of Stubbes (not in his 1st ed.) is printed in inverted commas in Bliss's ed. of the *Ath. Oxon.* i. 645, and is as follows:—"Philip Stubbs or Stubbes, was born of genteel parents, but where, one of his descendants of both his names who is a vintner in London, [Philip Stubbs, a vintner, living in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft in London (*note*)] knows not, nor can he positively affirm whether he received his education in either of the universities or not. Be it known therefore, that he was mostly educated in Cambridge, but having a restless and hot head, left that university, rambled thro' several parts of the nation, and settled for a time in Oxon, particularly, as I conceive, in Gloucester-hall, where a brother or near kinsman called Justinian Stubbs, M[aster] of A[rts] and a civilian, studied, by which name and titles I find him there in the beginning of 1589. This Ph. Stubbs was a most rigid Calvinist, a bitter enemy to popery, and a great corrector of the vices and abuses of his time; and tho' not in sacred orders yet the books he wrote related to divinity and morality, as the titles of them following partly shew." He then gives the titles of (b) the *Two Judgments*, 1581; (c) *View of Vanity* 1582; (e) *Rosary* 1583; (d) *Anatomy* 1583,* noting 'divers corrections in and additions to it;' (g) *Theatre of the Pope's Monarchy* 1584. oct.; (j) *Perfect Path to Felicity* 1592; (k) *Motive to Good Works* 1593; (?) "*Praise and Commendation of Women*. Printed in oct. This I have not seen,† and therefore I cannot give you a larger title." (i) "*Christial glass for Christian Women*. Lond. 1626." He then speaks of Stubbes's wife, and says, "Near of kin, if not brother, or father to this Philip, was Joh. Stubbs of Lincolns-inn, gent. a most rigid puritan, author of *A Discovery of a gaping Gulph for England*. Printed 1579, oct."

* "Ded to Phil. E. of Arundel; black letter, double pages 125. Printed by Ric. Jones. At the back of the last page is a wooden cut of a man in a gown, round bonnet, stooping, and holding a pair of gloves in his left hand. The book penes Mr. Lort of Trin. coll. Cambr., who in May 1772, gave 7s. 6d. for it at Mr. Joseph Hart's auction of books." Cole.

† Nor has any one else that I can hear of.

Philip Stubbes, "near of kin, if not father or brother" of the noble Puritan, John Stubbe¹, (or Stubbes,) who in 1579 (not 1581) wrote against the proposd marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Popish Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother—" *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf whereunto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banes, by letting her Majestie see the sin and punishment thereof*"; and who had his right hand chopt off with a butcher's knife and mallet² for his sensible

¹ See the interesting memoir of him in Cooper's *Ath. Cant.* ii. 111-12.

² See Camden's *Annales* englisht, 1625, Bk. III. p. 14-16. His account is the best: "Her Maiestie likewise burned with choller that there was a booke published in print, inueighing sharply against the marriage, as fearing the alteration of Religion, which was intituled '*A gaping gulfe to swallow vp England by a French marriage.*' In this Pamphlet the Priuy Councillors which faoured the Match were taxed of ingratitude to their Prince and Countrey: the Queene, as not vnderstanding well her selfe, by the way of flattery is tauntingly touched: the Duke d'Anjou and his country of France in contumelious tearmes shamefully reviled: the marriage condemned, for the diuersitie of Religions, by poisonous words and passages of Scripture, miserably wrested, would seem to proue that the Daughter of God, being to match with the sonne of Antichrist, it must needs bee the ruine of the Church, and pernicious to the State; neither would Queene Elizabeth bee perswaded that the Author of this booke had any other purpose, but to bring her into hatred with her subiects, and to open a gap to some prodigious innouation. . . .

"Since that, shee begunne to bee the more displeased with Puritans then shee had been before-time, perswading her selfe that such a thing had not passed without their priuitie: and within a few dayes after, Iohn Stubbes of Lincolnes Inne, a zealous professor of Religion, the Author of this Ralatiue Pamphlet (whose Sister, Thomas Cartwright the Arch-Puritan had married), William Page the disperser of the copies, and Singleton the Printer, were apprehended; against whom sentence was giuen, that their right hands should be cut off, by a law in the time of Philip and Marie against the Authors of Seditious Writings, and those that disperse them. Some lawyers storming hereat, said the iudgement was erroneous, and fetcht from a false obseruation of the time wherein the Statute was made, that it was onely temporarie, and that (Queene Marie dying) it dyed with her. Of the which Lawyers, one Dalton, for his clamorous speeches was committed to prison, and Monson, a Iudge of the Common-pleas, was sharply rebuked, and his place taken from him. . . .

"Not long after, [Nov. 3, 1579,* not 1581, as Stowe says, *Annales*, 1605, p. 1168], vpon a Stage set vp in the Market-place at Westminster, *Stubbes* and Page had their right hands cut off by the blow of a Butchers knife, with a Mallet strucke through their wrests. The Printer had his Pardon. I can remember that, standing

* See "His Wordes upon the Scaffolde when he lost his Haund on Tewesdaie, 3 November, 1579." In *Nugæ Antiquæ*.—Cooper.

§ 6. *Stubbes's Works in the Stationers' Registers.* 55*

and manly tract. But Mr. Henry Stubbes of Danby, Ballyshannon, has a copy of the wills of the righthandless John Stubbs and his father, John Stubbe of Buxton, Norfolk, and in neither of them is there any mention of Philip Stubbes.)

§ 6. *Stubbes's Works.* Of these, eleven have survived to our day in title,¹ and eight in copies. Of the eleven only six, and of the eight only five, were entered on the Stationers' Registers, if I can trust my search through the second volume of the (alas!) indexless *Transcript* of Mr. Arber. They are :—

1582-3. An. Eliz. XXV^{to}. primo die Martij

Richard
Jones.

Licenced vnto him vnder thandes of the Bishop of
LONDON and both the wardens. *The Anatomye of*
abuses. by PHILLIPE STUBBES vj^a
Transcript, ii. 421.

1583. An. Eliz. XXV^{to}. Tertio Die Augusti.

John
Charlewood/

Receaued of him for his licence to ymprint *The Rosarie*
of christian Prayers vj^a /
Transcript, ii. 426.

by *John Stubbes*, so soone as his right hand was off, put off his hat with his left, and cryed aloud, *God saue the Queene*. The people round about him stood mute, whether stricken with feare at the first sight of this strange kind of punishment, or for commiseration of the man whom they reputed honest, or out of a secret inward repining they had at this marriage, which they suspected would be dangerous to Religion." Sir Walter Scott and Macaulay have word-painted the scene.

The 8vo mentiond by Antony Wood, *The Praise and Commendation of Women*, is not reckond in the 11, as I doubt the author of *The Anatomie*, Part I., which scarified women so, ever having written a 'Praise' of Women in general, tho he did praise his own dead wife. Moreover, we've no record of the *Praise* book being seen by any one; and none of the long list of books on Women in Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, and *Collections* and *Notes* suits Wood's title except '*to y^e Prayse of Good women*,' y^e xiiij chapeter of y^e *Proverbis*, licenst to John Alde in 1568 (*Arber's Transcript*, i. 378), which is too early for Stubbes. 'The Praise and Dispraise of Women' in 1579 won't of course do.

I don't think—as Mr. Reardon did, *Old Sh. Soc. Papers*, iii. 15; and Mr. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.*, ii. 399—that Gabriel Harvey necessarily meant to include Stubbes in "the common Pamfletters of London" (p. 42*, l. 9 above), or we might suppose that many of Stubbes's works have been lost. There is no "other" before Harvey's "common," as there ought to be if Mr. Reardon's and Mr. Collier's view were right; and against it, is also Harvey's after praise of Stubbes for his filed lines (p. 43* above). Harvey meant to distinguish Stubbes from the "common Pamfletters," not confuse him with em.

1591. An. Eliz. 33°. xv^{to} Junij
Richard Jones./ Entred for his copie vnder the handes of the Bishop of
LONDON and the wardens / *A Christall glasse for
christian women / Conteyninge an excellent discourse of
the godly life and christian death of mistres KATHERINE
STUBBES² &c vj^d/*
Transcript, ii. 585.

1593- An. Eliz. 35^{to}. xiii^{to}. die Octobris/
Thomas Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of the Bisshopp
Man./ of LONDON and Master warden **Cawood.** a booke
entituled, *A motiue to good woorkes or rather to true
christianitye* &c vj^d
Transcript, ii. 638.

[Assignment.] 1594. An. 36 Eliz. vltimo Maij
James Entred for his copies by order of Court Certens Copies
Robertes whiche were **John Charlewoodes** / *Saluo Jure Cuius-*
cunque **xiiis** **iiij^a** C
The Rosary of Christian Praiers
Transcript, ii. 65r.

a. But Stubbes had begun printing as early at least as 1581, when (or earlier) he issued a broadside, with a woodcut, "A fearefull and

1 "9 Augusti [1596].

Thomas
Creede

Entred for his Copie in full Court holden this Day. These ffyve
Copies whiche were assigned from William wright to Thomas
Scarlet, and from Thomas Scarlet to the said Thomas Crede
ijs vjd
. . . *Item the second parte of the Anatomye of abuses called the
Displaye of Corruptions.* Transcript, iii. 68.

2 iiij^o Julij [1596].

master Whyte warden	Entred for his Copyes these thinges followinge, viz. <i>Catheryne Stubes</i> , vj ^d (with <i>The scale of vertue</i> , vj ^d ; <i>Twenty Orders of Calettes and Drabes</i> , vj ^d . . . <i>The ffyve and Twenty orders of knaues</i> , vj ^d)
	<i>Transcript</i> , iii. 187.

Edward White's estate in 'Katherine Stubbs' was assigned to Master Pavier and John Wright on Dec. 13, 1620 (*Trans.* iv. 44), and Pavier's share was, after his death, assigned by his widow to Edward Brewster and Robert Birde (*Transcript*, iv. 164-5).

terrible Example of Gods iuste iudgement executed vpon a lewde Fellow, who vsually accustomed to sweare by Gods Blood: which may be a Caueat to all the World that they blaspheme not the name of their God by Swearing. [*Colophon*] Finis. Philip Stubbes. Imprinted at London for W. Wright, and are to be Sold at his shop in the Poultrie."¹ Reprinted by Mr. J. P. Collier in his "*Broadside Black-letter Ballads, printed in the 16th & 17th Centuries*, chiefly in the possession of J. Payne Collier," 4°, 1868, p. 42—7. This is a ballad of 102 lines (25 verses, and a tag) of 7-measure or 14-syllable couplets, describd by Stubbes at p. 135 below, as telling the awful end of "a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire, in Ailgna, (whose tragicall discourse I my self penned about two yeares agoe, referring you to the said booke for the further declaration thereof) who was alwaies a filthie swearer: his common othe was by Gods blood."

The story being given at p. 135 below, I quote only a few verses of the ballad from its second edition in the Lambeth Library (sign. B. i. and B. ii.), to show the doggrel it is written in:—

"There is a towne in Lincolneshire, which Bothbie hath to name,
Just three miles distant from Grantam, a towne of auncient fame.

(4)

Wherein there dwels a Gentleman, the truthe for to decyde, 13
Who Frauncis Penell called is, this may not be denyed.
It pleased God this Gentleman, into his house did hyre
A Seruingman t'atende him on, borne in Worstershire. 16

(5)

Which sayd youngman inclyned was, vnto a thing not good,
As for to sweare by Christ his flesh, and by his precious blood. 18
* * * *

(12)

He had no sooner spoke these wordes, which I haue shewed to you,
But that a-pace his heart blood did, foorth of his boody flowe; 46
For why, out of his fingers endes, his blood did streame full faste;
So did it foorth at his toes endes, which made them all agaste. 48
* * * *

¹ Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*, p. 410, col. 1, from which, and Hazlitt's *Handbook*, most of the after titles, &c., are given.

(14)

Thus died he, committing his soule to the furies fell, 53
 Which doo possesse th' infernall gulfe and Laberinth of hell.
 Than was his body straight interde, although (in trueth) forlorne,
 For whome it had beene better farre, if he had not beene borne." 56
 (Old) *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, iv. 77-9, 1849.

b. Stubbes's second known publication contains his first ballad, with a second like one in 114 long lines, couplets—probably first issued as a broadside too—and prose forewords and hindwords, the latter call'd "An admonition to the Christian Readers, inferred vpon the two straunge Stratagems before passed." The whole forms a 4to pamphlet of ten leaves (A & B in fours, C in 2), of which there is a copy in the Lambeth Library, and a reprint by Mr. James Purcell Reardon in the *Papers* of the Old Shakespeare Society, iv. 73-88. The title is:—

"Two wunderfull and / rare Examples. / Of the vndeferred and present / approaching iudgement of the Lord our God: the / one vpon a wicked and pernitiuous blasphe-/mer of the name of God, and seruauant / to one Maister Frauncis Pennell, / Gentleman, dwelling at Booth-/bie, in Lincolnshire, three / myles from Grantham. / The other vpon a vvoman, named / Ioane Bowser, dwelling at Donnington, in Lei-/cestershire, to whome the Deuill verie / straungely appeared, as in the dis-/course following, you may / reade. In Iune last. 1581. / VVritten by Phillip Stubbes. / Imprinted at London for / VVilliam VVright, and are to be solde at / his shoppe in the Poultrie: the middle / shoppe in the rowe, adioyning to / Saint Mildreds Church./"

The story of the second ballad is told in the prose forewords, sign. A, iij, (p. 75-6, Sh. Soc.) : how in Donnington, Leicestershire, there

"dwelled a poore man named Iohn Twell, who deceased, owing unto one Oswald Bowcer the summe of fiue shilling, which the sayde Oswalde did forgiue the sayde man before named, as he lay vpon his death bedde; but the sayde Oswaldes wife, called Ioane, would in no wise forgiue the sayde Twell as long (she sayde) as she had day to liue. Wherevpon, not long after, the Deuill appeared vnto her in the forme of the sayd Twell, deceased, expressing all the lyneamentes of the body of the dead man . . . this euill spirit vttered unto her these speeches, and sayd he had brought her mony from Iohn Twell deceased, and willed her incontinent to disburse the sayd money vnto her husband for his paines. Which she, with

§ 6. *Stubbes on Donnington, in his 2nd Ballad.* 59*

as couetous a desire, receyued, saying, ' God thanke you.' She had no sooner named God, but the money consumed away from betweene her handes, as it were a vapour or smoake, tyll it was all consumed : wherwith the Deuill, giuing her a most fearefull and sore stroke, vanished out of her sight.

“Wherewith her whole body, became as blacke as pitche, replenished all ouer with a most filthy scurffe and other thinges, which was so odious, as heere my pen for modesties sake leaueth to wright . . . her body was most straungely benumbed, and her eyes closed vp from the benefite of the light.’ Thus remayning a certaine space, she confessed the hardnesse of her heart, and with great patience thanked God for his iudgements bestowed on her. Wherevpon, to be breefe, it pleased God, seeing her repentaunce, to reuoke his Iustice, and to restore her vnto her former health, where she remayned, praying the name of God for his great mercies bestowed upon her.”

At the end of this ballad, Stubbes calls on Donnington to repent, and talks of the love he bears the town, as if he knew it well and had some connection with it.¹ And as his objection to dancing and piping, which he shows in his *Anatomie*, comes out too, I quote a few lines from sign. B. iiij. back, and C. i. :—

“Therefore, thou Towne of Donington, I read thee to repent 83
 * * * * *
 God hath thee warned now by this, and that in frendly sorte, 87
 To leaue thy whoredome and thy pride, and all thy filthy sporte.

(23)

Abandon, then, out of thy streates, all mirth and minstrelsie ;
 No Pipers, nor no Dauncers vile, in thee let extant be, 90
 Remember thou thy lately plague, of blayne, of Botche, and Bile
 [boil],
 Whereby thy God did scourge thee sore, least synne should thee
 defile.

(24)

O Donington, fall not againe vnto thy vomite old ;
 In filthy, scurrile, bawdie talke, doo not thy selfe vphold ; 94
 Ne yet with vaine and bloody othes, doo not thy selfe imbrew, (p. 86)
 For than the Lord will throwe thee downe amid the Deuils crew 96

¹ The Rev. John G. Bourn, the Vicar of Castle Donnington near Derby has kindly searcht his Registers for 1550—1600, and finds no Stubbes or Bowcer entry, but one of John Twell (who may have been Stubbes's man), marrid 5 May 1567; John Twell baptizd 18 June 1583; John Twell son of John Twell, baptizd 1589, died (?) 25 March.

And now, O gentle Donington, be mindefull yet of me 103
Who haue with paines contriued this same, for looue I beare to
thee.

(27)

Requite me not with wrath againe: that were disloyaltie,
But see that thou accept hereof, as best beseemeth thee;
And as a pledge of my good will, let this be vnto thee,
Desiring God, that I thy state, in health and wealth may see."

c. Of Stubbes's third publication, no copy is known. It was
"A View of Vanitie, and Allarum to England or Retrait from
Sinne, in English Verse by Phil. Stubbs. London, by T. Purfoot.
1582. 8vo."

d. His fourth was the famous *Anatomie of Abuses*, enterd in the
Stationers' Registers on the 1st of March, and printed on the 1st of
May, 1583, 125 leaves, small 8vo,¹ here reprinted. The success
of the book was so great that a second edition was "Printed at
London, by Richard Iones. 16. August 1583. [*Colophon*] Perused,
authorised, and allowed, accordyng to the order appointcd in the
Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions. At London Printed by Richard
Jones dwellyng at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne, neere
vnto Holborne Bridge. 1583." small 8vo, 133 leaves, black letter.
(*Collation*: ¶, 4 leaves: B—R in eights, R 8 occupied by the colophon
and device²). Copies are in the Grenville Library in the British
Museum (collated for the present edition), in the Bodleian (Malone
526), and at Bridgewater House. In 1584, a third edition³ of
the book was issued, "now newly reuised and recognized, and
augmented the third time by the same Author [*Quotations*].

¹ There are 3 copies of it in the Bodleian,—Crynes 833, Tanner 120, 8°. S. 269. Art. Mr. F. Ouvry has the copies of the 1st and 2nd editions describd by Mr. Collier in his *Bibl. Cat.* ii.

² The woodcut on the last page is that of a man in a round cap and long gown, stooping, his arms both stretching to the left, with a glove in his left hand; whereas the woodcut at the end of the 1st edition is of a lady seated, and looking over her right shoulder, with a flower in her hand.

³ Formerly treated by Mr. Collier, and Mr. Hazlitt after him (and me after them), as 2 editions, the 3rd and 4th. Mr. C. (*Bibl. Cat.* ii. 393) states that "the fourth edition, also dated 1584, is without any specification of the month. We have examined all anterior impressions of the book and their dates, so that we are in a condition to speak positively on the subject." But can one trust him?

§ 6. *Stubbes's 4th Book, the Anatomie*, Part I. 61*

and Printed at London, by Richard Iones 12 October, 1584, 8° black letter¹; this has A—R 4 in eights, says Mr. Hazlitt, the colophon on R 4 repeating the date of the year, but not the month. In 1585 the fourth edition came out, and was still calld the third²: “now newly reuised recognized and augmented the third time by the same Author. . . 1585.” (A copy is in the British Museum, and has been collated for the present edition.) Then came a stay for ten years, when the fifth edition (calld the fourth) was publisht, “Now, the fourth time, newly corrected and enlarged by the same Author. . . Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the Rose and Crowne, next about S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595.” 4to, 76 leaves. Of this edition two copies are in the Bodleian (Malone 527, and Tanner 120) and have been collated for the present book. Mr. Huth also has a copy.

Tho Mr. J. P. Collier has in his reprint of the *Anatomie*, A. 1583 (Introduction), and his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 402, tried to kill Stubbes in 1593 of the plague then raging in London, it is absolutely certain that he revisd his *Anatomie* for the edition of 1595,³ and its title-page of that year leaves no doubt that he was not dead when it was issued. Also, if his *Perfect Pathway* of 1610 is not a reprint of an earlier edition, its fresh 15 Prayers were added by Stubbes alive then. The changes made in the *Anatomie* after its first publication were mainly⁴ these:—

1. he left out of the 2nd and all after editions, his *Preface to the Reader*, in which he had said that he didn't want to put down all amusements, but only the abuses in them, and had allowd that some kind of Plays, dancing in private, and gaming that wasn't

¹ “A perfect copy in the original vellum wrapper has been recently discovered,” Mr. Hazlitt tells me (Aug. 8, 1879), and is in the possession of Mr. A. Wallis, 88, Friar Gate, Derby, Editor of the *Derby Mercury*. Mr. Pyne has the imperfect copy mentiond in Mr. Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*.

² The late Mr. Turnbull reprinted this, with a short Introduction.

³ See notes, p. iii, viii, ix, 50, 52, 53, &c., &c.

⁴ In F he left out his Latin verses, p. xiv, A. D.'s commendatory poem, p. xvii, and his own verses on ‘The Avthor and his Booke,’ p. xix-xx, below; in B, &c., he put in a poem by “C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations,” p. xv-xvi, below.

62* § 6. *Changes in the 2nd and 6th eds. of the Anatomie.*

gambling, were innocent. He evidently wrote, and perhaps printed, this Preface before he wrote all his book, and then saw that it was more or less inconsistent with the book itself, which denounst Plays, &c., so fiercely, and calld out loudly for their abolition.

2. he put in the story at p. 71—3 of the Devil setting the Antwerp woman's ruff, and wringing her neck for it; the bit in p. 79 note, about Looking-glasses being the Devil's bellows; the $2\frac{1}{3}$ pages, p. 87—9, on the bad way in which women spend their days and meet their paramours in Gardens in the suburbs; the bit on p. 99 against allowing whoredom for a fine; the stories in 111—13 of the Devil burning up the 7 Swabian drunkards, and on 113—14 of the awful end of the 2 Dutch drunkards; the new chapter, of 7 pages in our text, on *Greate Swearyng in Ailgna*, p. 129—136, and the instance of the English Jew who fell into a privy on his Sabbath, and died there rather than 'break or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth,' p. 139. Some fresh sidenotes were added in B 1583, E 1585, and F 1595 (or the uncollated edition of 1584): see p. 41, 53, 62, 63, 81, 82, 83, 87, 103, 111—14, 122, 130—6, &c.; and some fresh chapter-headings. The worth of the *Anatomie* is too well known to need any dwelling-on by me, and so are the strength and raciness of Stubbes's words—the ruffs that go flip-flap in the wind, and lie on men's shoulders like the dish-clout of a slut (p. 51), the women who are 'puppits or maumets of rags and cloutes compact together' (p. 75), the boys who care for nothing, so that they have 'their pretie pussie to huggle withall' (p. 97), the usurer, 'thou Deuill, for I dare not call thee a man' (p. 127), the danciers, 'what kissing and bussing, what smouching and slabbering one another' (p. 155), the minstrels who pipe up a dance to the devil (p. 172), the football players, when two charge one, 'to hit him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering deuiees' (p. 184), the 'vgglesome monsters and Deuills' (p. 188), &c, &c.

Another change that Stubbes made in his 1595 edition (our F) was of his earlier inkhorn terms into simpler ones. Here are a few instances taken at random:—

A. tractation
F. discourse

27

A. preparaunce
F. great preparation

72

§ 6. *Changes of inkhorn words used in the 1583 ed. A. 63**

A. momentaine	115	A. introite	154
F. momentary		F. entrance	
A. acuete 128	128	A. instinction [on-pricking]	157
F. whette		F. instinct	
A. implicate	129	A. preter time	157
F. entangled		F. former ages	
A. denegers of (the faithe)	134	A. quauemire or plash 159, 168	
F. reprobates concerning		F. quagmire or puddle	
A. abdicate (themselves)	134	A. obtused	161
F. abandon		F. dulled	
A. evacuate	136	A. babish	161
F. haue discended		F. wanton	
A. God his (left at 189)	142	A. distincted	165
F. Gods		F. distinct ¹	
A. exordium	145, 154	A. victimats and holocaustes	168
F. original		F. and oblations	
A. procliue	146	A. Hethenically	168, 177
F. prone		F. Heathnish	
A. allections	146, 155	A. audiorie	169
F. enticements		F. hearers	
A. instinction	148	A. fucate	174
F. instinct		F. counterfeit	
A. exterior action	152	A. promulgat	176
F. outward show		F. published	
A. templaries & oratories	152	A. vendicate . . commend-	
F. temples and churches		ations	177
A. saturitie	153	F. challenge . . rewards	
F. fulnesse		A. adnull	178
A. determinat	153	F. annull	
F. prefixed		A. prostrated	181
A. circumvalled	153, 162	F. humbled	
F. compassed about		A. preiudicing	182
A. concions	154	F. annoying	
F. preachings		A. consummate	183, 191
		F. ended	

But he has left *amarulent*, 147; *alatrare*, 149; *conculcate*, 183, &c.; and in one case he has turned the simpler *trinckets* of A, 82, to *supellectiles* in E and F: probably more of like kind occur. In F, too, Stubbes gave up his absurd way in A of spelling certain

¹ 'Distincted' is left in F. 156.

64* § 6. *Stubbes's* Rosarie, Anatomie II, against *Papists*.

proper names backwards: *Ailgna*, for Anglia, England; *Eprautna* (71), for Antwerp; *Lewedirb* (100), for Bridewell; *Munidnol* (59), for Londinum, London; *Ainatirb* (21), for Britannia; *Ratsurb* (100), for Brustar; *Enlocnilshire* (135), for Lincolnshire; *Notelgnoc* for Congleton (136), &c. *Erichsseheshire* for Cheshire (135) he had given up in E (1585) or before.

e. Stubbes's fifth book was "The Rosarie of Christian Praiers and Meditations for diuers Purposes, and at diuers Times, as well of the day as of the Night, by Phill. Stubbes. Lond. by Iohn Charlewood, 1583, 18mo." It was enterd in the Stationers' Register on Aug. 3, 1583, and assignd to James Roberts on May 31, 1594, but no copy is now known.

f. Stubbes's sixth book was the "The / Second part / of the Anatomie of / Abuses, conteining The display / of Corruptions, with a perfect de-/scription of such imperfections, blemi-/shes, and abuses, as now reigning in eue-/rie degree, require reformation for feare / of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon/ the people and countrie, without / speedie repentance and con/uerſion vnto God: made/ dialogwise by Phil-/lip Stubbes. / Except your righteousnes exceed London, Printed by Ro[ger] W[ard] for William Wright,/ and are to be sold at his shop ioining / to S. Mildreds Church in the/ Poultrie, being the mid-/dle shop in the rowe." [1583]. A—P in eights: a little 8vo of 5½ inches high by 3⅝ths broad, 2 copies at Lambeth, 1 in the Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., 1 in the Bodleian, &c. As I've already given the list of this book's subjects (p. 36*), and mean to print it for the Society, I need say no more about it now. It was enterd in the Stationers' Registers in Nov. 7, 1583.

In the 1583 edition of Foxe's *Martyrs* ('Ecclesiastical History Actes and Monumentes,' &c.), the following eight lines of Stubbes's, on the Papist Bloodsuckers or Leeches, appeared at the end of the commendatory Poems, sign. ¶ iiij. They are not in the edition of 1570, but are repeated in that of 1596:—

"In sanguisugas Papistas,
Philippus Stubbes.

Q Vi sacrum Christi satagit conuellere verbum,
Vulnificum contrà calcitrat hic stimulum,

§ 6. *Stubbes's Popes Monarchie, & Parry's Treason.* 65*

Florida quæ nimio compresse est pondere palma,
Fortius exurgit viribus aucta suis.
Auricomansque crocus quo calcatur magis, exit
Hoc magis, excrescit, floret, eoque magis.
Sic Ευαγγελιον quantumuis turba papalis
Conspuat, exurat, crescit, vbique tamen.
Finis."

g. Of the seventh book: "The Theatre of the Popes Monarchie. by Phil. Stubbes. Lond. for Henry Carre. 1584. 8vo," no copy is known.

h. His eighth, a 4to tract of 4 leaves, is represented by copies in the Lambeth and Huth Libraries, and was reprinted (with a few changes) by Mr. Reardon in the Old Shakespeare Society's *Papers*, iii. 17—21:

"The / Intended Trea-/son, of Doctor Parrie:/ and his Com-
plices, A-/gainst the Queenes moste / Excellent Maiestie./ With a
Letter sent from the Pope / to the same effect./ Imprinted at
London / for Henry Car, / and are to be solde / in Paules Church-
yard at the Signe / of the Blazing Starre. /" (1585.)

This little tract must have been written between Febr. 25, 1585, when Stubbes says that Parry "was conuained from the Tower of London to Westminster Hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case prouided," and March 2, when he was hangd.¹ The object of the tract was to state Parry's crime, to print the Pope's letter to him—"written by the Cardinall of Como"—encouraging him to his crime, and granting him plenary indulgence and remission of all his sins, and to make Englishmen hate the Pope and papists:—

"One Doctor Parrie, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, being (though beyond his deserts) very deer vnto her maiestie, and wel liked of, was by her grace sent ouer Seas in very waightie affaires, which he wel atchiuing, returned home, and no doubt was bountefully rewarded of her grace for his seruice and paines sustained: within a while after, this Doctor Parrie, vnwoorthy the name of a doctor or of a Christian, conspired the death of her maiestie, hauing

¹ And, as Stowe says in his *Annales* (1605), p. 1180, "The 2. day of Marche [1584—5] William Parry was drawne from the Tower through the city of London to Westminster, and there in the palace court, hanged, bowelled, and quartered for high treason, as may appeare by a booke extant, intituled 'A true and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons practised by W. Parry' &c. & I have set downe the same booke in the continuance of Reine Woolfe's Chronicle" [calld by us, Holinshed's, ed. 1587, vol. ii. p. 1382—95].

receiued his fees of the Pope (as it should seem) for the same. For the accomplishing of which moste hainous fact, he, with another, determined to kill her maiestie, sometimes with a Dag,¹ sometimes with a Poynado or dagger, sometime with one thing, and sometimes with an other. Wel, this platforme being laid, and he hauing promised the Pope to performe the thing, one of his conspirators, through the goodnes of God, disclosed the same; which doon, both he and the said archtraitor Parrie were both apprehended and committed, and vpon the 25 of Februarie the said Parrie was conuained from the Tower of London to Westminster hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case prouided sign. A. ij. (p. 18). . . .

“What good subiect, now, knowing the Pope and papists to be the instruments of all mischeef, of blood and of treason, wil not abhor and detest the one & y^e other? (A. iij. back, p. 20). . . . take this for a Maxime, that all papists are traitors in their harts, how soeuer otherwise they beare the world in hand (p. 20) . . . blood, treason, rebellion, insurrections, commotions, mutenies, murther, and the like, are the badges and cognizaunce of them, and of that wicked generation; and let vs look for it, they wil be pricks vnto our eyes, whips unto our backs, and kniues to cut our throts withall, if time would serue them, which I pray God neuer doo” (sign. A. iiij.—p. 21).

i. Stubbes's ninth book was his *Life of his Wife, or Christal Glasse for Christian Women*, 1591, entered on the Stationers' Registers on June 15, 1591. Mr. Henry Pyne has been kind enough to lend me his unique copy of the first edition.² From it the part in which Stubbes describes his wife and her relation to him, is printed below, p. 195—208, the doctrinal part being left out. That Stubbes lov'd his young wife, and did his duty by her, is clear. The picture of the stern grave husband and the sweet girl-wife looking up to him, never contrarying him, but gently persuading, listening to his exposition of Holy Writ, is surely one grateful to the mind, notwithstanding its dark background of hard religionism.

j. Stubbes's tenth book is also in part reprinted below, p. 209.

“A perfect Pathway / to Felicitie, / Containing godly / Meditations, and prai-/ers, fit for all times, and / necessarie to be prac-/tized of all good / Christians. / Imprinted at Lon-/don by Richard Yardly / for Humfrey Lownes” / 1592./. My copy, believd to be

¹ *Pistole*: F. A Pistoll; a great (horsemans) Dag . . . *Pistolet*; m. A Pistolet; a Dag, or little Pistoll—1611. Cotgrave.

² The 2nd edition, 1592, is in the Huth Collection. The tract was printed as late as 1658. Of that edition I have a copy.

§ 6. *Stubbes's Pathway, and Motive to good Workes.* 67*

unique, is imperfect. It is a little squarish book, much cut down, of 3 $\frac{3}{16}$ in. high, by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ broad, every page having a printed border. Collation: ¶ in 8, and A to P in 8s; no doubt the last three leaves, and perhaps ¶ 1 too, were blank. The Contents of it are printed below, p. 210 and p. 212, the titles of the missing Prayers being given from the only other edition known to me, that of 1610, the only known copy of which the late Mr. Henry Huth, with his never-failing friendship, lent me. This 1610 edition has 15 more Prayers than that of 1592—their titles are given at the foot of p. 212,—and I suppose that Stubbes livd till 1610 to write them. The 20 pages of Prayers, &c., reprinted below, are from the 1610 edition, as the 1592 one did not turn up till after my pages were cast. I chose those Prayers which interested me most—not forgetting that on p. 220-1 below, which mentions ‘those fleas and gnats’ that in bed did bite the skin of Stubbes, as their fellows must have done that of Shakspeare. These Prayers convinct me that their writer was a pure-minded earnest man, not only a bitter railer. Taking them with the other works, I cannot but feel a real respect for Stubbes: and all who wish to understand him should read them.

℥. Of the eleventh and last known work of Stubbes, only one copy seems to have been lately extant, and that belongd to Mr. J. P. Collier, but has (he says) been stolen from him. He thus describes it in his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 400-1:—

“A Motive to good Workes. Or rather, to true Christianitie indeede. Wherein by the waie is shewed, how farre wee are behinde, not onely our forefathers in good workes, but also many other creatures in the endes of our creation: with the difference betwixt the pretenced good workes of the Antichristian Papist, and the good workes of the Christian Protestant.—By Phillip Stubbes, Gentleman.—Matthew. 5. verse 16. Let your light so shine, &c.—London, Printed for Thomas Man, dwelling in Pater Noster rowe, at the signe of the Talbot. 1593. 8vo. 114 leaves.

“In quoting the sacred text, which the author chose as the motto of his book, it is singular that he, or his printer, should have left out so important a word as ‘good’ before ‘workes.’

“This is the only copy of the book that we ever met with: Lowndes originally mentioned it, and the short title is given in the new edition, p. 2539; but in both it is erroneously dated 1592: it is entirely prose.

"Stubbes, in his dedication, tells Cuthbert Buckle, Lord Mayor of London for the year, that 'he took his gelding about the Annunciation of S. Mary last past¹,' and made a journey, which lasted about three months, into various parts of the kingdom, partly for pleasure, and partly to avoid the infection of the then raging plague. As he subscribes it 'from my lodging by Cheapside, 8 of November, 1593,' we may conclude that by that date the virulence of the disorder had considerably abated. He complains that he every where found the country fertile and beautiful, but the people utterly unworthy of it—a deplorable deficiency of good workes, and a lamentable decay of hospitals, almshouses, churches, schools, &c. His object in writing his book is therefore evident, and in a brief address 'to the courteous Reader' he apologises for the unadorned plainness of his style:—'I have not desired to be curious, neither to affect filed phrases, culled or picked sentences, nor yet loftie, haughtie or farre fetched epithetes.'

"Considering the purpose for which the author travelled, we might reasonably expect some minute and interesting details of what he saw in the country nearly three centuries ago; but we have little beyond general invective and pious lamentation over the prevailing vices, until we arrive at p. 184, where remarks are made upon the facility with which a license was obtained for a worthless or immoral book, while permission to publish a religious or meritorious work was long delayed. As this is a point which he had touched upon in his 'Anatomy of Abuses [p. 185, below]' we transcribe only a few sentences: he says—

'I cannot a litle mervayle that our grave and reverend Bishops, and other inferiour magistrates and officers, to whom the oversight and charge of such things are committed, will either license (which I trust they do not, for I wyll hope better of them) or in anie sorte tollerate such railing libels and slanderous pamphlets as have beene of late published in print, one man against another, to the great dishonour of God, corruption of good manners, breach of charitie, and in a worde to the just offence and scandall of all good Christians. And truely, to speake my conscience freely, I thinke there cannot a greater mischiefe be suffered in a common wealth, than for one man to write against another, and to publish it in print to the viewe of the world.'

"In this passage we can scarcely fail to observe an allusion to the very personal controversy about this date so vigorously carried on, through the medium of the press, between Nash and Harvey. The Martin-marprelate feud was also then at its height, and Stubbes, as a zealous Puritan, sincerely sympathised with his pen-persecuted brethren.² He proceeds:—

¹ 25 March, 1593.

² And had a direct personal feeling about it besides: see Nashe's attacks on him, p. 37*—41* above. But it is surely to Stubbes's credit that (so far as we know) he didn't, like Gabriel Harvey, answer Nashe's personal railing by personal railing, as he could easily have done, but protested against the practice. It's a height of virtue which I have not yet reached.

§ 6. *Stubbes's Motive*, 1593. § 7. *His Character*. 69*

'I wis, the noble science of printing was not given us to that end, being indeede one of the chieffest blessings that God hath given to the sons of men heere uppon earth. For is not this the next¹ way to broach rancor, hatred, malice, emulation, envie and the like amongst men? Nay, is not this the next¹ way to make bloudshed and murder, to rayse up mutenies, insurrections, commotions and rebellions in a Christian commonwealth? and therefore I would wish both the bookes and the authors of them to be utterly suppressed for ever, the one by fire, and the other by the halter or gallows, if nothing else will serve. But what should I say? I cannot but lament the corruption of our time, for (alas) now adayes it is growen to be a hard matter to get a good booke licensed without staying, peradventure, a quarter of a yeare for it; yea, sometimes two or three yeares before he can have it allowed, and in the end happily rejected too; so that that which many a good man hath studyed sore for, and traveyled long in, perchance all the dayes of his life, shall be buried in silence, and smothered up in forgetfulness, and never see the light; whilst in the meane tyme other bookes, full of all filthines, scurrilitie, baudry, dissolutenes, cosonage, conycatching and the lyke (which all call for vengeance from heaven) are either quickly licensed, or at least easily tollerate, without all denyall or contradiction whatsoever.'

"At all events Stubbes had not much reason to complain of delay: he collected his materials in the summer of 1593, wrote his book on his return in November, and published it, duly registered [Oct. 14] and licensed, before the end of the year.

"He is especially vehement on the neglected and ruinous state of the churches in the country and does not spare the Roman Catholics and Jesuits for their many attempts on the Queen's life, enumerating Parry (about whom he had himself written), Somerville, Arden, Throckmorton and Babington as among the principal offenders."²

§ 7. *Stubbes's Character*. On Sunday, July 17, 1575, and the Tuesday after, the Coventry folk, led by the great Captain Cox, playd before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth, their Hock-Tuesday Play, of how the English men and women drove out the Danes, A.D. 1012. They had been wont to act the play yearly in their city, but it had been "of late laid dooun, they knu no cauz why, unless it wear by the zeal of certain theyr Preacherz: *men very commendabl for their behaiour and learning, & sweet in their sermons, but sumwhat too sour in preaching away their pastime.*"³ Now something of this kind may, I think, fairly be said of Stubbes. Tho his

¹ *next* is the contraction of 'nighest,' as *next* of 'highest.'

² On p. 402, Mr. Collier, besides trying to take a dozen or more years off Stubbes's life by making him die of the plague in 1593, thinks "It is rather singular that in the [*Motive to Good Workes*, 1593] Stubbs says nothing of the death of his wife which had occurred on the 14th December preceding," or 1592. But 1590 was the year of Katherine Stubbes's death: see p. 195 below.

³ *Captain Cox* or Laneham's Letter, p. 27 of my edition for the Ballad Society. Who'll give us £35, to issue it for the New Shakspeare Society?

Anatomie can't be call'd a 'sweet' book, yet his purpose in writing it was a righteous one :—

"Wherefore I will assay to doe them good (if I can) in discouering their abuses, and laying open their inormities, that they, seeing the greuousnes of their maladies, and daunger of their diseases, may in time seeke to the true Phisition and expert Chirurgion of their soules, Christ Iesus, of whome onelie commeth all health and grace, and so eternally be saued." p. 26 below.

And tho' he cut out in after editions, the moderate and sensible *Preface to the Reader*,¹ p. x—xiii below, which he wrote to his first edition, yet there stands his declaration of his meaning in the book, that it was the abuse, not the use, of amusements that he condemn'd : "take away the abuses, the thinges in themselues are not euill ; being vsed as instruments to Godlynes, not made as spurs vnto vice. There is nothing so good but it may be abused ; yet, because of the abuses, I am not so strict that I wold have the things themselues remooued, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because it is abused, vtterly to be taken away." p. xii ; see too p. x.

And granting that Stubbes went beyond this limit in the body of his book, yet one knows that the evils he was denouncing were real sores in the common weal, and one sees how easily he, believing that the Day of Doom was close at hand (p. 187), would be led to speak, maybe too sharply, of the ridiculous petty vanities and fooleries that were going on daily and hourly around him. There *was* something better for English men and women to do in Shakspere's days than dress themselves like 'a dog in a doublet,' and paint themselves like harlots ; and if Stubbes while calling on

¹ I attach no value whatever to Mr. Collier's suggestion that Stubbes withdrew his Preface on account of the issue of 'a public order . . . forbidding the profanation of Sunday by the representation of plays and interludes.' Why should this make him withdraw his moderate Preface, and yet make him maintain his fierce attack on Sunday plays in the after part of his book ? And I suppose that the following paragraph is due to that imagination of Mr. Collier's which gave us his versions of the Alleyn letters (*Audelay and Harman*, E. E. T. S. xxv), Blackfriars petitions, &c : "We can readily believe that, *considering the offence it had given at Court and elsewhere*, he [Stubbes] was glad also to omit what he had said, in the first instance, on the subject of indecency and extravagance in dress." *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 394. The denouncings are made fiercer, if anything, in the 2nd edition ; the Preface is withdrawn only because it weakend the attack in the text.

§ 8. *Queen Elizabeth's Procession in 1600.* 71*

them to do this better thing, also calld them idiots, and all the hard names he could lay his tongue to, let us hold that he was right in his main purpose, if he erred somewhat in his way of carrying it out.

And if we read his meditations and prayers, and give him credit—as we surely may—for trying to do and be, from dawn till sleep came upon him, what he askt others to pray to do and be, in their daily life, I do not think we shall deny to Philip Stubbes a pure spirit, an earnest soul, a longing to be one with God, and fit himself and the world around him for the habitation of the Holy One, in whom he with his whole heart believd.

§. 8 *Miscellaneous.* a. *The illustrations.* As Stubbes writes so much about the dress of his period, I thought our members—the foreign and colonial ones especially—would like to have some authentic reproductions of trustworthy specimens of that dress: hence our héliogravure (by M. Dujardin) of Virtue's large engraving of Queen Elizabeth's Herbert Procession in 1600, from Lord Ilchester's picture, and the other cuts from Planché's late work on Costume. For the Ballad cuts that follow the above, I cannot claim equal authority; but as they could be had for the price of the casts of them, they were added, and Mr Ebsworth has been so kind as to write an interesting *Memorandum* on them.

The cause of Elizabeth's Procession was her going to the marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell. A short notice of the event is given, says Mr. G. Scharf (*Archæol. Journal*, xxiii, 231), in the *Sidney Papers*, ii, 203:—

“Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, June 23, 1600:—

“This day se'night her Majesty was at Blackfriars to grace the marriage of Lord Harbert and his wife. The bride met the Queen at the water-side, where my Lord Cobham had provided a lectica,¹ made like a litter, whereon she was carried to my Lady Russell's by six knights. Her Majesty dined there, and at night went through Dr. Puddins (Sir Wm. Paddy's house) who gave the Queen a fanne to my Lord Cobham's, where she supped . . . Her Majesty upon Tuesday came backe againe to the court.”

p. 137: “It may be observed, with reference to the costume of the Queen, that the wide-spreading, radiating ruff, open in front so as to show the neck, appears to be a peculiarity of the Queens latest

¹ *Litèra*, a horselytter, *Lectica*. 1591. R. Percuale. Spanish Dict.

years. The open neck was more particularly reserved for unmarried ladies. It does not appear either in pictures or on coins of this reign bearing dates earlier than 1601.¹ Most of the portraits of the Queen, on the coinage especially, exhibit her wearing a small ruff, carried completely round and supported by a high stiff band or collar belonging to the dress, such as was worn during the reign of her predecessor. In this picture, however, a second minor ruff also appears, passing immediately under the chin, and corresponds exactly with a small frill in Lord Salisbury's curious portrait, exhibiting the robe embroidered with eyes and ears. No. 267 of the Kensington Portrait Exhibition."

"All the noblemen's cloaks are black satin, and of the short Spanish cut. All legs are remarkably thin. The shoes are uniformly white, with ties of the same colour on the instep. All the courtiers, with the exception of the Earl of Cumberland, wear full-spreading lace-ruffs." *Scharf*, p. 143. The bride is in white.

As to the house in the background, the antiquary whose loss we all so lament, Mr. J. G. Nichols, said (*Arch. Journal*, xxiii, 302) that he

"... did not attribute much reality to the landscape in the background, except that it *may* give a general idea of the detached buildings then existing in the fields and gardens on the Surrey side of the river. He regarded the grand house immediately behind the figures as the mansion of Lord Cobham, in which the Queen was entertained, notwithstanding that the procession is represented as already passing it by. This house, after the attainder of Lord Cobham in 1603, passed to Lord Hunsdon, and then acquired the name of Hunsdon House,—whence the confusion with the Queen's visit to Hunsdon House in Hertfordshire. . . . Inquiry being made where the house stood, Mr. Nichols replied that he believed very near the site of the famous Blackfriars Theatre (shown in the map by Playhouse Yard), in which Shakspeare was a partner: subsequently occupied by the Kings Printing-office, and now by that of the *Times* newspaper in Printing-house Square."

b. The Extracts from Stubbes's other works are added to enable the reader to judge Stubbes's character better than the *Anatomie* alone allows them to do, and for the picture of his girl wife,—a bride at between 14 and 15, dead between 18 and 19,—and their married life. Her doctrinal belief I have left out.

The Extracts from Bp. Babington are given, to show how a grave Churchman in high place in Elizabeth's reign spoke of the social

¹ But in 1598, when Hentzner saw Elizabeth at Greenwich, "Her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it, till they marry." *Harrison*, I. lxxvi.

§ 8. *Naogeorgus's Popular Superstitions. This Book.* 73*

ills of which Stubbes complains, so that the reader may judge, from them and the other extracts in the Notes, how little or how much Stubbes exaggerates. That I could have three- or four-folded the testimony borne by these extracts, and those in the Notes, every student of the literature of the time knows.

c. The Fourth Book of Kirchmaier's (or Naogeorgus's) *Regnum Papismi*, as englished by Barnabe Googe in 1570, is reprinted here, because it deals with many of the superstitious customs against which Stubbes writes, and also because I believe many of our members must have often desired with me, to see the whole of the Book in which the passages occur that have so often informed and interested them in *Brand* (*Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, ed. Hazlitt). This fourth Book of Kirchmaier's easily lifts out of *The Popish Kingdome*, the rest of which, tho' it abuses the Papists, isn't lighted by nearly so much of the church- and folk-lore that make the fourth Book of such worth to us now.

d. *The present Edition* of the *Anatomie* (Part I) is the second reprint of Stubbes's first edition of May 1, 1583, Mr. J. Payne Collier's reprint in 1869 (with a few mistakes) being the first. As above noted, p. 61, note 2, the late Mr. W. D. Turnbull¹ re-edited in 1836, Stubbes's fourth edition of 1585, wrongly called the third. That the worth of the book deserved more reprints, is clear; but as Harrison's *Description of England* was never reprinted separately,² till our Society did part of it in 1877-8, we cannot wonder at the fewness of the *Anatomie's* reprints.

Stubbes having so added to and changed this first edition, I thought it would be more interesting to print the text in its first state, and show all the changes in it, rather than to reprint the last edition of 1595, and note the earlier states of that. The only difficulty was, how to deal with the chapter on Swearing, and the other long additions of the second edition: I decided to put them in the text, between brackets, and with notes saying that they were insertions. Of no copy of the edition of 1584 (then considered two

¹ See Canon Simmons's note on him in *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, Early English Text Society, 1879, p. lxi.

² Sir Hy. Ellis of course included it in his reprint of *Holinshed*.

editions, p. 60* above, note 3) could I hear, and so I couldn't get it collated. For the copying and collations of the text I have to thank our helpers, Mr. George Parker and Miss Smith; for a great part of the Index, Mr. Sidney J. Hertridge and Mr. H. K. Deighton; for some aid in the Notes, Mr. W. G. Stone; for their details of Stubbes's family, Col. Chester and Mr. Henry Stubbes; for leave to have the englisht *Naoegeorgus* out of the Cambridge University Library, Mr. Bradshaw, our great Chaucerian; for his Memorandum on the wood-cuts, Mr. Ebsworth—king, with Mr. Chappell, over Ballad-land;—for tidings of editions, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt; and for information about their paintings of Q. Elizabeth's Procession, Lord Ilchester and Mr. Digby.

For any further tidings about Stubbes or his lost books, I shall be greatly obliged, for use in my edition of *The Anatomie*, Part II.

3 *St. George's Sq., N.W., July 20, 1879.*

p. 52*. Mr. Henry Stubbes says: "I have had the Eltham Registers examined, and they contain a great number of Stubbs entries of the branch from which I am descended, from 1584 to 1650, and among them some Philips, but none whom I can identify as the Author."

p. 66*. *Life of Wife*.—Besides the witness that its many editions afford to the wide-spreadness of Stubbes's 'Life of his Wife,' we have other testimony in plays, &c., as for instance, in William Cartwright's *The Ordinary*, probably written in 1634, printed in 1651, Vicar Catchmeyer says—

"I shall live to see thee
Stand in a playhouse door with thy long box,
Thy half-crown library, and cry small books :
'Buy a good godly sermon, gentlemen,'—
'A judgment shown upon a host of drunkards' :
'A pill to purge out popery' :
'The life and death of Katherine Stubbs,'"

in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xii. 272. And, as the note there says, 'Richard Brome, in his play of *The Antipodes*, act iii, sc. 2. [acted 1638, printed 1640] mentions this book in the following manner:—

"A booke of the godly life and death
Of Mistress Katherine Stubbs, which I have turn'd
Into sweet meetre, for the vertuous youth,
To woo an ancient lady widow with."

'Again, Bishop Corbet, in his *Iler Boreale*, [? 1647] says—

"—And in some barn have cited many an author,
Kate Stubbs, Anne Ascue, or the Ladies daughter."

APPENDIX TO FOREWORDS.

EXTRACTS FROM BP. BABINGTON ON THE TEN
COMMANDMENTS, A.D. 1588.

<i>Dress</i> , p. 75*	<i>Idleness in Youth</i> , p. 86*
<i>Charms, Gaming, and Cursing</i> , p. 78*	<i>Idle Festing and Scoffing</i> , p. 87*
<i>Spending of Sunday</i> , p. 78*	<i>Amusements allowable, but not Gaming for Money</i> , p. 88*
<i>Parents' Neglect of Children</i> , p. 82*	<i>Dicing: its evils (Chaucer on)</i> , p. 89*
<i>And setting them a bad Example</i> , p. 82*	<i>Oppressing the Weak. Taking Bribes</i> , p. 91*
<i>Children's Neglect of Parents</i> , p. 82*	<i>Covetousness. Lawyers. Unfit Parsons</i> , p. 92*
<i>Stage-Plays and Players</i> , p. 83*	<i>Prattle-prattle: evils of it</i> , p. 93*
<i>Dancing: its Evils</i> , p. 83*	
<i>Wanton Looks and Books</i> , p. 84*	
<i>Liveries and Retainers</i> , p. 86*	

Bp. Babington on Dress.

p. 11. "Apparell againe is another of the raging desires of *Apparell*. many. Euen a worlde it is to see howe all, as dead, doe tast no sinne in it, but spend, and spare not, what possible may be gotten to bestowe on it; yet what beginning had it? Was it not then inuented, when man had sinned, grieuously offended his God, and cast himselfe away both bodie and soule? Seeing then in our integritie it was not vsed, but after sinne, bestowed on man to hide his shame withall, what may it euer beate into vs, but our rebellion against the Lorde, our sinne and cursed disobedience? Howe should the sight of it and vse of it humble vs, and not puffe vs vp,¹ seeing it plainly telleth vs, we are not as we were

¹ *Dress, advantages of.*—"Fastidious Brisk. Why, assure you, signior, rich apparel has strange virtues: it makes him that hath it without means, esteemed for an excellent wit: he that enjoys it with means, puts the world in remembrance of his means: it helps the deformities of nature, and gives lustre to her beauties; makes continual holiday where it shines; sets the wits of ladies at work, that otherwise would be idle; furnisheth your two-shilling ordinary; takes possession of your stage at your new play; and enricheth your oars, as scorning to go with your scull." 1598-1601. B. Jonson. *Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii. Works, i. 94. See too

"*Macilente*. I was admiring mine own outside here,
To think what privilege and palm it bears
Here in the court! Be a man ne'er so vile,
In wit, in judgment, manners, or what else;
If he can purchase but a silken cover,
He shall not only pass, but pass regarded:
Whereas, let him be poor and meanly clad,

when no apparell was worne, and yet no shame thereby? Were it not monstrous pride, if a redeemed prisoner conditionally, that he should euer weare an halter, should waxe prowde of his halter? Mans apparell is the badge of a sinner, yea of a condemned and cursed sinner, & therefore the pride of it and delight in it, no doubt very monstrous before the Lorde, and hatefull. If euery silken sute and gorgeous gowne in Englande shrowded vnder it a sauéd soule, and a sanctified bodie in the sight of God, O, happie then England of all the nations vnder heauen. But if vnder such garded garments, may, and doeth lodge a body and soule abhorred of the Lorde, that in the day of wrath shall finde no fauour: then is it not apparell, that ought to be sought after, but in the day of iudgement how we may be sauéd."

p. 308. "As for filthines, foolish talking, iesting, and such like, they are thinges vncomelie for a Christian. Againe, vnchast bookes and wanton writings, who knoweth not howe they tickle to vncleannes? and therefore both they and the reading of them forbidden in this lawe. Sixtly, too much showe in apparel, painting, tricking and trimming of our selues aboue conueniencie: it is a daungerous allurer of lust, and therefore forbidden.

Que. I could wish yet a litle larger speach of apparell, because I see it is one of the wormes that wasteth at this day the common wealth, that decaieth hous-keeping, that maketh strait the hande of the master to his seruant, and the Lord to his tenant,¹ and a thing, to

Though ne'er so richly parted *, you shall have
 A fellow that knows nothing but his beef,
 Or how to rince his clammy guts in beer,
 Will take him by the shoulders or the throat,
 And kick him down the stairs. Such is the state
 Of virtue in bad clothes!" *ib.* p. 108, col. i.

¹ Thomas Lupton gives us the grasping landlord's remorse in hell, in—"A Dreame of the Devil and Dives, most terrible and fearefull to the servaunts of Satan, but right comfortable and acceptable to the chyldren of God &c.—Imprinted at London by John Chaillewood for Henrie Car." (B. L. 8vo. 60 leaves, 1584. A copy at Lambeth.)

"Then, said Dives, wo woorth these rackte rentes, and unreasonable fines that shall purchase such a kingdome! I would to God I might chaunge my estate of that kingdome with the most vilest and basest cottage on the earth. When they came hyther, they will crie out and say, Wo woorth the time that ever we rackt our tenants, or tooke such fines to impoverishe them! wo woorth the tyme that ever wee were so greedie of money, and wo woorth the tyme that ever we consumed the same in gluttonous and excessive fare, in proude and sumptuous apparell, in playing of Dice, Cardes, or other games, and other worldly vanities! Wo woorth the tyme that we made our Sonnes ritch by making Tenaunts poore! But cursed be the time that we have made our Sonnes Lordes and Gentlemen on the earth, with the everlasting damnation of our owne bodies and soules in Hell! That proverbe may be truelie verified in us, which is *Happie is that childe whose Father goeth to the Devill*. This will be theyr song when they come hither, but then they shall be without remedy, as I am." Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 498.

* Endowd with parts or talents, learned, &c.

conclude, that the deere children of God cannot ouercome themselves in." ¹

¹ *Apparel*: (a) *Women imitating men's dress*: (b) *Men's absurd Dress*. Andrew Boorde's *Cut of the naked Englishman*, p. 249, below.

"For as man is Gods ape, struing to make artificiall flowers, birdes, &c. like to the natural: So for the same reason are women, Mens *Shee Apes*, for they will not bee behind them the bredth of a Taylors yard (which is nothing to speake of) in anie new-fangled vpstart fashion. If men get vp French standing collers, women will haue the French standing collar too: if Dublets with little thick skirts, (so short that none are able to sit vpon them), womens foreparts are thick skirted too: by surfetting vpon which kinde of phantasticall *Apishnesse*, in a short time they fall into the disease of pride: Pride is infectious, and breedes prodigalitie: Prodigalitie, after it has runne a little, closes vp and festers, and then turnes to *Beggerie*. Wittie was that Painter therefore, that when hee had limned, one of euery Nation in their proper attyres, and beeing at his wittes endes howe to drawe an *Englishman*, At the last (to giue him a quippe for his follie in apparell) drewe him starke naked, with Sheeres in his hand, and cloth on his arme, because none could cut out his fashions but himselfe (see p. 249, below).

"For an English-mans suite is like a traitors bodie that hath beene hanged, drawne, and quartered, and is set vp in seuerall places: his Codpeece is in *Denmarke*, the collar of his Duble[t], and the belly in *France*: the wing and narrowe sleeue in *Italy*; the short waste hangs ouer a *Dutch* Butchers stall in *Vtrich*: his huge floppes [slops] speakes *Spanish*: *Polonia* giues him the Boates: the blocke for his heade alters faster than the Feltmaker can fitte him, and thereupon we are called in scorne *Blockheades*. And thus we that mocke euerie Nation, for keeping one fashion, yet steale patches from euerie one of them, to peece out our pride, are now laughing-stocks to them, because their cut so scuruiely becomes vs." 1606. T. Decker. *Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London* (Arber, 1879), p. 36—7.

Women. Tight waists. — "I haue seene some swallow gravell, ashes, coales, dust, tallow, candles, and for the nonce, labour and toyle themselves to spoile their stomacke, only to get a pale-bleake colour. To become slender in wast, and to have a straight spagnolized body, what pinching, what girding, what cingling, will they not indure; Yea sometimes with yron-plates, with whale-bones and other such trash, that their very skin, and quicke flesh is eaten in and consumed to the bones: Whereby they sometimes worke their owne death." 1603. J. Florio. *Montaigne's Essayes* (ed. 1632), p. 133. [in French, 1580.]

The following sketch of a fop with a toothpick in his mouth and a flower in his ear (compare the picture in the Natl. Portrait Gallery) is from—"Laugh and lie downe: or *The worldes Folly*." (Printed at London for Jeffrey Chorlton, and are to be sold at his shop, at the great North dore of saint Pauls.) 1605. 4to. B. L.

"The next was a nimble witted and glib-toung'd fellow, who, having in his youth spent his wits in the Arte of love, was now become the jest of wit; for his looks weere so demure, his words so in print, his graces so in order, and his conceits so in tune, that he was—yea, iwis, so was he, and that he was such a gentleman for a Jester, that the Lady Folly could never be better fitted for her entertainment of all straungers. The picktooth in the mouth, the flower in the

Charms, Gaming, and Cursing.

p. 158-9. "For sorcerie and witchcraft, charming and coniuring, am I able to say I haue as earnestlie abhorred them as I ought, and euerie way so absteyned from them as I shoulde? Nay hath not rather ease beene sought in paine of mee by these meanes, or at least wished if I coulde haue gotten them? . . . Let it be wel weied of anie Cristian heart that feareth God indeede, and carefullie seeketh the credite of his name, howe often vnreuerentlie in sporting and playing, in shooting & bowling, in dising & carding, we vse his name, howe the phrase of scripture wil rowle out of our mouthes in iesting and light conferences, howe fearefully we vse him in cursing & banning our bretheren, and surely he shall see no smal guilt touching this commaundement in euerie one of vs."

Charming.

Gaming.

Scripture phrase.

Banning.

Here is Babington's contrast of the way in which the Papists punisht breaches of God's laws—swearing, &c.—and of their own :—

p. 119. "Who so breaketh these, an Heretike hee is, a runnaway from the Church: cite him and summon him, excommunicate him and imprison him, burne him and hang him, yea, away with such a one, for he is not worthie to liue upon the earth. But if he blasphemeth the name of the Lord by horrible swearing, if he offende most grieuously in pride, in wrath, in gluttonie, and couetousnesse, if he be a drunken alestake, a ticktack tauerner, keepe a whore or two in his owne house, and moe abroade at bord with other men, with a number such like greeuous offences, what doe they? Either he is not punished at all, & most commonly so, or if he be, it is a little penance of their owne inuventing, by belly or purse, or to say a certaine of prayers, to visit such an image in pilgrimage, &c."

Sabbath-breaking: the Spending of Sunday.

p. 189-191. "If the sanctification of this day consist greatly in labouring to knowe the Lorde by the preaching of his worde, howe shall they safely passe the curse of God for the breache hereof, who with benumbed soules, parched, padded, senselesse, and euerie way most hardened hearts, either lie and sleepe on the one side idle, or tossing the alepot with their neighbours, suffer this day to passe without any instruction, and like dumbe dogges hold their peace, no way discharging the dutie of a true minister, and one that tendereth the glory of God, his owne, & his peoples soules? . . . Againe, if to sanctifie the Sabaoth, be to consecrate it to holy vses, such as haue beene named, is it possible for vs to escape the reuenging hande of the eternall God, if he, content in mercie with one day in the 7. we denie him that also, and dedicate it

eare, the brush upon the beard, the kisse of the hand, the stoupe of the head, the leere of the eye, and what not that was unneedefull, but he had so perfecte at his fingers endes, that every she was 'my faire Ladye,' and scarce a Knight but was 'Noble Sir': the tobacco pipe was at hand, when Trinidado was not forgotten, and then a tale of a roasted horse to make an asse laugh for lacke of witte: why, all thinges so well agreede together, that at this square table of people, or table of square people, this man (made by rule) could not be spared for a great somme." Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. p. 452-3.

to drunkennes, to feasting and surfetting, &c. Nowe in y^e name of the God of heauen, and of Iesus Christ his son, who shall come to iudge the quick & the dead at the latter day, I require it of al that euer shall reade these words, that, as they wil answere me before the face of God & all his Aungels at the sounde of the last trump, they better wey [*Spending whether carding, dising, & tabling, bowling, & cocking, stage Sunday*] plaies and summer games, whether gadding to this ale or *that*,¹ to this bearebaiting² & that bulbaiting, with a number such, be exercises commanded of God for the sabaoth day or no. O hart al frozen & void of

¹ See *Harrison*, Part I, p. 32: he speaks of Ales, &c., as lessend in number.

² *The sweet and comfortable recreation of Beare-bayting.*

In Haslewood's account "of the London Theatres; No. IX, The Bear Garden," in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1816, vol. 86, Part I, p. 205,* he says that "The Author of a tract in manuscript in the Museum,† written about this period [1606], having censured the players for the indirect attacks made by them upon the Nobility, under borrowed names of foreign Dukes and feigned persons, defends this diversion as needful for the common people, and that it should be exhibited upon festivals. 'I cannot (he says) see howe that sweet and comfortable recreation of beare-bayting (beinge, to our rude and inferiour vulgar, that which Circensis Venatio was among the Romans) maye welbe forborne, seeinge like will to like, as it is in the black proverbe, and therefore conclude that our active spiritts and fine pregnant witts, with pleasant and ingenious playes would be intertayned, and the scumme of the people (evene vpon the festivall daies) to the Bancke-side drayned . . . To retorne, where exception is taken to bear-bayting on festivall daies, I saye, vppon those, hell is broake loose, and it is good pollicye to drawe all the devylls (if it be possible) into one place, to keepe them from being easely tempted (for *pares cum paribus facillime congregantur, pendè dixissem copulantur*, for one devill easely tempteth another,) and vnlawfull attemptinge ells where. *Bestiis indulgendum est infimæ plebi*; the poore slaves have bene helde in harde to labour att the working daies, and would be gladd to have a little recreation on the holye dayes, which our commiserant Lord ordayned in part (as I conceive) for the reste of them, and all brutes in generall, whome the insatiable covetousnes of man wold contynually, without intermission, be hurrying in traveile and laboure, and partly for solace and refection to the droylinge servant. Nowe because the rude multitude dothe not knowe well howe to vse libertye (and some they muste and will have), therefore, that they themselves may devise none madder, whereof mischief maye aryse to the weale publike of the poppular citytes, let them vse *the sweete pastime of beare-bayteinge*, and other suche publike exercises (thoughe on the festivall dayes), a God's name, that we may knowe what they doe, and wheare to fynd them if neede be. And [in] generall, all manner of pastimes are to be permitted att customable tymes to a peaceable people for there solace and comfort, as his Majestie in those moste judicious and admirable preceptes and direccions to the Prince‡ hathe verye choisely noated and prescribed."

* Mr. W. G. Stone gives me the reference.

† I can't identify the MS by the Class Catalogue, nor can the keeper of the MSS. tell me which it is. We've tried a few likely ones.

‡ *James I's Book of Sports.*

the feeling of the mercie of thy God, *that* hauing euery day in 6. euery houre in euery day, & euery minute in euery houre, so tasted of the sweet grace of thy God in Christ, as that without it thou hadst perished euery minute, yet canst not tel howe possibly to passe ouer one day to his praise, vnlesse one halfe of it be spent in carding & bowling. Awake, awake, in Iesus Christ admonished, awake! & seeing al the weeke long, y^e Lord of heauen doth defend & feede thee, comfort & blesse thee, & is contented but in one day especially to be regarded, vow *with* thy self in request of strength to keepe it, that to the Lord y^e one day shall be consecrated of thee, & obserued according to his will."

p. 199-205. "Haue we spent the Sabaoth in godly conference & meditation, powring out thanks from a feeling soule for y^e Lords goodnes euer to vs, & namely the weeke passed? Haue we visited or thought vpon the sick, sore, diseased, imprisoned, banished, or any way suffering for a good cause, & to our power comforted them? Haue we studied how either to procure or continue or increase amongst our selues, or our neighbours, the meanes of saluation, as y^e preaching of the word, & such like? O beloued, we haue not, we haue not, we know it & must needs confesse it, if there be any trueth in vs. Too much haue we neglected all these; yea, euen diuerse of them, it is greatly to bee feared, haue litle or neuer at all troubled our heads: but for their contraries, in most ful measure we haue wallowed in them, and with greedinesse euer accomplished *them*. Where is the minister whose negligence hath not made his people to pollute the Sabaoth? Where is the people whose consciences awaked may not iustly condemne them for ungodly gadding [*Churchales, on this day to Churchales, to weddings, to drinkings, to ban- stage plays, kets, to fairs, & markets, to stage plaies, to bearebaytings, & bearbaitings.*] summer games,¹ and such like? Where is that master that hath had a

¹ *Dancing and Minstrelsy on Sundays*.—See Mr. Collier's account, in *Bibl. Cat.* i. 489-492, of Thomas Lovell's '*Dialogue between Custom and Veritie, concerning the use and abuse of Dauncing and Minstrelsie*, 1581, a book written to prevent the desecration of the Sabbath by' "heathenish dauncing and vain minstrelsie." Custom defends these practises; Verity condemns them, especially 'the horrible immorality of kissing at the end of a dance, as we know was then usual (*Henry VIII*, Act I, sc. 4).'

While men with maides in wanton daunce unseemly oft doo turn, Their harts blinde Cupid oft doth cause with Venus games to burn . . .	If that his mate doo seem to like the game that he would have, He trips her toe, and clicks her cheek, to show what he doth crave.
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For Thomas Deloney's advice in 1607 how to woo and win a wench, see Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 215.

Arthur Golding, the great englisher of classical books in Shakspeare's day, also complains of the Sabbath-breaking that went on. In his little book on the earthquake* probably alluded to by Shakspeare, through the Nurse's mouth, in *Romeo and Juliet*, he says:—

* "A discourse upon the Earthquake that hapned through this Realme of Englande, and other places of Christendom, the sixt of Aprill. 1580. betweene the houres of five and six in the Evening. Written by Arthur Golding, Gentleman.—At London, Imprinted by Henry Binneman, dwelling in Thamis streete nere Baynerds castle," small 8vo. B. L.

conscience to restraîne his seruants from this impietie, or the seruant againe that hath either bridleed himselfe for y^e Lords cause, or else wel accepted his master or mistres restraint being made vnto him, and which hath not rather burst out into vngodly & disobedient speeches, murmuring *that* because he hath wrought all the weeke, therfore he should haue libertie to do what he list on y^e Sabaoth, not considering *that* this commandement bindeth not only y^e master himselfe to honor God on this day, but to see to his family so much as he can, *that* they also do it. Nay I would to God y^e masters in many places were not ringleaders to their owne & al other mens people, to prophane this Sabaoth of the Lord, and that euen such maisters as in respect of their calling, office and credite in the countrey, should farre otherwise doe. When doeth a gentleman (to name no higher estates) appoint a shooting, a bowling, a cocking, or a drunken swearing ale, for the helpe as they say [*Cocking*] of some poore one, but vpon the Sabaoth? And if he be at y^e Church in the forenoone, for the after noone it is no matter, he hath beene verie liberall to God in giuing him so much. What day in the week vsually doeth he giue so euill an example of vnmeasurable soting in bed, as on the Sabaoth? But O filthie sauour that ariseth out of this lothsome channell, thus raked vp into the nostrils of the Lorde! I spare to speake, I shame to see, I rew to knowe, what I fully knowe against our soules in this respect. . . . What should I say of the second end of the institution of the Sabaoth, namely for the rest of seruant & cattell? But euen in an word, woe to the man whom God shall iudge according to his guiltinesse herein. For it is too vsual with al estates to be a meanes to robbe their seruantes of the blessing due to the keepers of this law, and to pull vpon them the plague for the contrarie, by making them ride and run, post and away, vpon euerie occasion that commeth in their heads, when in truth, if they would but euen look into it, the matter may be done wel without such hast. . . . Wherein or howe crucifie we the fleshe more on this day than any other, bridle the frowarde desires of the heart, restryne our owne nature, and doe the will of God more on this day than any other? Alas, our owne consciences crie vnto us, we doe nothing lesse: wee drinke, wee eate, wee surfet, wee sweare, we play, [*Sunday*] we daunce, we whore, we walke and talke idly, vainely, [*amusements.*] vncleanely and vngodlily: these are our workes on y^e Sabaoth more commonly than any day in the weeke else; and if this bee to resemble a spirituall rest, then in deede wee doe it, not otherwise. . . . A thousand times & a thousand he might with great right haue destroyed vs either amongst our pottes, or in our daunces, or idle in our beds, asking vs if that were to hallow his Sabaoth, or to honour his name to swill [*Drinking*] and to bibble, to leape, to walowe and tumble in bed, till it on Sundays.] bee noone, with such like."

"The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the hearing of Gods word to the reformation of our lyues, for the administration and receyving of the Sacramentes to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behovefull for bodye or soule at Gods hands by Prayer, for the mynding of his benefites, and to yelde praise and thanks unto him for the same, and, finally, for the speciaall occupying of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipping, gaming, playing and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessarie consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed."—Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 315—16.

Parents to blame for bringing up children badly.

p. 221-2. "For too much it is of parents neglected, & yet are they grieved, if of their children they be not reuerenced: and howsoever many there bee, that in these daies are carefull ynough to procure vnto their children knowledge of Artes, of Countries, and of any thing that in worldely sort may make them mightie, famous, and spoken of: yet is the grounde of all verie fearefully neglected, namely, to setle in them the true feare of the God of Israell, deliuered and taught in his worde. Yea, it is euen accounted by father and child not so needefull or beseeming for a gentleman, to the great exasperating of the Lordes wrath against them and their seede. Humilitie also and shamefastnes are taken from youth in these daies, euen by their parents and their teachers; and where it hath euer beene held, that blushing in measure, modestie, and silence haue been commendable tokens in young yeeres, nowe is it a shame to be ashamed at any time, blushing is want of countenance and bringing vp, silence is ignoraunce, modestie is too much maidenlinesse; and in short, nowe vertue is vice, and vice very comely and gallant behaiour. So times are changed to and fro, and chaunging times haue chaunged vs too. But of this thus farre."

Children's want of Reuerence to Parents. Parents' setting bad Examples to their Children.

p. 247-251. "What shoulde I name, what shoulde I feare to name, so will it wring vs all, the mocking of our Parentes? Where is that childe that hath carefully couered to his power, and euer borne withall in him selfe, the wantes or infirmities whatsoever of his Parentes? No, no, the Lord hath not onelie something against vs in this behalfe, but euen great and greuous hath beene our fault, and still it remaineth in manie of vs. Wee laugh to see our Parentes shame, we smile at their wants, wee publishe their infirmities, we disdaine their ignoraunce, wee loath their age, and in manie a thing to our owne confusion, if the Lorde giue not an amending repentance, we bewray a robbed hart of *that* true reuerence which ought to bee in children to their parentes. Alas if God iudge vs for our obedience, where are we? what witles wil erecteth a kingdome in vs? Howe cleaue wee to our selues in all matters, and thinke our owne direction best? Howe despise wee the counsell of our friendes, and cast behinde vs their experience? Euerie sonne and euerie daughter would rule their marriage wholie themselves. And euen in euerie action, alas, what disobedience sheweth it selfe in vs vnto our parentes. . . . Are we parents? . . . What life haue wee ledde before our children too breede and continue these duties in them? Hath it beene holy, graue, and modest, and so remayneth, as neere as we can, seeking to hide from the eyes of their witlesse heades, such wantes as we knowe our selues subiect vnto? No no, but carelesly and loosely, euen in euery place, parentes bewray neglect of religion: they will goe to the Churches or good exercises when they list, and that verie rarely; they shewe no regarde of the dutie of Christians, they carie no grauitie in their doinges, no modestie often in their behaiour, but liue most dissolutely and often incontinently; they sweare fearefully without regarde, speake prophanely, not respecting the frailtie of the youth that heareth them; father and mother let vnkinde speeches passe from them one towards an other in the presence of their children. to the great impayring of their credite

with them, carelesse, God knowes, of their bringing vp, and too full of foolish pitie when they should correct them. . . . The very vnnaturall and vnkinde dealing of Parentes with their children in their youth, denying them reliefe, and comfortable helpe, maketh them often (though it should not) when they haue attayned to anie estate, to deale as vndutifully with their needie Parentes againe.'

Stage-Plays and Players. (See too p. 85*.)

p. 316-318. "These prophane & wanton stage playes or interludes: what an occasion they are of adulterie and vncleanenesse, by gesture, by speech, by conueyances, and deuices to attaine to so vngodly desires, the world knoweth with too much hurt by long experience. Vanities they are if we make the best of them; and the Prophet prayeth to haue his eies turned away by the Lorde from beholding such matter: Euill wordes corrupt good manners, and they haue abundance. There is in them euer manie dangerous sightes, and wee must abstaine from al appearance of euill. They corrupt the eies with alluring gestures: the eyes, the heart: and the heart, the bodie, till al be horrible before the Lord. *Histrionicis gestibus inquinantur omnia*: (sayth Chrysostome) These players behaiour polluteth all thinges. And of their playes he saith, they are the feasts of Sathan, the inuentions of the deuill, &c Councels haue decriede verie sharply against them, and polluted bodies by these filthie occasions haue on their death beddes confessed the daunger of them, lamented their owne foule and greuous faulles, and left their warning for euer with vs to beware of them. But I referre you to them, that vpon good knowledge of the abominations of them, haue written largely & wel against them. If they be dangerous on the day time, more daungerous on the night certainly: if on a stage, & in open courtes, much more in chambers and priuate houses. For there are manie rouses beside that where the play is, & peraduenture the strangenes of the place & lacke of light to guide them, causeth error in their way, more than good Christians should in their houses suffer."

Psal. 129.

1. Cor. 15.

2. Thes. 5. 22.

Dancing, the Evils of it. (See too, p. 85*.)

p. 318-321. "*Que.* What else?

"Ans. Dancing againe is in the number of vaine pastimes, [*Dancing.*] and the allurements to vncleanesse, as much experience hath too wel proued. The scriptures checke it, the fathers mislike it, the councels haue condemned it, & the prooofe of Gods iudgements vpon it biddeth vs beware. *Instrumenta luxuriæ tympana & tripudia*, sayth one, the inticers to lust are pipinges and dancings. *Laquei sunt & scandala, non solum saltatoribus, sed spectatoribus.* They are snares and offences not onely to the actors, but also to y^e beholders. Iob noteth it as an olde practise of the deuil to occupy men withall, & as an ancient exercise of the wicked, that they should daunce. Upon which wordes a godly writer sayeth: that from the tabret and the flute, which in *Catu. serm.* 80. themselves are not vnlawefull, they come to dauncing, *vpon Iob.* which is the chiefeest mischiefe of all. For there is alway (sayth he) such vnchast behaiour in dauncing, that of it selfe, and as they abuse it, (to speake the trueth in the worde) it is nothing else, but an inticement to whoredome. In the gospell the spirite of God noteth it in a wicked woman as an immodest thing, & of a damnable *Math.* 14.

effect in her wicked father Herode, to dance. And such as interpret the place are not afraide of these words, that it was *meretricia lasciuia* *Marlor. ex. turpis nota nubilis puellae saltatio*. That is, that for her *Calu.*

to dance, beeing a maide for yeares mariageable, was a note of whorish wantonnesse. For whosoever (saith he) hath a care of honest grautie, he euer condemneth dancing, and especially in a maide. Againe hee calleth it *spectaculum familiae Regiae probrosum*. A dishonorable sight in a kings house: with manie speaches moe of mislike.

Syrac. 9. 4. Sirac, a wise man, and of great experience, biddeth a man not to vse the companie of a woman, that is a singer and a dauncer, neither to heare her, least hee bee taken with her craftinesse. The *Ambros. de. godlie* Fathers, as I saide, mislike it. For *saltatio ad virgin. lib. 3 adulteras, non ad pudicas pertinet*, saith one of them: Dauncing belongeth to adulterous, and not to honest women. A sharpe

Chryst. Math. speeche: Yet was this graue father not afraide to speake *hom. 48. it. Saltatio barathrum diaboli*, sayth another: dauncing is

in Genes. the deuils hell. And we heare speeche of Jacobs mariage *Theophilact (saith he) in the scripture, but not a worde of anie dauncing in Mar. 6. that was at it. Mira collusio* sayth another, *saltat diabolus*

per puellam: It is a strange iugling, when wee thinke the maide doth daunce, and it is not so, but the deuill in her, or by her. The counsels haue condemned it, as others haue at large shewed. And verie Tullie could say, an honest man would not dance in an open place for a great patrimonie. For the iudgements of God vpon this vaine pastime, it is

An. 1505. strange which Pantaleon noteth out of Crantzius, that in Colbecke, a towne in Germanie, certaine light persons hopping, and dauncing in the Churchyearde of S. Magnus, beeing by the minister admonished to cease, and not ceasing, did for a long time (not able to stay) runne rounde about, and at last fell all downe dead.¹ But because others haue so largelie writ against this vanitie, I say no more of it at this time, but wish vs to consider that it is an inticement often to adulterie, and therefore in this commaundement forbidden. And as for anie dauncing that wee reade of in the scriptures to haue beene vsed of the godly, we must vnderstande, that their dancing was euer a sober modest motion, with some song vsually to Gods praise, and men by themselues, women by themselues. Which nothing will warrant our custome and guise in these daies.

Ques. Are there yet anie moe allurementes?

Ans. There are yet many mo. But I may not in this sort stande vpon them. Gluttonie & drunkennesse, with houses of open whoredome, youre booke nameth and prooves for them. *Idle-nesse* also is an other meanes, the vowe of chastitie, the deniall of seconde marriages, the going of men in womens apparell, and women in mans apparell, with a number such."

*Temptations to Unchastity: Wanton Looks and Books, Dress,
Plays, Dancing.*

p. 348-350. "The meanes and allurementes either to the actuall offence, or the thought condemned in this commaundement as we haue

¹ Robert Manning of Brunne cites this instance too, in his *Handlyng Synne*, A.D. 1303. See my edition, p. 279-286. He makes the sacrilegious Carollers or Dauncers go on hopping for ever after.

heard before, are many and diuerse. Sometimes the eyes disorderly wander, and beeing not checked by a Christian conscience that feareth to giue them libertie too long, they become the occasions both of thoughtes and actes, wicked and damnable. Sometimes behaiour vnchast and unseemely. Sometimes speeche wanton and light, stir the hart vp to conceiue that thing, and the wicked fleshe to perfourme it fully, which God and nature abhorre as filthie. The dalyng tattles of these courting dayes, the lasciuious songes made by loose mindes, and the wanton greetinges in euerie place nowe vsed, alas what thoughtes procure they, neuer liked of the Lorde, that I may say no worse? Bookes written by vnreformed heartes, and continually redde to the greefe of God, are they no occasions to fraile flesh, both in thought and deede to offende against this law: God knoweth, and experience teacheth such soules as tast of Christ, that verie deadly poyson vnder a false delight, doth this way creepe into vs. An vnchast looke makes an vnchast heart, and a rousing tongue beyonde the listes of godlinesse ere euer we well knowe what we doe. So subtile is the sinne that this way creepeth into our soules. Apparell is next, a most fearefull alluremēt to the breache of this commaundement both in thought and deede, if God once in mercie would open our eyes. So are these stage playes^[Stage Plays.] and most horrible spectacles, so is our dauncing, which at this day is vsed, so is drunkennesse, gluttonie and idlenesse, with a number such like, as can wnesse eche one in the world that will weigh them."

p. 351-354. "Light behaiour and alluring daliance is *Behaiour.* euerie where accompted comelie bouldnesse, and good *Speech.* bringing vp: discoursing speeche to a vaine ende, we count a quality commendable in vs, and the want of it we esteeme simplicitie, wheresoeuer we see it. And therefore by bookes to such endes set out, we endeouour to attaine vnto it, and hauing once polluted our speech (for I will neuer call it polishing) we are neuer better than when we haue company to bestowe our tales and greetinges vpon. Our ap-^{Apparell.}parell, in matter, to our power we make sumptuous, and in forme, to allure the eye asmuch as wee can. If this be true, in the name of Christ let vs better thinke of it than we haue done. These are alluremētes to sinfull lust, and this lawe of God forbiddeth not onely both act and thought, but euen euerie alluremēt to either of them. What should I speake of stage plaies and dauncing? Can we say in trueth before the maiestie of God that we carefullie abstaine from these thinges, because they tickle vs vp either more or lesse to the breach of this commaundement? Alas we cannot a number of vs. But we runne to the one^{Plays.} continually to our cost, when we will not be drawn to better exercises that are offered freely, we sucke in the venom of them with great delight, and practise the speeches and conueyances of loue which there we see and learne. The other wee vse with especial pleasure, and God being wnesse to many an one, they wish the fruite of^{Dauncing.} their dauncing to be this, euen the fall of them selues and others into the breach of this lawe. What should I say of gluttonie and idlenesse? Doe they not make vs sinne? Good Lord, giue vs eyes to see, and hearts to weigh the occasions of our fall. The spirite of God hath^{Gluttonie and drunkennesse.} sayde that these pricked up the flesh of the filthy Sodomites to that height of sinne; and yet we can imagine they will cause no sinne at all in vs against this lawe. And therefore professing the gossell and integritie of life, yet dare we so pamper, so stuffe, & cramme this rebelling

flesh, as if we were gods that could suffer no temptation: we dare gull in wine and hote drinkes continually, beeing peraduenture both strong and young, and euerie way needing rather pulling downe, than setting vp. We dare solace our selues in soft beddes too long for our constitutions, and all the day after betake our selues to nothing whereabout the minde might walke, and so escape impure conceptes."

The giving of Liveries to Retainers and Serving-men, &c.

Liveries are often meanes and couers of oppression.

p. 378-9. "And I wil yet adde one thing ouer vnto all these, which must needes be included in this head of oppression, because it is a common and a dangerous cloake of the same, to wit, lyueries of Prince or subiectes, noble men, gentlemen, or whosoever. Which if they maintaine and beare out the vniust & wrongfull dealings of any man with y^e knowledge of the Lord, not only the deede doer, but the giuer of that cloth and cote whatsoever he be, standeth gilty of that oppression before almighty God. The consideration whereof being so true and sure, should iustly cause in al estats, that deale their cloth to others, a more vigilant eye & care to see & heare the conuersation of their folowers, & a restraining hand of such countenance, credite or couer to them (all worldly reasons set apart) when so euer they shall vnderstande the same to be abused. For why should any earthly respect euer stande so great in mens eies, as *that* for it they dare take vpon them the guilt of other mens sins, & spoyling oppression? But alas great is the vnfeelingnesse of many mens harts in this matter in these dayes. Either Pope, profite, or pollicie, doe make vs deale our cloth too liberally, and regard our mens behauiour too negligently. But a worde is ynough."

p. 428. "What shoulde I say of that cloke and couer and cause of much oppression, the cloth and liueries of Superiours? Am I the giuer or the taker? If I bee the giuer, haue I neuer bouldred my cognisance out to doe the thing that God forbiddeth? Haue I hearkned about to see and learne howe they vse the credit that is giuen them? God knowes wee haue litle neede to be charged with other mens sinnes, as no doubt such a maister shall with such a mans offences. For we shall neuer be able to beare in our selues the burden of our owne. Am I the taker? what then saith my conscience? haue I sought it and sued for it for affection, and true duetie in my heart to him that gaue it? Doe I weare it, and wishe to weare it, to haue my heart known to him or her the better, whom with heart and hande, bodie and goods, power and might till my death, in right I honour and serue, and wishe and will doe euer? Or rather a false faith seeketh a faire shewe, and a powling hande of manie a seellie weake wretch seeketh a strength to establish my wickednesse, and a backer to beare on my foule oppressions?"

Neglect of honest Work in Youth. (The Grasshopper and the Ant.)

p. 382-385. "There was a litle tittle tattle, when time was, they say, betwixt the grasshopper and the pismire, and we may laugh at it, & yet looke better about vs as admonished by it. The grasshopper hauing passed the summer ouer merily, as her custome is, singing and tuning the notes of a thoughtlesse minde vnder euerie leafe, at last when winter came on, beganne to shake, and to goe to bedde with an emptie bellie

manie a night, to the great weakening of her liuely limmes, and the quite marring of all her musicke. To steale, shee refuseth of her honest nature; and to begge, shee is ashamed, for feare to be mocked. Yet neede maketh the olde wife trotte, they say; and modestie in this hungrie¹ creature must yeelde to necessitie. To it therefore shee goeth, and hauing a wealthie neighbour not farre off, that had laboured sore all summer, and layde vppe much good vitale, to her she commeth, and craueth some succour at her hande. Who by and by demaunded of her what shee did all summer? "Alas (sayeth the grasshopper) I sung, and litle remembred this change." "Did you so (sayth the Ant) in deede did you sing all summer? Nowe trust me, for mee, you shall daunce all winter, for I liue by my labour, and I will neuer maintaine idlenesse in anie." Thus receiued slouth a checke, when it looked for helpe; and wee, warned by it, may learne this morall, to labour least we lacke. *Optimum obsonium senectute labor*, (sayth one) They are good refreshinges in our age, the wel-bestowed trauelles of our youth. Yeares passe, and strength fayles; gette nothing in youth, and haue nothing in age. But O carelesse heartes of ours, and headie will,² who can perswade this, or beate it into the heades of young men, and maydes, of seruantes, and such as are comming on? No, no, we will hoppe and daunce, tippie and drinke, banket and reuell, what connsell soeuer is giuen vs to the contrarie, with that litle we haue, and sing care away. And a litle gaie apparell on the backe, is worth much money in the chest. But wise is he whome other mens harmes can cause to take heede. Sicknesse may come, and euerie maister will not keepe a sicke seruant; a mayme may fall to vs, and wee then may heare it, I haue no wages vnlesse you could worke, many things may happen, and a mans owne is his owne, and great is gods blessing to faithfull labour, as trulie his plagues are not litle or rare to idlenesse and slouth. . . .³ Wherefore it is not ynough to make vs guiltlesse of this commaundement to say, we get that we haue by labour, but it must be good labour (sayth Paule) iust labour, and lawefull labour. The which distinction ouerthroweth al maintaynance gotten by massing, by iugling, by charming, by playing interludes, by fidling and pyiping vppe and downe the countrey, by carying about beares and apes, by telling of fortunes, and such like trades, mentioned in the statute of this lande, touching vagabundes. For though they be labours, and make them sweate often, some of them, yet want they warrant in the worde to prooue them good, and lawefull labours. And therefore subiect to the penaltie of this lawe before God."

Idle Jestings and Scoffing.

p. 396-7. "Vnto this heade is referred all vngodlie counsell, whatsoever, and all leawde vanitie, or babishe seruilitie to make men delight more in vs, and lesse in the feare of God. Is it not lamentable to see, that a popish, or an atheisticall Spirite shall doe more hurt at a table, or such like place with one peeuish iest, and girding skoffe in the heartes of the hearers, than twentie good men can recouer with much good counsell? And yet what say we? O, hee is a merie greeke, a pleasaunt companion, and in faith a good fellowe.⁴ Hee cannot flatter, his words must be

¹ p. 383.

² p. 384.

³ p. 385.

⁴ 'Good men' fighting, &c.—"howe dare these sinfull, brauling, quarelling, disquiet, hatefull, and furious fighters, take vppon them to be called *good men*

borne, and soe fourth. But marke marke what effect this mirth hath in us, and whereto it tendeth. And if it increase our knowledge, increase our zeale, and increase good graces in vs, then like it, and spare not, and cheerish such an one. But if it poyson the profite of the worde vnto vs, decay our diligence, and liking of good exercises, and decrease all that I haue named, then know him for a thiefe, though his handes be true, for he stealeth our soules from the liuing God, & both bodie and soule from eternall life."

Amusements in Moderation are justifiable. What Games are allowable. Gaming for money is not. The Evils of Gaming.

p. 399-400. "Concerning then playing and gaming in generall, diuers you shall finde both in writing and speaking verie straitte, who hardlie will bee perswaded to allowe vnto Christians almost anie plaie at all. For, say they, wee must giue accompt in the day of iudgement o feuerie action, of euerie idle worde, and of euerie iote of time, howe wee haue bestowed it, and therefore we shoulde not play."

p. 400-408. "The meaning of these our brethren no doubt is good, and willingly would drawe vs to greater dutie to our God. And these reasons of theirs ought to haue this effect in vs, euen to abridge that excesse which al may see in our playing and our sportes, and to bring vs home to a greater strictnesse of life in heeding what we should. But to cut vs off from all recreation by any play (be it without offence of anie spoken) indeede they cannot. For wee are men, and no Angels, and as men in this worlde wee must walke our course, subject to dulnesse, and wearinesse, euen in good thinges, and wee must refreshe that feeble weaknesse of ours by lawful and allowed comforts. Which

Zach. 8. 5

Exod. 13.

2 Sam. 18.

Leuit. 23.

*The appoint-
ing of festiual
dayes.*

I so tearme, because I am assured that the worde of God condemneth not all our play, and the corrupt constitution of our bodies, together with the dulnesse of our minds, require some play. Sparing in truth is the worde in giuing, because well knewe the Lorde wee would not bee sparing in taking libertie for to play. Yet is it plaine inough.

Notwithstanding fitly may it bee saide of play, as he saide of studying philosophie, *Philosophandum paucis*: Wee must play but litle.

But nowe the seconde steppe is more harde than this, namelie to knowe what games wee maie vse, and at what wee may play. Wherein not purposing anie set and curious treatise, I aunswere briefly, that of those manie and differing kindes of sportes, that are deuised and vsed in euerie place, I condemne none, which make for the quickening of bodie or minde, which serue to actiuitie, and prepare men for better seruice an other daye, vnlesse they haue ioyned to them any vngodlinesse, or are by Lawe of that particular place forbidden: no, not Cardes or Tables in all respectes, and to euerie person at all times, and in all places: Neuerthelesse I am fullie assured, and doe willinglie affirme, that they ought not of Christians professing the Gospel to bee so much vsed as they are. . . . Let vs therefore rather enter to consider an other poynt, which is

And what witlesse woodcocks are they, that cals them *good men*, because *Stoute fighters* they fight lustily, sticke to it stoutely, and would mayne and kill *are not good* desperatly: neuer regarding their cause nor their quarrel." 1580.
men.

T. Lupton. *Sivqila*, p. 53.

harder than this, namely, whether wee shoulde play for monie or no. And first I reason thus : If it bee lawfull to plaie for monie, then is it lawfull to winne monie in this sort, and the monie lawfullie possessed : But this seconde is false, therefore the former also. That the seconde is false, the ende and first inuention of plaie prooueth, which, as euerie one canne well wnesse, was neuer inuented to this ende, but onelie to refresh either body or mind ; and corruption afterward brought in mony, as we see dayly before our eyes. . . . Thirddie, I reason from the multitude of miserable creatures, that are the same fleshe that wee are, and yet pitifullie crie for want of succour : from the multitude of godlie and Christian vses, to employ that which wee maie spare vpon, and euen from the want of manie necessities for our selues, that it is not lawfull nor tollerable to play for monie. For is it not lamentable, and most fearefull, that anie Christian man shoulde carie about in his conscience daie and night a wnesse, that this seuen yeares hee hath not giuen seuen shillings to the naked, needie, and comfortlesse members of Iesus Christ, and yet hee hath lost at wayne playe, in a wayne manner, twentie times as much ? Can a man bee so dull, as to thinke this thing will neuer pricke him, or neuer haue a iust rewarde of punishment at Gods handes ? Is it not lamentable, that a man can see no Christian vse to giue of hys abundaunce to, but thinke all that euer hee can get, litle inough to consume in playe ? Are wee exempted out of the number of them that are bounde to workes of loue, and deedes of mercie, so that wee neede to doe none of these, and yet shall bee saued too ? Naie, is it not woonderfull, and a thing that heauen and earth are ashamed of, and euen all the creatures in both of them stande astonished at, to consider, that a man shoulde not eyther doe the former duties, or him selfe haue eyther anie good apparell to weare, anie bookes to benefite his soule by, no not so much as a Bible or a prayer booke, anie meate at home for his wife and Children, anie wages to paie hys Seruauntes, or his other debtes, or a number moe such necessities, and yet thinke hys playing, yea his costlie playing, lawfull, and not to bee spoken agaynst ? Is it I say, possible, that euer a Christian man, that thinkes hee hath Gods spirite, shoulde thus haue his conscience seared vp ? Truelie, for myne owne part, I professe I haue stode in my hearte amazed at it, and I beseech the Lorde to driue awaie from vs such grosse securitie. For else as we liue, wee shall knowe wee haue deceyued our selues, and others ; wee were neuer anie thing lesse, than Christians. These duties therefore due to others, so manie, and great, and these wants of necessities for our selues, improoue¹ our playing for monie."

Dicing, the Evils of it. Chaucer and Sir T. Elyot.

p. 411-417. "The Poet layeth it downe amongst the Cankers that consume men and make them beggers, Dise, Wine, and Women. What shoulde I say ? Take anie booke in hande of an heathen man, and it is a woonder, if you finde not some thing against dysing. Nowe come from heathens to Christians, and see euen as great misliking. Austen beginneth and is not afraide to say plainly, *Aleam De ciuit. Dei. inuenit Damon*, The deuill first found out the game of *lib. 4.* dising. Lyra, detesting it, seeketh to make other men doe *In praeceptorio.* as much by diuerse reasons. It coueteth (sayth hee) an other mans

¹ Lat. *improbo*, disapprove, blame, condemn.

goods greatly, it is a mightie meanes of deceite, it passeth vsurie, it causeth lying, swearing, brawling, and manie idle wordes, it is an offence to the godly, it breaketh the lawes, it mispendeth the time, and what not? Olde CHAUCER so long agoe set his sentence downe against this exercise,¹ and spares not to display the vertues of it in this maner :

Dising, ² (saith he) is verie mother of leasinges,	[² <i>Hasard</i>]
And of deceite and cursed forswearings.	
Blasphemie of God, manslaughter, and waste also,	
Of battaile, naughtinesse, and other mo. ³	[³ <i>Of catel, and of time, and forthermo</i>]
It is reproofe and contrarie to honour,	
For to be hould a common disesour. ⁴	[⁴ <i>hasardour</i>]
And euer the higher he is in estate,	
The more he is houlden desolate.	
If thou a Prince dost vse ⁵ hazardie	[⁵ <i>If that a Prynce vseth</i>]
In all[e] gouernance and pollicie	600
He is, by a ⁶ common opinon	[⁶ <i>as by</i>]
Houlden lesse ⁷ in reputation.	602 [⁷ <i>Yholdes the lesse</i>]
Lordes might finde other manner of ⁸ play,	627 [⁸ <i>fyn den other maner</i>]
Honest inough to driue the day away.	628

But of all other speeches, me thinkes it is a maruelous saying of Sir Thomas Eliot, and ought verie greatly to moue vs, who affirmeth that if a man heare one to be a diser, and knoweth him not, by and by he iudgeth him to be a light and vaine person, and of no credite or accompt. . . . Last of all, peruse the Statutes of this our owne countrie, and I beseech you marke the liking they haue showed of dising. In the twelfth yere of Richarde the seconde all vnlawefull games were forbidden, and by name Dising generallie. In the 21. yere of Henrie the fourth, disers taken were imprisoned sixe dayes. And if anie heade Magistrate, as Maior, or Sheriffe, made not dilgent search for them, they forfeitted fortie shillings: If a Constable were negligent, hee lost sixe shillings and eight pence. In the seuenteenth yere of Edward the fourth, they that kept dicing houses were to haue three yeares imprisonment and 20. pounds fine. Players at dice in those houses, two yeares imprisonment and ten pounds fine. In the eleuenth yere of Henrie the seuenth, Dicers shoulde be openlie set in the stockes by the space of one whole day, and the house keepers that suffered him to play, forfeit a noble, and be bounde to their good behauiour. In the 33. yere of Henrie the eight, Dicing houses forfeitted fortie shillings euerie time, & disers vi. s. viii. d. and bound in recognisance neuer to play againe. And yet more may you see in *Pultons abridgement*.⁹ Now it is wonderfull that notwithstanding all this, yet so foule a thing shoulde seeme so faire, and that a man should not thinke himselfe vsed as a gentleman or almost as a man, vnlesse hee may haue libertie in this loosenesse, and the large reine to so great an euill. And yet wee be Christians, and that of the better sort too, or you doe vs wrong. The heathen hated it, and we hatch it vp in euerie house, and yet we be Christians. The godly writ against it, wee waite for it, and yet we be Christians. The counsels haue condemned it in the spirite of Christ, and christian lawes haue most sharply punished it: wee day and night vse it, and cannot be reaued of it, and

¹ In the *Pardoner's Tale*, Group C, l. 589-628; Six-text, p. 321-2. A few of the Ellesmere MS. readings are in the margin above.

⁹ Of the Statutes.

yet we be Christians. But alas, alas! the day of vnderstanding, or the day of damnation for our ignoraunce, shall teach vs an other thing. We sweare, we lie, we reuile, and wee runne into the felde with murdering mindes (for such anger is murther) moued by play, and yet we will not leaue it. And if I doe not thus in shewe, yet inwardly I frette, I chafe, I gnash with my teethe, and teare the Cardes, burne the Dice, throw away the Tables, and such like, and yet I am religious. The Lorde forbiddeth all appearaunce of euill, all occasions of sinne, and yet wee are the Lordes, and doe neither. The Lorde saith, ^{1. Thes 5.} 'If thy right hande cause thee to offend, or thy right eye, cut it off, plucke it out, and cast it away'; wee will bee the Lordes, and not restrayne a litle play, that, mine owne soule being witnesse, most greuouslie maketh mee offende. Fie, fie, what deadnesse is this? Where is either loue of God, or feare in vs? Loue makes vs burne with desire to doe well, feare makes vs shake, to thinke of anie sinne: we continually sinne in our greedie gaming, and yet we be godlie. But this either makes vs see it, or we will neuer (I feare) see the mischeefe of playing, and by name of Dising. The Lorde for Christ his sake awake vs, and so I end."

Oppression of Servants and the Weak. Taking of Bribes.

p. 425-428. "Who seeth not, who knoweth not, that all *Oppression*. oppression of my brother in his goods is contrarie to that loue that I ought to beare to him and his goods? And how stande wee in this matter? Haue wee neuer detained the poore seruauntes wages, and *Of seruantes*. wrecked our anger vpon him to his harme further than a mercifull heart shoulde haue doone? Haue wee not taken euen the flower of his youth, the strength of his yeares, and the verie iuice and sappe of hys bodie to serue our turnes withall, and then either turned him off vnrewarded,¹ or taken from him, or diminished without cause, other than our

¹ "Nay, thou hast yet *Another Cruelty* gnawing in thy bosome; *Against want of prouision for those that dye in the fields.* for what hope is there *that* thou shouldst haue pittie ouer others, when thou art vnmercifull to thy self! Looke ouer thy walls into thy Orchards and Gardens, and thou shalt see thy seruants and apprentices sent out cunningly by their Masters at noone day vpon deadly errands; when they perceiue that the *Armed Man* hath struck them, yea, euen when they see they haue tokens deliuered them from heauen to hasten thither, then send they them forth to walke vpon their graues, and to gather the flowers themselues that shall stick their own Herse. And this thy Inhabitants do, because they are loth and ashamed to haue a writing ouer their dores, to tell that God hath bin there; they had rather all their enemies in the world put them to trouble, then that he should visit them.

"Looke againe ouer the walls into thy Fields, and thou shalt heare poore and forsaken wretches lye groaning in ditches, and trauailing to seeke out Death vpon thy common hie wayes. Hauing found him, he there throwes downe their infected carcases, towards which, all that passe by, looke, but (till common shame, and common necessity compell,) none step in to giue them buriall. Thou setst vp posts to whip them when they are aliue: Set vp an Hospitall to comfort them being sick, or purchase ground for them to dwell in when they be well, and that is, when they be dead." 1605. T. Decker. *Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London* (Arber, 1879), p. 48.

owne couetousnesse, the reward that our auncestour gaue to his seruice before? If wee haue doone it, alas it is a great oppression, a great wrong, and it standeth not with that loue that I am charged withall *Widow and fatherlesse.* not hurt the desolate Widowe, the fatherlesse childe, or anie whose might was lesse than ours to beare off the hardnes of our handes? Haue we not lift vp our force against them when we sawe wee might haue helped them in the gate? If we haue, what can we say why we shuld not rot in peeces for it, & our armes bee broken from *Iob. 31, 32.* the bones, as Iob wished to him in such a case? Haue wee neuer respected the person more of one than an other in cause of iustice, a strong meanes to drawe vs to oppression? Haue wee neuer suffered *Bribes.* these handes to feeble the weight of a bribers gift¹ to drawe vs to oppression? O spare not to spie your sinne euen to the full if you haue offended, and yet accuse not your selues if you dare boast of innocencie. Happie were our countrie, and a thousande comfortes were it to euerie one of vs, if the dulnesse of our heartes in these deadlie sinnes pulled not vpon vs the often offending in them, and then such sinne, such wrath againe from heauen aboue, as is most due vnto it. Alas, wee see not, neither euer will bee made to see, what loue by this lawe wee owe to all men in their goods; but we robbe them, we spoyle them, and wee take giftes to do it, and yet we be no theeues."

Covetousness. Lawyers. Giving Church-livings to bad Parsons.

p. 431-5. "Wee boldlie looke of euerie mans commodities. As we goe and ride, wee streight way couet, and that which is worse, presentlie we deuise to obtain our will to the impaying of our brothers wealth, and the fearefull breaking of this commandement. And woulde God the rage of our lust were not sometime so vehement, as that missing to get what it greedelie seeketh, it casteth vs downe sicke in our bed, or causeth vs to hurt him who hindereth our wishe, as wee see fell out in Achab to Naboth for his vineyarde. But of this hereafter more againe in the tenth commandement. For the tongue, alas what shoulde I saie, I *By tongues.* will neuer bid you enquire whether you bee guiltie or no. For whither shoulde a man flie in these dayes from flatterie, or where may we liue and not light of false forgers seeking by filed phrase to bleere the eyes of such as least suspect them. . . . Let them ioyne hereunto, *Lawieres.* whose calling is such a true viewe of the drift and successe of their pleas, whether they haue not often indeoured with their tongues, and often also obtayned by their speech, the wrongfull alienation of mens right from them to other men. And is not this a theft? Might not he euen aswell haue robbed him with his handes, as to be a meanes by speech of wrong perswasion that others doe it? But alas, what wordes can I vse, or anie man else this day alieue, to make men feeble, that neither golden gaine, nor anie regarde to be named whatsoever, shoulde make them speake vntreuely against the good estate of their brethren in anie causes? Surely, if this will nothing moue, that it is in nature theft which in name they so abboare, I will assay no further. . . . Are we al cleare of that theft of theftes committed in conueying of the Church liuings to our owne vse from them that ought to haue them and doe the dutie for them, to the dishonour of God, the ruine of the Church, and the fearefull casting away of manie a soule into the pitte of hell for

¹ Compare Bacon's case, &c.

want of knowledge?¹ . . . Shall the Lorde crie woe vppon woe, wrath vpon wrath, vengeance vppon vengeance, to the carelesse shepheardes that feede themselues, and not the flocke ; and shall he so quietly passe them ouer, that put in, and place such dume dogges, and vnable drones to doe anie duetie for their owne lucre ? Is it a token of loue to feede his sheepe, to feede his lambes ; and is it not a want of loue both to God and his lambes, to put in, for my gaine, such a drie nurse as can giue no milke nor feede at all, except it be with follie, and a fowle example of drinking, swearing, carding, tabling, bowling, sleeping, and such like ?”

Prittle-prattle and Tittle-tattle, the Evils of em.

p. 481-2. “For the seconde which was telling of tales, wee haue heard it before shewed, and our owne knowledge both assure vs it is a branch of the breach of this commandement, which shall burne both bodie and soule in the fire of hell. And yet see, do we feare it, or flie it ? Alas we knowe I am sure of it, we haue beene too too secure in this point, and our securitie not seeing and weighing the wickednesse of the vice hath stayned both heart and tongue horrible. Looke about the worlde and veiwe the generall course of all. Feareth anie man to discredite his neighbour priuily, and to whisper vpon hearesay or his owne imagination what tendeth to the blemish of his name whom he speaketh of ? Feareth any woman when shee hath mette with her gossippe to tittle tattle, to the slander of an other, this thing and that thing, which yet hath no certaintie, and which full loth she would haue saide of her selfe vpon like coniectures ? No no we see too much the cursed course of lawlesse tongues in euerie place, though the Lorde in mercie giueth some consciences, and a thousande times I begge that we woulde see our sinne, confesse our sinne, and rippe vp our guilt in this respect. Why shoulde wee be so dull and without feeling ? If it be a vertue thus to prittle and prattle of euerie bodie, vncertaine tales, but most certaine discredites, then prooue it so, and vse it : but if it bee a branch of false witness, that doth truly witness gods wrath to hang ouer vs for it, good Lorde, shall we still be polluted with it ?”

[*Tea Gowns in 1878.*—See *The World* article, reprinted in *The Royal Exchange*, Nov. 9, 1878, a number sent out as an advertisement. (I, of course, see nothing of the set of folk referrd to in it.)

“It is not so very long ago that the appearance in the drawing room or in any other place where she was visible to the naked eye of the male sex, of a lady loosely wrapped in her dressing gown, would have been an impossibility. But the world moves rapidly in this last quarter of the nineteenth century ; and ladies, who a few years ago would have considered the idea appalling, calmly array themselves in the glorified dressing robe known as a ‘tea gown,’ and proceed to display themselves to the eyes of their admirers. . . . It is absolutely useless and utterly ridiculous ; but this is not the worst that may be said about it. It is, to

¹ See *Harrison*, Part I., p. 21, 26-27.

all intents and purposes, a *déshabillé*; and so great is the force of association, that the conversation is exceedingly apt, nay almost certain, to become *déshabillé* as well. The gentlemen, in houses where tea gowns prevail, relieve themselves of their shooting attire, and reappear very frequently in gorgeous smoking suits; there is an ease and *sans façon* about the whole proceeding that favours laxity of discourse, and advantage is generally taken of the latitude afforded. It is easier to take three strides forward than half a step backwards; consequently, when the company reassembles at dinner, the point of departure for the conversation is several degrees nearer to the doubtful borderland of *hasardé* allusions and *double entendres* than it would have been without the antecedent symposium *en négligé*. . . . Old-fashioned prudery has long been thrown aside in the eager desire for more admirers of such becoming raiment; the tea gowns have descended to the drawing-room and the hall, and have become more marvellous and more *voyant* in the transit. With the graceful *négligé* toilet there has come in a habit of lounging, which is certainly of most doubtful grace. Hands are not unfrequently to be seen clasped above or behind the head, thus often liberally exhibiting the arm by the falling back of the loose sleeve; feet and ankles are lavishly displayed as dainty slippers are rested on the fender; more ardent spirits recline in ostentatious repose on various sofas. It is considered the thing to suit the action to the attire, and exhibit in it the supremacy of ease. Any quiet spirits in the party generally disappear; they feel themselves as out of place among the stray remarks and *hasardé* stories, as their quiet morning dresses are among the pink and blue and other rainbow-hued tea gowns, with their lavish cascades of lace, and bewitching caps to match. They disappear; and when they again meet their friends at dinner-time, are apt to be somewhat astonished to find how much ceremony has been thrown to the winds in their brief absence, and on how much more familiar a footing their friends are than when they parted from them two or three hours before.

" . . . It will be doubtless said, tea gowns are far less objectionable than the extremely *décolleté* dresses of which such grievous complaint has been made during the last two seasons. But two wrongs do not make a right; and besides, objectionable as too *décolleté* dresses may be, they are still, by a fiction of society—that unwritten law which is of such infinitely greater force than all the statutes in the judicial archives—considered to constitute the fullest toilette, the greatest possible pitch of *grande tenue*; and owing to this belief they are by no manner of means so provocative of laxity of conversation as the moral dressing gown and slippers of the *tea-gown*."]

For the loan of the following cut I have to thank Captain Harold Dillon. His uncle, at Ditchley, Oxfordshire, has a picture of one of the brothers of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., in the time of Elizabeth, with a Rose in his ear, like the fop on p. 78* note, above: the Rose is just stuck like a pen is, between the hair and the ear, showing the flower in front. The dandies must have carried their heads very steadily, to have kept the flower from falling out. Perchance it had a woman's hair-pin to hold it in.

*Irish Costumes. The 1584 edition of the Anatomie. 95**



Irish Costumes in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, from MS.

Edel-vrouwe
Noblewoman

Burgher-vrouwe
Citizen's wife

Wilde Irische
Wild Irish

p. 60*. *The 1584 edition of the Anatomie.*—Since I wrote the Forewords, Mr. Wallis has been kind enough to lend me his perfect copy of the 3rd (or 4th, or 3rd and 4th as Mr. Hazlitt and I now suppose) edition of the *Anatomie*, of '12 October 1584.' I have tested it in different places chosen at haphazard with the collations of the other editions given at the foot of the original text below, and have found that all of the few important changes there noted as due to E. 1585, had been made before in this (C-D.) edition of 12 Oct., 1584. Out of 58 passages tested (counting the sidenotes singly, would make em full 70) only 4 show small differences. It is clear, then, that Stubbes revisd the 1584 edition more largely than that of 1585, though not so largely as the second of 1583 (August 1) and his last of 1595. The results of my testing follow:—

C-D. has all E.'s readings, p. iii.—2, 3-3, 11-11. .
p. iv.—6-6, 7, 9, 12, 13.

96* Collation of the 1584 edition of the Anatomie.

- Pages
viii/6.—2, 4, 6-6 differs, having both A. and B.'s reading, and E.'s :
'a Lamp of light vnto the world, a mirrour of': has 7, 9, 14, 18, 19,
20, 21-21, 22, 23, 24.
ix.—1-1 not in (as not in E.); 6, 11, 12, 13.
x.—Preface left out; as in B., E., F.
xiv.—9. xvi.—Greek motto. xvii.—3. xix.—2.
30.—8-8. 36.—13 differs, having both A. and B. and E.: 'pelles
felles & skins' (E. peltes & skins).
38.—6. 39.—2, 'more' not in C.-D. (as not in E.).
40.—7. 41.—3, 4, 10-10 not in C.-D. (as not in E.), 12-12. 68.—7.
70, 71, 72.—has E.'s sidenotes on Starche, A fearfull example,
Women's lubricious mindes, and 2 on the Deuil; as well as E.'s head-
line, 72 foot. *But keeps* A. and B.'s 'Eprautna,' p. 71, *against* E.'s
'Antwarpe.'
79 note.—has the 'Deuil's bellowes' sidenote.
82.—8. 87.—has E.'s 'Handbaskets' headline, on back, and 'great
paynes' side-note, &c.
96.—17. 97.—4 §, 9 'the' not in (as not in E.).
111-114.—has all the side-notes and headlines markt E. F., and the
top sidenote on 113 markt F.
117, notes l. 2.—has, like E., 'Lawyers ruffling in.'
129-136.—has all the side-notes markt E. F., and all B.'s headlines.
139.—6, 10 'very' not in (as not in E.). 152.—9-9.
186-190.—has the side-notes of E., F.; *but on* p. 188 'A materiall
Hell,' *like* F., *against* E.'s 'Materiall.' 191.—4, 5.

Mr. Wallis, too, thinks "that the other edition of 1584 exists only in imagination." He adds: "It may interest you to know that my 'Stubbes' has never been 'in the market.' It came from the library at Brookfield Hall, in this county, at its dispersal on the death of my father's cousin, Miss Hannah Wright, some dozen or fifteen years ago. These Wrights were descended from the Dr. Wright, M.D., F.R.S., at the sale of whose books (in 1787) the 'first folio' brought £10.¹ He was a Derby man, and closely related to our family.² I was told of a quantity (the word applies here) of such books—*Horresco referens*!—being taken from a loft over the stables, and used for fire-lighting and other base purposes by the grooms."

The title and colophon are given on the opposite leaf. The cut at the back of the colophon is that of the stooping robed man of B.

¹ Lot 1960. Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, *first folio edition, bound in Russia leather with gilt leaves.* 1623. £10.

1390. The Anatomie of Abuses, made Dialogue-wise by Phillip Stubbes, *bl. letter.* 1583.

² From the *Derby Mercury*, Oct. 26th, 1786:—"On Saturday the 14th inst. died at his house in Charles Street, Grosvenor Square, London, Richard Wright, M.D., F.R.S., late one of the physicians of St. George's Hospital; only son of the late Mr. Wright, surgeon, of this town (Derby). His remains were brought here yesterday, and interred in the family vault in St. Michael's Church."

The Anatomie of Abufes:

Containing

A Difcouerie, or brief Sum-
marie of fuch Notable Vices and Corrupti-
ons, as nowe raigne in many Chriftian Coun-
treies of the Worlde: but (efpecially) in the
Countrie of AILGNA: Together, with moft
fearefull Examples of Gods Iudgementes, ex-
ecuted vpon the wicked for the fame, af-
well in AILGNA of late, as in
other places, elfe-
where.

*Very godly, to be read of all true Chri-
ftians, euery where: but moft chieflly, to be
regarded in England*

Made Dialogue-wife by PHILLIP STVBS.

And now newly reuifed recognized, and aug-
mented the third time by the same Author.

MATH. 3. Ver. 2.

Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

LVKE. 13. Ver. 5.

I fay vnto you, except you repent you shall all perifh.

¶ Printed at London, by Richard
Iones 12. October .1584.

Perused, aucthorised, and al-
lowed, accordyng to the order
appoincted in the Quee-
nes Maiesties
Iniuncti-
ons.



At London
Printed by Richard Jones: dwellyng
at the Signe of the Rose
and the Crowne, neere
unto Holborne
Bridge.

1584.



PHILIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND
IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

PART I.

[Collations for the title-page of May 1, 1583, opposite.]

^{1—1} description F (1595).

² corruptions E (1585); enormities F (1595).

³ now *om.* F.

⁴ Christian *not in* B (1 Aug. 1583), *or* F.

^{5—6} the countrie of E; this Realme of F.

⁶ verie *not in* B.

⁷ England F.

⁸ Gods heauie F.

⁹ inflicted F.

¹⁰ euerie where *not in* B.

¹¹ chiefly E.

¹² Gent., *added in* F.

^{13—13} And now newly reuised recognized and augmented the third time by the same Author. E (1585); Now, the fourth time, newly corrected and enlarged by the same Author F (1595).

^{14—14} *omitted* F.

¹⁵ saith Christ *not in* E.

¹⁶ Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the Rose and Crowne, next aboue S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595. F.

¹⁷ 16. August *in* B, *not in* E.

¹⁸ 1585 *in* E.

Series VI. No. 4.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

The Anatomie of Abufes:

Contayning¹

A ¹DISCOVERIE, OR BRIEFE
Summarie,¹ of fuch Notable Vices and Im-
perfections,² as now³ raigne in many Chri-
ftian⁴ Countreyes of the Worlde: but (ef-
peciallie) in ⁵a verie⁶ famous ILANDE
called⁵ AILGNA⁷: Together, with
moft fearefull Examples of Gods⁸ Iudge-
mentes, executed⁹ vpon the wicked for the
fame, afwell in AILGNA⁷ of late, as in
other places elfewhere.

Verie Godly, to be read of all true Christians,
euerie where¹⁰; but moft needefull,¹¹ to
be regarded in ENGLANDE.

Made dialogue-wife by Phillip Stubbes.¹²

¹³ Seene and allowed, according to order.¹³

¹⁴ MATH. 3. ver. 2. Repent, for the kingdome of God
is at hande.

LVC. 13. ver. 5. I fay vnto you (faith Chrif) ¹⁵ except
you repent, you fhall all perifh.¹⁴

¹⁶ ¶ Printed at London, by Richard
Iones. 1. Maij.¹⁷ 1583.¹⁸

[¹ The collations are on the opposite page.]



To the ¹Right Hono-
 rable,² Phillip Earle of Arundell: Phillip
 Stubbes wisheth helth of body & soule,¹ fauour
 of God, increafe of Godly honour, re-
 ward of laudable vertue, and eter-
 nall felicitie, ³in the Heauens,³
 by⁴ IESVS Chrif.

⁵NOBILITAS Patriæ DECVS.⁵

⁶**T**HE Lord our God (right honorable)⁶ hauing by the
 power of his word, created Heauen and Earth, with
 all ⁷things what soeuer, for the comfort⁷ and vse of
 Man, the last of all other (euen the sixt daye) ⁸made
 Man, after his owne similitude and likenesse,⁹ that¹⁰ in

[God made man
 in His own
 likeness,

him he might be glorified aboue all other Creatures. And ther-
 fore, wheras in making of other thinges he vsed onely this Woord,
 FIANT, be they made or let them be made, when he came to
 make Man, ¹¹as it weare aduyfing¹² himselfe and ¹¹asking counsell at
 his wisdom, he said FACIAMVS HOMINEM, let vs make Man; that
 is, a wonderful Creature: and therefore is called in greek MICRO-
 cosmos, a litle world in himself. And truely he is no lesse, whether
 we consider his spirituall soule, or his humaine body. For what
 Creature is there vpon the face of the Earth comparable to man,

a little world in
 himself.]

^{1—1} Christian Magistrates and godly Gouvernors of England, whose authority
 & offices are to reforme vice and maintain virtue, P. S. wisheth the F.

² and his singuler good Lorde *added in E* (1585).

^{3—3} in the Heauenly hierarchie E; *om.* F. ⁴ through E. ^{5—5} *om.* F.

^{6—6} Right Honourable, worshipfull and welbeloued, the Lord our God F.

^{7—7} other thinges, for the benefit, F (benefite E).

⁸ he made A, F. ⁹ to what end? namely *inserted in B* (1 Aug., 1583).

¹⁰ to this end, that F. ^{11—11} consulting with himself, & as it were E, F.

¹² consulting with *in B*.

[² Sig. ¶ 2.
k. A.]

[³ Sig. A 2.
back. E.]

[⁴ Sig. ¶ 2,
back. B.]

[God made man,
to be glorified in
him,

that he might
advance God's
name.]

[This was
typified by
Moses's
Tabernacle,

to which all men
gave something]

either in body or ¹in mind? what creature hath a soule immortall inher-
ent in his body,¹ but onely Man? what Creature can forsee things
²to come, remember things past, or iudg of things present, but onely
³man? what Creature beareth the ymage of God ⁴about with him,⁵ but
Man? what Creature is made so erect to behould the Heauens as man?
What Creature may be likened to man,⁶ either in proportion of body,
or gifts of the soule ⁶? And (finally) what Creature hath the promise
of the resurrection & glorification of their bodies, & of eternall life,
but onely Man? Than, seeing the Lorde hath made Man thus glori-
ous, and preferred him in ⁷ ⁸euery degree ⁸ before ⁹ al other Creatures (the
Angelicall Creatures set a part) it is manifest he hath done it to some
end¹⁰ & purpose, ¹¹ namely, that he might be glorified in him, and by
him aboue all other his works, according to the measure of his integ-
ritie, excellency and perfection.¹¹ And hereby we may learn that it is
the will of GOD, that we ¹² bend all our force to the aduaucing of his
¹³ glorious Name,¹³ the edification of his People, and the building vp of
his Church, which he hath redemed with the blood of his deare
Sonne.

Which thing (mee think) is notably figured foorth vnto vs in the
25 of Exodus, wher the Lord commaunded Moyfes to build him a
Tabernacle, or howse of prayer, to this end and purpose (doubtles) that
therin his lawe might be read ¹⁴, his Ceremonies ¹⁵ practised, Sacrifices,
Victimates & Holocaustes offred, ¹⁵ and his glorious Name called vpon
and obeyed. To the erection wherof euery one conferred some what,
some brought gold, some siluer & some brasse, lead and tinne; other
brought silk, purple, skarlet, and other ornaments, and the meanest
brought some what; namely, skins, heare, sand, lyme, mortar, wood,
stone, and such like. Euen so ¹⁶ (right honorable) ¹⁶ would the Lord haue

¹—¹ soule? For what creature hath an immortall soule, F.

⁵ about with him *om.* F.

⁶—⁶ whether we respect the lineaments the demensions and proportion of
the body, or the gifts and graces of the mind E, F.

⁷ by E, F. ⁸—⁸ many degrees F. ⁹ above E, F. ¹⁰ speciall end B.

¹¹—¹¹ that, as in perfection and all kinde of integritie, he excelleth all other
Creatures, so he might be glorified in, thorow, and by him aboue al other
Creatures. B.

¹² we should E, F. ¹³—¹³ glorie E, F. ¹⁴ read and preached F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ duly practized, his Sacrifices and offerings faithfully performed F.

¹⁶—¹⁶ *om.* F.

euery one to conferre some what, euen such as he hath, to the building¹ of his spirituall howse, the Church, purchasèd with the blood of Christ.² Wherefore seeing it is so, that euery one is to further this spirituall building to his possible power, I haue rather chosen, with the simplest and meanest sort, to bring, though but heyre, sand, skins, lyme, morter,³ wood, or⁴ stones, than altogether to⁵ contribute nothing.

[So I, to help
God's Church,
bring now my
mite.]

[³ Sig. ¶ 3. A.]

Not doubting, but that the chief Maister and Builder of this howse, Christ Iesus, will not dislike, but accept⁶ of⁷ my poore contribution, no lesse than he did of the⁹ poore wydowes Mite, to whom was¹⁰ imputed that she had cast more¹¹ in Gazophilatium Templi,¹¹ into the treasury of the Temple, than all the rest; for what she wanted in effect that she supplied in affect. And for that, also, the Lord our God committing his talents to euery one, whether more or lesse, not onely requireth of vs the same againe simply, but also, as a straight computist, demaundeth interest and gaine of euery one of vs: & for that not only he is a murderer & a Homicide before God who slayeth or killeth a Man with materiall sword, but he also who¹² may¹³ preuent the same,¹⁴ and will not. And¹⁵ not onely he is guiltie of haynous transgression that committeth any euill really,¹⁶ but also he who consenteth to it, as he doth, who holdeth his peace, or he who by any means might auoid it, and either for¹⁷ negligence wil not, or, for feare of the world dare not. Therefore, albe it, that I haue receiued but one poore talent, or rather the¹⁸ shadow of one, yet least I might be reprobued (with that vnprofitable Seruaunt) for hyding my small talent in the Earth, not profitting therewith at all, either myself or others, I haue aduentured the making¹⁹ of this litle treatise, intituled (The Anatomy of Abuses) hoping that the same (by diuine assistance) shall somewhat conduce to the building²⁰ of this spirituall howse of the Lord.

[God bids us use
our talents, not
hide them,

and so I've
written my
*Anatomy of
Abuses*, to help
God's House,]

And although I be one²¹ (most honorable Lord)²¹ that can do least in this Godly course of life (palpable barbarisme forbidding mee so much as once to enter into Wyldomes school), yet for that some wil not,

¹ building vp F.

² the Messyas B.

⁴ and F.

⁵ to sit idle and F.

⁶ rather accept F.

⁷ of this E, F.

¹⁰ it was F.

¹¹—¹¹ om. F.

¹² who A.

¹³ might hinder B.

¹⁴ same murder F.

¹⁵ And for that E, F.

¹⁶ actually F.

¹⁷ through F.

¹⁸ but the E, F.

¹⁹ contriuing F.

²⁰ building vp & erection E, F.

²¹—²¹ om. F.

[and from love
to God and my
country.]

[¹ Sig. ¶ 3,
back. A.]

[⁴ Sig. ¶ 3,
back. B.]

[⁶ Sig. A 3,
back. E.]

[Tho' I was at
first minded to
suppress my
book, my friends
made me publish
it.]

[I didn't know
whom to
dedicate it to,
till I thought of
you, Lord
Arundel, whose
fame is world-
wide.]

for feare of losing worldly promotion (though in the meane tyme they lose the Kingdome of Heauen), Other some dare not for displeasing the world: I say for these, & semblable causes, together with the zeale and goodwill I beare vnto my Countrey, and feruent desire of their conuersion and amende¹ment, I haue taken vpon me the contruying² of this book; which God graunt may be with like plausible alacritie receiued, as with paines and good will I haue published³ it for the benefit of my Cuntrey, the pleasure of the God⁴ly and amendement of the wicked. And I doubt not that as none but the wicked and peruerse, whose gawld backes are tutchted, will repyne against mee, so the Godly and vertuous will accept of this my labour and trauaile herein,⁵ whose gentle fauour and good⁶will shall counterpoyse (⁷and farre furmount with mee⁷) the maligne stomacks and stearn⁸ countenances of the other. After that I had ⁹(right honorable)⁹ fully perfected this booke, I was minded, notwithstanding, both in regard of the straungenes of the matter it intreateth of, and also in respect of the rudenesse of my penne, to haue suppressed it for euer, for diuerse and fundrie causes, and neuer to haue offred it to the viewe of the world, But, notwithstanding, being ouercome by the importunat request, and infatigable¹⁰ desire of my freinds, I graunted to publish the same, as ¹¹now you see¹¹ is¹² extant.

¹³But when I had once graunted to imprinte the same, I was¹⁴ in greater doubt than¹⁵ before, fearinge to whome I might dedicate the same so rude and impolished a worke. And withall I was not ignorant, how hard a thing it is in these daies to finde a Patrone of such books as this, which sheweth to euery one his sin, and discouereth euery Mans wicked waies, which indeede the vngodly can not at any hand abyde, but, as it were, mad-men disgorging their stomacks.¹⁶ (*Cum in Authorem tum in codicem plenīs buccīs et dentibus plusquam caninis rabidè feruntur* :) they rage, they fume, and rayle both against the AVTHOR and his booke. Thus (*vacillante animo*) my minde wandring

² publishing F.

³ collected F.

⁵ sustained *added in E, F.* ^{7—7} yea farre surmount B; *om. F.*

⁸ austere F.

^{9—9} *om. F.*

¹⁰ *orig. infagitable*

^{11—11} now (God haue the praise therof) B.

¹² it F.

¹³ *From here to faile neuer, last line, p. vii, is omitted in F.*

¹⁴ was then B.

¹⁵ than then E.

¹⁶ and spewing out the poyson of their malicous harts *inserted in B.*

too and fro, and resting, as it weare, in extasie of despaire, at last I called to mind your honorable Lordship, whose praises haue¹ pearced the Skyes, and whose laudable vertues² are blownen not ouer the realme of England³ onely, but euen to the furthest costs and parts [3 Sig. ¶ 4. A.] of the world.

All whose vertues and condigne prayfes, if I should take vpon mee to recounte, I might as well number the starres in the Sky, or grasse of⁴ the Earth.

For, for Godly Wyfdome, and zeale to⁵ the truth, is not your good [5 Sig. ¶ 4. B.] Lordship (without offence be it spoken) comparable with⁶ the best? For sobrietie, affabilitie, and gentle curtesie to euerie one, farre excelling many.

For your great⁷ deuotion and compassion to the poore oppressed, in all places famous: For Godly fidelitie to your Soueraigne, loue to the COUNTRY, and vertues in generall, euerie where most renowned.

But least I might obscure your Worthie commenda⁸tions with my vnlearned penne (lytle or no thing at all emphaticall) I will rather surcease than further to proceed,⁹ contenting my selfe rather to haue giuen a shadowe of them, than to haue ciphred them foorth, which indeed are both infinit and inexplicable. [8 Sig. A 3, bk. E.]

In consideration (whereof,) not withstanding that my Booke be simpler, baser, and meaner than that it may (without blushing) present it self to your good Lordship (being farre vnworthie of such an honorable Personage) yet, accordinge to your accustomed¹⁰ clemency, I most humbly beseeche your good Lordship to receiue the same into your honors Patrocinie and protection, accepting it as an infallible token of my faithfull heart, seruice, and good will towards your honorable Lordship: For prooffe whereof, would God it might once come to passe, that if not otherwyse, yet with my humble seruice, I might shewe foorth the faithfull and euer willing heart I beare in brest to your good Lordship, protesting before Heauen and Earth, that though power want, yet shall fidelitie¹¹ and faithfulness¹¹ faile neuer. [Tho' my book is unworthy of you, yet take it under your protection']

¹ have long since B.

² (by the golden trumpe of fame) *inserted in B.*

⁴ vpon E.

⁶ to E.

⁷ your great *not in E.*

⁹ heerein *added in E.*

¹⁰ mansuetude, and pristine *inserted in B.*

¹¹—¹¹ faithfulness and goodwill B.

[It exposes sins,

[5 leaf ¶ 4,
back. A.]and you are
God's vice-
gerent to correct
sins.][12 Sig ¶ 4,
back. B.][Reform is
needed.

Pride is rife.

Commoners
wear gentlefolks'
dress.[17 Sig. A 3,
back. E.]Plays, whore-
dom, and usury
go on.]

And because this my Booke is subiect ¹(my verie good Lord)¹ to as many reproches, tauntes and reproofes as euer was any litle book ²(for that few can abyde to ³haue⁴ their fins ⁵detected) therefore I haue had the greater care to commit the same to the guardance and defence of your honour, rather than to manie others, not onely for that God hath made your honour ⁶a Lamp of light vnto the world of ⁶true nobilitie and of ^{al} integritie and perfection, but also hath made you his substitute, or vicegerent, to reforme vices, punish abuses, and correcte sinne.

And as ³ in mercie he ⁸ hath giuen you this ⁹ power and autoritie, ¹⁰ so hath he ¹¹ giuen ¹⁰ you a hungrie ¹¹ desire to ac¹²complish the same ¹³ according to his will: Which zeal in your sacred brest the Lord increaseth for euer.

And ¹⁴ as your Lordship knoweth, ¹³ reformation of maners and amendement of lyfe was neuer more needfull, for was pride (the chiefeft argument of this Booke) euer so rype? Do not both Men and Women (for the most part) euery one in generall go attyred in filks, veluers ¹⁵, damasks, satans, and what not ¹⁶? which are attyre onely for the nobilitie and gentrie, and not for the other at ¹⁷anie hand? Are not vnlawfull games, Playes, and Enterluds, and the like, euery where vsed ¹⁸? Is not whordome, couetousnes, vsurie, & the like, daylie practised without all punishment or lawe ¹⁹?

But hereof I ²⁰ say no more, ²¹ referring the ²¹ consideration, both ²² of these and ²³ the rest, to your ²⁴ Godly wysdome. ²⁵ Beseaching ²⁶ your

^{1—1} om. F.² book subiect vnto E, F.

^{3—3} heare their faults discovered) I thought it most meetest to be dedicated to all good Magistrates and men in authoritie, to reforme vice, & maintaine vertue: Vnto whom, in al humble dutie I doe willinglie present the same. And therefore, as the Lorde God F.

⁴ heare E.^{6—6} a mirror of E.⁷ a rare Phoenix of *for* of al E.⁸ om. F.⁹ his E, F.^{10—10} to reforme vices and abuses, so I beseech him to giue euery one of F.^{11—11} by the operation of his Holy Spirite infused into your heart an earnest B.^{13—13} for as you know F.¹⁴ the rather for that *inserted in* B; For, E.¹⁵ Velvets F.¹⁶ not els? F.¹⁸ frequented E, F.

¹⁹ or execution of iustice *added in* E; F *adds*, Was there euer seeme lesse obedience in Youth of all sortes both men-kinde and women-kind towards their superiours, Parents, Masters and gouernors?

²⁰ I need to E.^{21—21} reseruyng the good E, F.²² as well E, F.²³ as of E, F.²⁴ your Lordships E.²⁵ Wisedomes F.^{26—26} you F.

good Lordship²⁵ to perdon my presumption in speaking thus much, for (*Zelus domini huc alegit me*) the zeal of my God hath dryuen me heather.

¹ Knowinge that the LORD hath ordeined you to himselfe, a chofen vessell of honour, to purge his Church of these Abuses and corruptions, which, as in a table, are depainted and set foorth in this litle ² booke.¹

[You, Lord Arundel, are God's Minister to purge his Church.]

Thus I cease to molest your sacred³ eares any further with my rude speeches, most humbly beseeching⁴ your good Lordship,⁴ not onely to admit this my Book into your⁵ honours patronage and defence^{5,6} but also to persist the iust Defender⁷ thereof against the swynish crew of rayling⁸ Zorlvs and flowing Momvs, with their complices⁹; to whome¹⁰ it is easier to deprave all things, than to amend any thing them selues: Which¹¹ if I shall perceiue to¹² be accepted of your honour, besides that I shal not care for a thousand others disliking the same, I shall not only think my self to haue receiued a sufficient guerdon for my paines, and shalbe thereby greatly incorage (if God permit) hereafter to take in hand some memorable thing to your immortall prayse, honour and renowne; but also shall daylie pray to God for your good Lordship long to continue, to his good pleasure and your harts desire, with increase of Godly honour, reward of laudable vertue, and eternall felicitie in the HEAVENS by Iesus Christ.

[Protect me against the swinish crew of railers and mockers.]
[¹⁰ leaf ¶ 5. A.]

Columna gloriæ virtus.

Your Honors to commaund,¹³

PHILLIP¹⁴ Stubbes.⁸

^{1—1} Not in E.

² treatise B.

³ om. F.

^{4—4} you F. ^{5—5} protection F. ⁶ protection E. ⁷ defenders F.

^{8—8} F has the following, and slaunderous tongues, so shall I acknowledge my selfe most bounden to pray vnto god for the prosperous & good estates of you all, whom I beseech for Christ his sonnes sake, to blesse and prosper you in all your godly proceedings now and for euer.

Your Honours and Wisdomes most bounden,

P. S.

⁹ complies of bragging Thrasoes and barking Phormions E.

¹¹ but E.

¹² the same to E.

¹³ in the Lorde added in E.

¹⁴ P. in B.

[leaf ¶ 5, bk]

A PREFACE¹

to the Reader.

[Tho' I blame
Plays, Dances,
&c.,I don't want to
abolish all
amusements, but
only the abuses
in them.]

[leaf ¶ 6]

[Some plays are
useful for good
exampleand Godly
recreation.

Thought it conuenient (good Reader, who soeuer thou art *that* shalt read these my poore laboures) to admonish thee (least haply *thou* mightest take my words otherwise than I meant them) of this one thing: That wheras in the proceſſe of this my booke, I haue intreated of certain exercyses vsually practised amongest vs, as namely of Playes and Enterludes, of dauncing, gaming and such other like, I would not haue thee so to take mee, as though my speeches tended to the overthrowe and vtter disliking of all kynd of exercyses in generall: that is nothing my simple meaning. But the particulare Abuses which are crept into euery one of these seuerall exercyses is the onely thing which I think worthie of reprehension.

For otherwise (all Abuses cut away) who seeth not *that* some kind of playes, tragedies and enterluds, in their own nature are not onely of great ancientie, but also very honest and very commendable exercyses, being vsed and practised in most Christian common weales, as which containe matter (such they may be) both of doctrine, erudition, good example, and wholsome instruction; And may be vsed, in tyme and place conuenient, as conducible to example of life and reformation of maners. For such is our grosse & dull nature, that what thing we see opposite before our eyes, do pearce further and printe deeper in our harts and minds, than that thing which is hard onely with the eares, as Horace, the hethen Poet, can witnesse: *Segnius irritant animum dimissa per aures, quam quæ sunt hominum oculis obiecta.* So that when honest & chaste playes, tragedies & enterluds are vsed to these ends, for the Godly recreation of the mind, for the good example of life, for the auoyding of that which is euill, and learning of that which is good, than are they

¹ This Preface is omitted in the editions of 16 August 1583, of 1585, and of 1595.

very tollerable exerceyses. But being vsed (as now commonly they be) to the prophanation of the Lord his sabaoth, to the alluring and inuegling of the People from the blessed word of God preached, to Theaters and vnclean assemblies, to ydlenes, vnthriftynes, whordome, wantoznes, drunkennes, and what not; and which is more, when they are vsed to this end, to maintaine a great sort of ydle Persons, doing nothing but playing and loytring, hauing their lyuings of the sweate of other Mens browes, much like vnto dronets deuouring *the* sweet honie of *the* poore labouring bees, ¹than are they exerceyses (at no hand) sufferable.

[But Plays acted on Sunday to wantons,

and to support idle drones, are insufferable.]

[¹ leaf ¶ 6, bk.]

But being vsed to the ends that I haue said, they are not to be disliked of any sober and wise Christian.

And as concerning dauncing, I wold not haue thee (good Reader) to think that I condemne the exerceyse it self altogether; for I know the wisest Sages, and the Godlyest Fathers and Patriarches that euer liued, haue now and than vsed the same, as Dauid, Salomon, and many others: but my woords doo touch & concerne the Abuses thereof onely. As being vsed vppon the Sabaoth day, from morning vntill night, in publike assemblies and frequencies of People, Men & women together, with pyping, fluting, dromming, and such like inticements to wantonneffe & sin, together with their leapinges, skippings, & other vnchast gestures, not a few: Being vsed, or rather abused, in this sort, I ytterly discommend it.

[Dancing all Sunday in public, with music, skippings, &c., is wrong:]

But vppon the other side, being vsed in a mans priuat-chamber, or howse, for his Godly solace and recreation in the feare of God; or otherwise abroade, with respect had to the time, place and persons, it is in no respect to be disallowed.

[tho' in private it is allowable.]

And wheras I speake of gaming, my meaning is not that it is an exercife altogether vnlawful. For I know that one Christian may play with another at any kind of Godly, honest, ciuile game, or exercife, for the mutuall recreation one of the other, so that they be not inflamed with co²ueytoufnes, or desire of vnlawfull gaine; for the commaundement saith, thou shalt not couet: wherefore, if any be voide of these affections, playing rather for his Godly recreation, than for desire of filthie lucre, he may vse the same in the feare of God: yet so as the vse therof be not a let or hinderance vnto him to any other Godly exploit.

[Gaming is only wrong when covetousness is mixt with it.]

[² leaf ¶ 7]

[Haunting
gaming-houses
to win money, is
wrong]

[I want the
abuses of amuse-
ments removed]

[So in Dress.
Noble folk may
wear
sumptuous
apparel.]

[² leaf ¶ 7, bk]

[But lower folk
must not flaunt
in velvets, gilt
daggers, &c.]

[I am against
abuse, not use.]

But if a man make (as it weare) an occupation of it, spending both his tyme and goods therein, frequenting gaming howses, bowling allyes, and such other places, for greedinesse of lucre, to him it is an exercise altogether discommendable and vnlawfull. Wherefore, as these be exercises lawfull to them that know how to vse them in the feare of God, so are they practises at no hand sufferable to them that abuse *them*, as I haue shewed. But take away the abuses, the thinges in themselves are not euill, being vsed as instruments to Godlynes, not made as spurres vnto vice. There is nothing so good but it may be abused; yet because of *the* abuses, I am not so strict that I wold haue the things themselves remooued, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because¹ it is abused, vtterly to be taken away.

And wheras also I haue spoken of the excesse in Apparell, and of the Abuse of the same, as wel in men as in women generally, I wold not be so vnderstood, as though my speeches extended to any, either noble, honorable, or worshipful; for I am farre from once thinking that any kind of sumptuous or gorgeous attire is not to be worn of any of them, as I suppose them rather Ornaments in them, than otherwise.

And that they both may, and, for some respects ought, to were such attire (their birthes, callings, functions, and estats requiring the same) for causes in this my Booke laid downe, as maye appeare; and for the distinction of them from the inferiour sorte it is prouable, both by the Woord of God, Ancient Writers, and common practise of all ages, People and Nations from the beginning of the World to this day.

And therefore, when I speake generally of the excesse of Apparell, my meaning is of the inferiour sorte onely, who for the most parte do farre surpasse either noble, honorable, or worshipfull, ruffling in Silks, Veluets, Satens, Damasks, Taffeties, Gold, Siluer, and what not, with their swards, daggers, and rapiers guilte and reguilte, burnished, and costly ingrauen, with all things els that any noble, honorable, or worshipfull Man doth, or may weare, so as the one cannot easily be discerned from the other.

These be the Abuses that I speake of, these be the euills that I lament, and these be the persons that my words doo concerne, as the

¹ be- it is

tenure of my Booke, confideratly wayed, to any indifferent READER doth purport.

This much I thought good (Gentle Reader) to informe thee of, for thy better instruction, as ¹well in these few points, as in all other ^[1 leaf ¶ 8] the like, wherfoeuer they shall chaunce to occurre in my Booke; Beseaching thee to construe al things to the best, to beare with the rudenes therof, and to giue the same thy good-woord and gentle acceptaunce. And thus in the

LORD I bid thee
farewell.

Thyne to vse in the Lord,

PHILLIP Stubbes.



[Sig. B i E,
B.]

Phillippus Stubeus

CANDIDO LECTORI.¹

[I don't wonder,
reader, if my
book offends you
with its worse
than Vandalic
words and dull
themes; so read
something more
useful.]

Offendit nimia te garrulitate libellus
fortè meus, Lector; miror id ipse nihil.
Obfitus est etenim verborum colluione
plusquam vandalica, rebus et infipidis.
Quare si sapias, operam ne perditio posthac
nostra legendo; legas vitiora, vale.

¶ *Idem in Zoile.*

[Since, Zoilus,
you rage like a
mad dog,

ZOILE, cum tanta rabie exardefcis in omnes,
non aliter rabidus, quam folet ipse canis:
Dente Theonino rodens alios, calamoque,²
inceffens hos, qui nil nocuere tibi:
Vipeream in cunctos vibrans, O Zoile, linguam,
linguam quam inficiunt toxica dira tuam:
Cum debacchandi finis fit, Zoile, nullus,
hora quieta tibi nullaue prætereat:
Cum tumeas veluti ventrosus, ZOILE, bufo,
demiror medius quod minus ipse crepes.

and dart out
your viper's
tongue against
everybody, and
can never be
quiet,
and are always
swelling like the
frog, I wonder
you too don't
burst.]

¶ *Aliud in eundem.*

[To the devil
with Zoilus!
But why so with
one who carries
about the devil
in his own
bosom?

Dæmonis ad tetrum descendat Zoilus antrum,
hunc³ lacerent furiaë, Cerborus ore voret.
Imprecor at misero quid pænas, cui satis intus?
dæmona circumfert pectore namque suo.

¶ *Eiusdem aliud.*

If the book
before you
seems too long,
make it short by
reading but
little of it.]

Si tibi prolixus nimium liber iste videtur,
pauca legas; poterit sic liber esse brevis.

¹ This page is omitted in F.

² calamoque in B, E.

³ hunc in B.

[C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations.

[1r Sig. B i,
back. B, E; not
in A.]

You Sages graue with heares so hoare
 attend what you doe heare :
 And eke you youthfull gallants all,
 marke well and giue good eare.
 You princely peeres, and Senatours,
 in sacred breafis imprint :
 These faiynges wife, and prudent eke,
 to practize doe not flint.
 You Bishoppes, and you Prelates all,
 learn here your flock to keepe :
 You Miniſters, and Preachers eke,
 to feade your feely ſheepe,
 You Commons all, whiche doe enioye,
 bothe high and lowe degree :
 Step boldly in amongest the route,
 and view with fingle eye,
 This perfect glaſſe, and mirror pure,
 which doeth your finnes deſcrie :
 And ſacred precepts doeth preſcribe,
 by name Anatomie.
 Approche therefore both high and lowe,
 this Booke ſee that thou buye :
 And learne thy ſelf by ſacred lore,
 in vertue for to dye.
 To God, to Queene, to all men eke,
 how thou thy ſelf ſhouldſt frame :
 To liue, to dye in vertues lawes,
 to win immortall fame.
 2 Loe here (you readers all) the gaine,
 which you herein maie haue :
 Delay not then, giue *Stubbes* the praife,
 ſince freely he it gaue.

[Sages,

Callants,

Peers,

Bishops,

Preachers,

Commons,

see here your
sins describ'd !

Buy this book,

learn your duty
by it,

[2 Sig. B ij. B,
E.]

and praise
Stubbes.]

Loe, here my freende, his freendly harte,
 which he to Countrey beares,
 His taken paines, to all his¹ fendes,
 with fighes and tricklyng teares:
 In his behalfe, I, as his freende,
 doe humbly of you craue:
 His willyng minde accept, and giue
 hym praife he ought to haue.

[I, Stubbes's
 friend, ask you to
 take his work in
 good part, and
 praise him.]

Finis.

τῆς ἀρετῆς διεγού' η τευχ' ἡ αλδαιακαί. B, E.]

¹ ?he



[leaf A.]

¹A. D. In commendation of the Au-
thor and his Booke.

[Sig. B ij. B, E.]

I F Mortall-man may challenge prayſe
For any thing done in this lyfe,²
Than may our *Stubbes*, at all affayes,
Inioy the ſame withouten ſtryfe :
Not onely for his Godly zeale,
And Chriſtian life accordinglie,
But alſo for this³ booke in ſale,
Heare preſent, now before thine eye.
Herein the Abufes of theſe dayes,
As in a glaſſe thou mayeſt behold :
Oh ! buy it than ; hear what he ſayes,
And giue him thanks an hundred fold.

[Stubbes ſhould
be praiſed for his
Chriſtian life,
and this book
which mirrors
the abuſes of our
days.]

¹ This page is omitted in F.

² like B.

³ his B, E.



[Sig. A r, bk.
A ; B ij, back.
B, E.]

I. F. In Commendation of the AVTHOR
and his Booke.

[If profane men
get praise for
wanton
pamphlets,

Stubbes should
receive the
laurel for this
godly book,

in which the
vices of the
world are
displayd.]

S Hall men prophane, who toyes haue writ,
And wanton pamphlets store,
Which onely tend to noorish vice,
And wickednes the more,
Deferue their praise, and for the same
Accepted be of all,
And shall not this our AVTHOR than
Receive the Lawrell pall?
Who for goodwill in sacred breft
He beares to natiue soyle,
Hath published this Godly Booke
With mickle paine and toyle.
Wherein, as in a Mirrour pure,
Thou mayest behold and see
The vices of the World displayed
Apparent to thy¹ eye.
He flattereth none, as most men do,
In Hope to gaine² a price;
But shewes to all their wickednesse,
And Gods diuyn Iustice.
A Godlyr booke³ was neuer³ made,
Nor meeter for these dayes:
Oh! read it than, thank God for it;
Let TH' AVTOR⁴ haue his praise.

¹ the E, F.

² get F.

³—³ hath not beene E, F.

T' HAVTOR A; Th' Author B, E, F.

¹The Authour and his Booke.

[Sig. A ij. A.;
B iij. B.]

N ow hauing made thee, feelie booke,
and brought thee to this frame,
Full loth I am to publish thee,
left thou impaire my name.

The Booke.

Why so, good Maister? what's the cause
why you so loth should be
To send mee forth into the World,
my fortune for to trye?

The Author.

This is the cause; for that I know
The wicked thou wilt moue;
And eke because thy ignoraunce
is such as none² can loue.

The Booke.

I doubt not but all Godly Men
will loue and like mee well;
And for the other I care not,
in pride although they swell.

The Author.

[Sig. A ij,
back. A.]

Thou art also no lesse in thrall,
And subiect euery way
To MOMVS and to ZOILVS crew,
who'le dayly at thee bay.

¹ This and page xx are omitted in F.

² fewe B, E.

The Booke.

Though Momvs rage and Zoilvs carpe,
 I feare them not at all ;
 The Lord my God, in whom I trust,
 fhall foone caufe them to fall.

The Author.

Well, fith thou wouldest fo faine be gone,
 I can thee not withhold ;
 Adieu, therefore ; God be thy fpeade,
 And bleffe thee a hundred fold.

The Booke.

And you alfo, good Maifter mine,
 God bleffe you with his grace ;
 Preferue you fill, and graunt to you
 In Heauen a dwelling place.





¹ *The Anatomie of*

² *the Abuses in AILGNA.*

[¹ Sig. B i. A.
Sig. B. iij, back.
B, E.]

¶ The Interlocutors, or Speakers.

Spudeus, Philoponus.

God geue you good morow, Maister *Philoponus*.

Philo. And you also, good brother *Spudeus*.

Spud. I am glad to see you in good health, for it was ³bruted abroad euery where³ in our country (by reason of your discontinuance,⁴ I thinke) that you were dead long agoe.⁵

Flying fame
oftentimes
lyeth.

Philo. In deede, I haue spent some tyme abroad, els where then in my native country (I must needs confesse), but how false that Report is (by whom soeuer it was first rumored,⁶ or how farre so euer it be disperfed) your present eyes can witnesse.

⁷*Spud.* I pray you, what course of lyfe haue you lead in this your longe absence foorth of your owne country?

[⁷ Sig. B j,
back. A.]

Philo. Truly (brother) I haue lead the life of a poore Trauayler in a certaine famous Ilande, once named ⁸*Ainabla*, after *Ainatirb*,⁸ but nowe presently called *Ailgna*,⁹ wherein I haue liued these feuen winters and more, trauieling from place to place, euen all the Land ouer indifferently.

The place
wher the Au-
thour hath tra-
uayled.
[*Albania*,
Britania,
Anglia.]

¹⁰*Spud.* That was to your no litle¹¹ charges, I am sure.¹²

[¹⁰ leaf r. B †]

¹³*Philo.* It was so, but what than? I thank God I haue atchieued it, and by his dyuine assistance prosperously accomplished it, his glori-

[¹³ leaf r. E.]
Trauailing
chargeable.

² the *not* in B, E, F. ^{3—3} reported F; euery where *not* in B, E.

⁴ from thence *inserted* in B, E, F. ⁵ *agone* F.

⁶ *broched* B, E, F. ^{8—8} *Albania*, after *Britania* F.

⁹ *Anglia* F. † leaf r. The Author a Trauailer. B.

¹¹ small E; no litle *omitted* in F. ¹² F *adds* was it not I pray you?

ous name (worthie of all magnificence) bee eternally prayfed there fore.

Spud. And¹ to what ende did you take in hand this great trauayle? if I may be so bould as to aske.²

The causes
that moued
the author to
take this trau-
aile in hand.

[⁶ Sig. B ij. A.]

The difference
betwixt a man
that * hath tra-
uayled, and a
man that hath
not.

[* the A.; that B.]

[¹³ leaf 1, back.
B. f.]

[¹⁵ leaf 1, back.
E.]

The benefite
of a good Com-
panion to tra-
uayle withall.
[²⁰ Sig. B ij,
back. A.]

Philo. Truly, to seee fashions, to acquainte my-selſe with the natures, qualities, properties, and conditions of all men, to breake my ſelſe to the worlde, to learne nurture, good demeanour, & cyuill behauour; to ſee the goodly ſituation of Citties, Townes, and Countreyes, with their proſpects and commodities; and finally to learne the ſtate of all thinges in generall: all which I could neuer haue learned in³ one place.³ For⁴ who⁵ ſitteth at home, euer⁶ commorante or⁷ abiding⁸ in one place, knoweth nothinge in reſpecte of him that trauayleth abroad: and hee that knoweth nothing, is lyke⁹ a brute Beaſte; but hee that knoweth all thinges (whiche thinge none doeth but God alone) hee is¹⁰ a God amongeſt men. And ſeeing there is a perfection in knowledge as in euery thing els, euery man ought to deſire that perfection¹¹; for in my iudgement there is as much difference (almoſt)¹² betwixt a man that hath trauayled much, and him that hath dwelt euer in one place, (in reſpect of knowledge and ſcience of thinges,) as is be¹³twen a man lyuinge, & one dead in graue; And therefore I haue had a great felicitye in trauayling abroad.¹⁴

¹⁵ *Spud.* Seing that by diuynе prouidence we are heare¹⁶ met together, let vs (vntill we come to the end of our purpoſed¹⁷ iorney) vſe ſome conference of the ſtate of the World now at this daie, as well to recreate our minds, as to cut of the tedyouſnes of oure iorneye.

Philo. I am very well contente ſo to doe, beinge¹⁸ not a litle glad¹⁹ of your good companie; for *Comes facundus in via, pro vehiculo eſt.* 1. A good Companion too trauayle withall, is in-ſteade of a Wagon²⁰ or Chariot. For as the one doth eaſe the painfullneſſe of the way, ſo doth the other alleuiat the yrkſomnes of the iourney intended.

¹ And not in B, E, F.

² aske you F.

³—³ my owne countrey E; my owne countrey at home F.

⁴ For (in my poor iudgement) E, F.

⁵—⁵ hee that F.

⁷ commorante or not in F.

⁸ or abiding not in B, E.

⁹ like not in E, F.

¹⁰ is (as it were) E, F.

¹¹ F adds aboue al other thinges.

¹² om. F.

¹⁴ F adds all my life long.

† leaf 1, back. The benefite of trauayling. B.

¹⁶ om. F.

¹⁷ om. F.

¹⁸ reioysing E, F.

¹⁹ glad not in E, F.

Spud. But before I enter combat¹ with you (because I am a country man, rude and vnlarned, & you, a Cyuilian indued with great wisdom, knowledge, and experience,) I most humbly beseech you that you wyl not be offended with me, though I talke with you fomewhat grossly,² without eyther polished wordes, or fyled speeches, which your wisdom³ doth require, and⁴ my insufficiencie and inabyllitie⁵ is not⁶ of power to affoorde.⁶

A request to
auoid [scandal
or E.] offence.

Phil. Your speeches (I put you out of doubt) shall not⁷ be offensive to mee, if they be not offensive to God first.

Spud. I pray you⁸ what maner of Countrey⁹ is that *Ailgna*,¹⁰ where you fay you haue trauailed so much?

Philo. A pleasant & famous Iland, immured aboute with the Sea, as it were with a wall,¹¹ wherein the aire is verie¹² temperate, the ground fertile, and¹³ abounding with all things, either¹⁴ necessary to¹⁴ man or needefull¹⁵ for beaſt.

Ailgna a
goodly cuntry.
[Anglia, Eng-
land.]
[¹¹ leaf 2 E.]

Spud. What kinde of people are they that inhabite there¹⁶?

Philo. A strong kinde of people, audacious,¹⁷ bold, puissant, and heroycal; of¹⁸ great magnanimitie, valiauncie, and prowes, of an incomparable feature,¹⁹ of an excellent complexion, and²⁰ in all humanitie inferiour to none vnder the Sunne.

The people of
Ailgna.

Spud. This people, whome God hath thus blessed, must needs bee a verie godly people, eyther els they be meere ingrate²¹ to God, the authour of all grace, & of these their blessings especially.

[²⁰ Sig. B.ij. A.]

Philo. It greueth me to remember their liues, or to make mention of their wayes²²; for, notwithstanding that the Lorde hath blessed²³ that Lande²³ with the knowledge of his truth aboue all other Landes in the world, yet is there not a people more abrupte,²⁴ wicked, or peruerſe, liuing vpon the face of the earth.

The liues of
the people of
Ailgna.

Spud. From whence spring all these euills in man? for we see

¹ into dispute F.

² rudely B, E, F.

³ F adds peradventure ⁴ and whiche B. ⁵ being such added in E, F.

⁶⁻⁶ able to perform B, E; able for to yelde F.

⁷ uot A.

⁸ you then E, F.

† leaf 2. Ailgna described. B.

¹⁰ is England F.

¹² verie not in B, E, F. ¹³ the earth B, E, F.

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ needfull for F.

¹⁵ necessarie F.

¹⁶ that Countrey E, F.

¹⁷ most audacious F.

¹⁸ and of F.

¹⁹ of body added in F.

²¹ meerlie vngratefull F.

²² workes F.

²³⁻²³ them F.

²⁴ corrupt E, F.

euerie one is inclined to sin naturally, and there is no fleshe which liueth and sinneth not.

Philo. All wickednes, mischiefe, and sinne (doubte you not, brother *Spud.*) springeth of¹ our² auncient ennemie the Deuill, the inueterate corruption of our nature, and the intestine malice of our owne hearts, as from the³ ⁴originals of all vncleannes & impuritie⁴ whatsoeuer. But we are now newe creatures, and ⁵adoptiue children,⁵ ⁶created in Christ Iesus to doe⁷ good woorkes, which God hath prepared for vs to walke in. ⁸Wherefore wee⁸ ought to haue no fellowship with the workes of darknesse, but to put on the armour of light, ⁹Christ ¹⁰Iesus,⁹ to walke in newnesse of life, and to worke our saluation in¹¹ feare and trembling, as the Apostle saith¹²; and our sauour Christ biddeth vs so¹³ work as our workes may glorifie our heauenlye Father. But (alas!)¹⁴ the contrarie is most true; for there is no sinne that¹⁵ was euer broached in any age, which¹⁶ flourisheth not nowe. And therefore the fearfull daie of the Lord cannot be farre of; at which day all the World shall stand in flashing fier, and than shall Christ our Sauour come marching in *the* clowdes of heauen, with his¹⁷ *Tarantara* sounding in each mans eare, 'arise you Dead, and come to iudgement!' and than shall the Lord reward euery Man after¹⁸ his owne workes. But how little this¹⁹ is esteemed of, & how smally regarded,¹⁹ to consider, it ²⁰greeueth me to the very harte, and there is almost no life in mee.²⁰

Spud. It is but a follie to greeue at²¹ them who sorowe not for them selues. Let them sinck in their owne sinne: lyue well your selfe, & you shall ²²not answere for them, nor they for you. Is it not writen, *vnusquisque portabit suum onus*²³? Euery one shall beare his own bur-

From whence
all euilles
spring in man.
[² leaf 2, back.
B.*]

[⁶ leaf 2, back.
E.]

We ought to
haue no dealing
with the
workes of the
flesh.

[¹⁰ Sig. B iij, bk]

The day of
Dome not re-
garded.

Euery Man
must answer
for him selfe.

[²² leaf 3. B.+]

¹ from E, F.

* leaf 2, back. The originall of sinne. B.

³ the causes and E.

⁴—⁴ efficient causes and stinking puddles of all vncleannes and filthinesse F.

⁵—⁵ adopted (*sic*) children of God F.

⁷ om. F.

⁸—⁸ and therefore B, E; and therefore we F.

⁹—⁹ not in E, F.

¹¹ with F.

¹² speaketh F.

¹³ so to F.

¹⁴ F omits alas.

¹⁵ which F.

¹⁶ that F.

¹⁷ this dreadfull *instead* of his B, E, F.

¹⁸ according to F.

¹⁹—¹⁹ daie is feared, †how smally perpended,‡ and how slenderly regarded in Ailgna§ B, E, F. †—† om. F; § England F.

²⁰—²⁰ would grieve any Christian hart to consider F.

²¹ for F.

† leaf 3. Of Christian charitie. B.

²³ onus suum F.

den. *Anima quæ peccauerit, ipsa morietur*: the soule that sinneth
 fhall dy. wherefore surcease¹ to sorow or greeue any more for them,
 for² they are such as the Lord hath cast of³ into a ⁴reprobat fence,
 &⁴ ⁵preiudicat opinion, & preordinat⁵ to ⁶destruccion, that his power, [6 Sig. B iij. A..
 his glorie, and⁷ iustice may appeare to all the World.

Philo. Oh, brother! ther is no⁸ christen man in whose hart shineth [The Christian's
*scintillula aliqua*⁹ *pietatis*, any sparke of ¹⁰God his grace, which¹¹ will
 not greeue to see¹⁰ his brethren & sisters in the Lord, members of the
 same body, coheyes of the same kingdom, & purchased with one
 & the same inestimable price of Christ his blood, to runne thus¹² def-
 peratlie into¹³ the gulphe of destruccion and laberinth of¹⁴ perdition.¹⁵
 If the least and¹⁶ meanest member of thy whole body be hurt, wounded,
 cicatriced, or brused, doth not the hart and euerie member of thy¹⁷
 body feele the anguish and paine of the grieued parte, seking & en-
 deuouring ¹⁸them selues,¹⁸ euery one in his office & calling,¹⁹ to repaire
 the same, and neuer ioying vntill that²⁰ be restored again to his former
 integritie & perfection? Which thinge, in the balance of Christian
 charity, consideratly weighed, may²¹ moue any good Man²² to mourn
 for their defeccion, and to assay²³ by all possible means²³ to reduce²⁴
 them home ²⁵again, that their soules maie be saued in the daye of the [The mutuall
 Lord. And the Apostle commandeth vs,²⁶ ²⁷that we be²⁷ (*alter*²⁸ *alterius emolumento*) an²⁹ ayde and helpe one to an other. And that
 we do good to all men, *dum tempus habemus*, whylest we haue tyme.
 To weepe with them that weepe, to mourne with them that mourne,
 and ³⁰to be of like affection one towards an other. And common [25 leaf 3, back.
 [30 Sig. B iij, back]

¹ cease F.

² by all probable conjectures *added in* B, E; F *adds* by all likelihood

³ *not in* F; of=off. ⁴ *not in* B, E, F. ⁵ *destinate* F.

⁷ and his F. ⁸ *not any* F. ⁹ *vlla* F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ Gods grace, but will grieue, seeing F. ¹¹ who B, E.

¹² thus *not in* B, E, F. ¹³ headlong into B, E, F.

¹⁴ laberinth of *not in* F. ¹⁵ F *adds* both of body and soule for euer.

¹⁶ or B, E, F. ¹⁷ the E, F.

¹⁸—¹⁸ by al meanes possible B, E, F. ¹⁹ nature F. ²⁰ it F.

²¹ ought to B; mooveth me and ought to E, F. ²² Christian man B, E, F.

²³—²³ *not in* B; assaying by al meanes possible E, F.

²⁴ and to bring *added in* E; reclaime them, and to bring F.

† leaf 3, back. The Authors intent. B.

²⁶ to the vttermost of our power *added in* B, E, F. ²⁷ *om.* F.

²⁸ vt *simus alter* B, E, F. (*alteri in* F.) ²⁹ That we should be an F.

No man born
for himselfe.

reaſon aduertifieth¹ vs, that wee are not borne for our ſelues onelie; for *Ortus noſtri partem patria, partem amici, partem parentes vendicant*: Our Countrey challengeth a part of our byrth, our brethren and frendes require an other parte, and our parentes (and that *optimo iure*) doe vendicate a third parte: Wherefore I will aſſay to doe them good (if I can) in² diſcouering their abuſes, and laying open their inor-
mities, that they, ſeeing the greeuouſnes of their maladies, & daunger of theyr diſeaſes, may in time ſeeke to³ the true Phiſition⁴ & expert Chirurghion⁴ of their ſoules, Chriſt Ieſus, of whome onelie commeth all health & grace, and ſo eternally be ſaued.

Spud. Seeing that ſo many and ſo haynous ſinnes⁵ do raigne and rage in *Ailgna*,⁶ as your wordes⁷ import, and which mooue you to ſuch inteſtine ſorrowe and grieve of minde, I pray you deſcribe vnto me more perticularly ſome of thoſe Capitall⁸ crimes, and chiefe Abuſes⁸ which are there frequented, and which diſhonour the maieſtie of God the⁹ moſt, ¹⁰as you ſuppoſe.¹⁰

[leaf 4: Sig.
B. v.]

A particular deſcription of PRIDE, the principall
Abuſe¹¹; and how manifold it is
in AILGNA.¹¹

PHILOPONVS.

YOU do well to requeſt me to cipher¹² foorth vnto you¹³ parte¹⁴ of thoſe great Abuſes (and Cardinall Vices) vſed¹⁵ in AILGNA,¹⁶ for no man in anie ¹⁷Catalogue, how prolix ſoeuer,¹⁷ is able to comprehend the ſumme of all ¹⁸abuſes there in praſtiſe.¹⁸ And whereas you woulde haue mee to ſpeake of thoſe Capitall or¹⁹ chiefe Abuſes, which both are deadly in their owne nature, and which offende the maieſtie of

The number of
Abuſes [in
Ailgna E]
infinite.

¹ teacheth F. ² by E, F. ³ to om. F. ^{4—4} om. F.
⁵ inormities B, E, F. ⁶ England F. ⁷ words doe B, E, F.
^{8—8} abuſes and horrible crimes E, F. (vices for crimes F.)
⁹ the *not in* B, E, F. ^{10—10} in your iudgment F.
¹¹ in Ailgna (in England *in* F.) comes after Abuse *in* B, E, F.
¹² diſcipher B, E; deſcribe F. ¹³ unto you *not in* B, E. ¹⁴ ſome F.
¹⁵ which are vſed F. ¹⁶ England F. ^{17—17} competent volume F.
^{18—18} the abuſes there practiſed F. ¹⁹ and B, E.

God moſte.¹ Mee thinke you² ſhake hands with the ſworne enemies of God, the Papiftes, who ſay there are two kindes of finne, the one veniall, the other lethall or deadly. But you muſt vnderſtand that there is not the leaſt finne, that is committed, eyther in thought, worde or deede (yea, *Væ vniuerſæ iuſtitie noſtræ, ſi remota miſericordia iudicetur*: Wo be to all our righteouſnes, if, mercy put away, they³ ſhould bee iudged) but it is damnable, *dempta miſericordia Dei*, if the mercie of God be⁴ not extended.⁴ And againe; there is no finne ſo⁵ greuous, which⁶ the grace and mercy of God is not⁷ able⁸ ſo⁹ coun¹⁰teruaile withal, & if it bee his¹¹ pleaſure to blot it out for euer.⁹ So *that* you ſee now, there is no finne ſo venial, but if the mercie of God be not¹² ſtretched out,¹² it is damnable; nor yet anie finne ſo mortall, which by the grace and mercie of God may not bee done away. And therefore as we are not to preſume of the one, ſo wee are not to deſpaire of the other. But to returne againe to *the* ſatisfying of your request. The greateſt abuſe, which¹³ both offendeth god moſte, & is there not a little aduaunced, is the execrable finne of Pride, and exceſſe in apparell, which is there ſo ripe,¹⁴ as the filthie fruits¹⁵ thereof haue long ſince preſented themſelues before the throne of the maieſtie of God, calling and crying for vengeance day and night inceſſantly.

All ſinne in it owne nature is mortall.

[⁸ Sig. B. v, back]
[¹⁰ leaf 4, back. B. f]

The greateſt abuſe which offendeth god moſt is pride.

Spud. Wherefore haue you intended to ſpeak of Pride the firſt of all, geuing vnto¹⁶ it the firſt place in your traſtation¹⁷? Becauſe it is euill in it-ſelfe, and the efficiente cauſe of euill, or for ſome other purpoſe?

Philo. For no other cauſe but for that I thinke it to bee¹⁸ not onely euill and damnable in it owne nature, but alſo the verie efficient cauſe of all euills. And therefore the wiſe man was bolde to call it *Initium omnium malorum*, the beginning and welſpring of al euils. For as from the roote all natural thinges doe grow, & take their

Pride the be-
gyning of all
euill.

ECCLES. 10.

¹ as I ſuppoſe *added in B, E.*

² you herein B, E.

³ the B; it E, F.

⁴—⁴ taken away E.

⁵ lethall nor yet any offence ſo *added in B, E*; ſo lethall or deadly, nor yet any offence ſo F.

⁶ but F.

⁷ om. F.

⁸—⁹ pardon and remit, if it be his good pleaſure ſo to do F.

† leaf 4, back. Pride, the roote of all vices. B.

¹¹ his good E.

¹²—¹² ſtretched forth E; extended F.

¹³ in my judgemente *added in B, E, F.* ¹⁴ ſo ſtinckynge B, E; ſo rotten F.

¹⁵ and lothſome dregges *added in B E*; dregges F.

¹⁶ om. F.

¹⁷ diſcourſe F.

¹⁸ to bee *not in F.*

[¹ Sig. B vj.][² leaf 5. B.*]What is it but
pride dares
attempt it.

beginning, so from *the* cursed ¹roote of ²pestiferous Pride do all other³ euilles sproute, and thereof are ingenerate. Therefore may Pride be called not improperly, *Matricula et origo omnium vitiorum*, the mother and nurse of al mischief: for what thyng⁴ so haynous, what cryme so flagitious, what deed so perillous, what attempt so venterous, what enterprife so pernicious, or what thing so offensiue to God, or hurtful to man, in ⁵all *the* world, which man ⁶(of himselfe a very Sathanas),⁶ ⁷to maintain his pride withall,⁷ wil not willingly atchieue⁸? hereof ⁹wee haue too muche experience euerye day, more is the pittie.⁹

Spud. How manyfold is this sin of Pryde, whereby the glorie of God is defaced, and his maiestie so greuously offended!

Pride is three-
fold: pride of
the hart, pride
of the mouth,
and pride of
apparell.

Philo. Pride is tripartite¹⁰; namely, *the* pryde of the hart, the pride of the mouth, & the pryde of apparell, which¹¹ (vnles I bee deceiued) offendeth God more then the other two. For as *the* pride of the heart &¹² mouth is¹³ not opposit to *the* eye, nor visible to the sight, and therefor ¹⁴intice not¹⁴ others to vanitie & sin (notwithstanding they be greuous finnes in the sight of God) so the pride of apparel, ¹⁵remaining in¹⁵ sight, as an exemplarie of euill, induceth the whole man to wickednes and sinne.

Spud. How is the pride of *the* hart committed?

[¹⁶ leaf 5, back.
B.†][¹⁸ Sig. B vj.
back]

¹⁶ *Philo.* Pride of the hart is perpetrate¹⁷ when as a man lifting him selfe on highe, thinketh ¹⁸of himselfe aboute that which he is ¹⁹of himselfe,¹⁹ dreamyng a ²⁰perfection of²¹ himselfe, when he²² is nothyng lesse; And in respect of himselfe contempneth, ²³vilefieth, and reproacheth²³ all men,²⁴ thinking none comparable to him selfe, whose righteounes, notwithstanding, is lyke to the polluted cloth of a menstruous woman. Therefore the Pryde of the Heart maye bee saide too bee a Rebellious elation, or lyftyng vpe of the mynde agaynst the

[Isaias 50. E.]

What pride of
the hart is.

* leaf 5. Three sortes of Pride. B.

³ other *not in* B, E.⁴ *facte* B, E, F.⁵ is there in B, E, F.^{6—6} *not in* F.^{7—7} *come after* atchieue *in* B, E, F.⁸ attempt E; commit F.^{9—9} euery daies successe ministreth proof sufficient B, E, F.¹⁰ threefold F.¹¹ the laste whereof B, E, F.¹² and of the B, E, F.¹³ are F.^{14—11} cannot intice B, E, F.^{15—15} obiecte to B, E; which is obiect to the F.

† leaf 5, back. Pride deuided. B.

¹⁷ committed F.^{19—19} *not in* E, F.²⁰ of a F.²¹ in F.²² there F.^{23—23} and despiseth²⁴ others E, F.

Lawe of God, attrbytynge and afcrybynge that vnto himfelfe whiche is proper to God onely. And although it bee the Lorde, *Qui operatur in nobis velle*¹ et *posse*, who worketh in vs both the wil and power to do good, *Ne gloriaretur omnis caro*, leaste anie flefhe fhould bofte of his owne power and ftrength, yet Pride, with his Cofin germainn *Philautia*, which is *Selfeloue*, perfwadeth him *that* he hath neede of no mans helpe but his owne; that he ftandeth by his own proper ftrength & power, and by no mans els, & that he is al in all; yea, fo perfect and good as no more can be² ³exacted of hym.³

Spud. How is⁴ Pride of wordes, or pride of⁵ mouthe, committed?

Philo. Pride of the mouth, or of⁶ wordes, is when we boaft, bragge, or glorie, eyther of our felues, our kinned,⁷ confanguynitie, byrth, parentage, and fuche like: or when we extol our ⁸felues ⁹for any ⁹vertue, fanctimonie of lyfe,¹⁰ fyncertye of ¹¹Godlynes¹¹ which eyther is in vs, or which we pretend to be in vs. In this kinde of Pride (as in the other) almoft euery one offendeth; for fhall you not haue all (in a maner) boaft & ¹²vaunt themfelues¹² of their Auncetors and progenitors? faying & crying¹³ with open mouth, I ‘am a Gentleman, I am worfhipful, I am Honourable, I am Noble, and I can not tell what: my father was this, my father was that: I am come of this houle, and I am come of that.¹⁴’ Wheras, Dame *Nature* bryngeth vs all into the worlde after one forte, and receiueh all againe into the wombe of our mother, I meane¹⁵ the bowelles of the earth, al in one and the fame order and manner; without any difference or diuerfitie at all; wherof more hereafter fhallbe fpoken.

Spud. How is Pride of Apparell committed?

Philo. By wearyng of Apparell more gorgeous, fumptuous, & precious than our ftate, callyng, or condition of lyfe requireth;

PHILAUTIA.

How pride of wordes or of the mouth is committed.

[⁸ leaf 7; † there is no leaf 6. B 7.]

[Vain glorious ostentation of birthes, & parentage, &c. B, E.]

How pride of

¹ et *velle* F.

² be required or B, E.

^{3—3} required of him in this life F.

⁴ is the E, F.

⁵ of the E; the pride of the F.

⁶ om. F.

⁷ affinitie added in F.

† leaf 7. Pride vainglorious. B.

^{9—9} in respect of E; in respect of some F.

¹⁰ of lyfe om. F.

^{11—11} integrity or perfection F; and the like added in E.

^{12—12} bragge F.

¹³ *aperto ore* added in F.

¹⁴ I was borne of this race, and I was borne of that, I am † come of this stocke, and I am come of that, † added in B, E, F; but E & F have sprong of [descended in F.] this stock, and I of that for †—†

¹⁵ I meane not in E, F.

apparel is per-
petrate &
committed.

[³ leaf 7, back.
B.†]

[⁴ B 7, back]

wherby we are puffed vp into Pride, and inforced¹ to thinke of our felues more than we ought, beyng but vile earth, and miserable finners. And this sinne of Apparell (as I haue sayde before) hurteth more then the other two; For the sinne of the heart hurteth none but the Author in whom it breedeth, so long as it bursteth not forth into ²exteriour action²; ³and the ⁴Pride of the mouth⁵ (whiche consisteth, as I haue sayd, in ostenting and braggyng of some singular vertue, eyther in himselfe or some other of his kinned, and which he arrogateth to himselfe (by ⁶Hereditarie possession or lineall dissent)⁵ though it be meere vngodly in it own nature; yet it is not⁷ permanent (for ⁸wordes fly⁸ into the aire, not leauing any print or character behinde them to offend the eyes⁹) But this sinne of¹⁰ exceffe of Apparell remayneth as an Example of euill before our eyes, and as¹¹ a prouocatiue¹² to sinne, as Experience daylye sheweth.¹³

A decorum to
be obserued.

Spud. Would you not haue men to obserue a decencie, a comli- nesse, & a *decorum* in their vsuall¹⁴ Attire? Doeth not the worde of God commaund¹⁵ vs to do all things¹⁵ *decenter et secundum ordinem ciuilem*, decently and after a cyuile maner¹⁶?

Our apparell
rather deform-
eth than
adorneth vs.

Philo. I¹⁷ would wish that a decencie, a comly order, and, as you say, a *decorum* were obserued, as well in Attire as in all things els: but would God the contrarie were not true; for¹⁸ most of our nouell¹⁹ Inuentions and new fangled fashions²⁰ rather deforme vs²¹ then adorne vs, disguise vs then become vs, makying vs rather to resemble sauadge Beastes and stearne²² Monsters, then continent, sober, and chaste Christians.

[²³ B viij]

Spud. Hathe this contagious infection of ²³*Pride* in²⁴ *Apparell* infected and poysoned any other countrey beside *Ailgna*,²⁵ suppose you?

¹ induced F.

^{2—2} outward shew and appearance F.

† leaf 7, back. Men become Monsters. B.

^{5—5} not in F; from his progenitors added in E.

⁶ as it were by B, E.

⁷ is it not so F.

^{8—8} Verba cito avolant, et euanescunt in aerem, words soone fly away and vanish E, F. ⁹ eies withal F. ¹⁰ of the F. ¹¹ is E, F.

¹² prouocation F.

¹³ prooueth F.

¹⁴ vsuall not in F.

^{15—15} vs al things to be done E, F.

¹⁶ order F.

¹⁷ yes truly I B, E; Yea trulie I F.

¹⁸ do not the E.

¹⁹ fond F.

²⁰ dooe thei not added in B.

²¹ vs omitted in F.

²² bruitish F.

²⁴ of F.

²⁵ countries besides England F.

¹ *Philo.* No doubt but this poyfon hath fhed foorth his influence, [¹ leaf 8. B.*] and powred foorth his stinking dregges ouer all the face of the earth ; but yet I am fure there is not any people vnder the Zodiacke² of heauen, how ³ clownish, rurall,³ or brutish foeuer, that is⁴ so poisoned with this Arfnecke of Pride, or⁵ hath drunke so deepe of ⁶the dregges of this⁶ Cup as *Ailgna*⁷ hath ; with grieve of conscience I speake it, with sorow I see it, and with teares I lament it.

[Circes cuppes
and Medeas
pottes haue made
England dronken
with Pride. E.]

Spud. But I haue heard them saye that other Nations passe them for exquisite⁸ brauery in Apparell : as the *Italians*, the *Athenians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Caldeans*, *Heluetians*, *Zuitzers*, *Venetians*, *Muscovians*, and such lyke : now, whither this be true or not I greatly desire to knowe.

No Cuntrey so
drunken with
pride as
Ailgna.

Philo. This is but a visour, or cloke, to hide⁹ their Sodometrie¹⁰ withall ; onelye spoken, not prooued ; forged in the deceitfull Mint of their owne¹¹ braynes : For (if credit may be giuen to ancient writers) the *Egyptians* are said neuer¹² to haue changed¹² their fashion, or altered the forme¹³ of their first¹³ Attire from the beginning¹⁴ to this day : as Iacobus Stuperius, *lib. de diuersis nostræ ætatis habitibus*, Pag. 16, affirmeth. The *Grecians* are saide to vse but one kynde of Apparell without any chaunge : that is, to ¹⁵wit, a longe Gowne reaching downe to the grounde.

[Stuperius. B.
E.]

[¹⁵ B 8, back]

The *Germanes* are thought to be so precise in obseruing one vniforme fashion in Apparell, as they haue neuer receeded from their first Original ; as the said *Stuperius* sayth in these¹⁶ wordes : *Non enim mores leuiter mutare vetustos, Germanus vnquam consuevit incola* : Whiche in Englysh Verse is thus muche in effect :

[¹⁶ leaf 8, back.
B.†]

¶ *The Germane people neuer vse
lightly¹⁷ to chop and chaunge
Their customes olde, or els Attyre,
wherin abroade they range.*

[Cp. my *Andrew
Boorde*, p. 159,
152, 149.]

¶ *The Muscovians, Athenians, Italians, Brasilians, Affricanes,*

* leaf 8. Newfanglednesse in Ailg. B.

² face F.

^{3—3} sauage F.

⁴ that is *not in* B, E, F.

⁵ or that B, E, F.

^{6—6} this impotionate B, E, F.

⁷ England F.

⁸ finenesse and *added in* F.

⁹ couer B, E, F.

¹⁰ owne shame E, F.

¹¹ own lying F.

^{12—12} to chaunge F.

^{13—13} or fashion of their F.

¹⁴ of the world *added in* F.

† leaf 8, back. Foreigne guise of Apparell. B.

¹⁷ at all F.

[All nations
inferiour to
Ailgna for
pride of apparell
B, E.]

[⁵ C 1]

[No people so
curious in newe
fangles as thei of
Ailgna. B, E.]

[⁶ leaf 9, B.†]

Other coun-
treies not to
be blamed:
though they
go in silks,
veluets, and
why.

[¹² C 1, back]

Ashanes, Cantabrians, Hungarians, Ethiopians,¹ or els what Nation² soeuer vnder the Sunne, are so farre behinde the people of *Ailgna*³ in exquisitnesse of Apparell, as in effect they esteeme it litle or nothyng at all, so it repell the colde and couer their shame; yea, some of them are so smally addicted therto, that, setting apart all honestie and shame, they go cleane naked. Other some, meanly apparellled; some in Beasts skinnnes, some in haire, & what euer they can get⁴: some in one thing, some in another, nothing regarding eyther hosen, shoes, bands, ruffes, shirts, or any thing els. And the ciuilest nations that are, bee so farre estranged from the pride of ⁵Apparell, that they esteeme him as brauelye attyred that is clothed in our carzies, frizes, ruggs, and other kinds of cloth, as we do him that is clad all ouer in filkes, veluets, satens, damasks, grograins, taffeties, and such like. So that herby you see that they speak vntruly, that say that other nations exceede them in brauerie of apparell. For it is manifest that all other Nati⁶ons vnder the sun, how strange, how new, how fine, or how comly soeuer they think their fashions to be, when they be compared with the dyuerse fashions & fundrie formes of apparell in *Ailgna*,⁷ are most vnhandsome, brutish, and monstrouse. And herby it appeareth that no People in the World is⁸ so curiouse in new fangles as they of *Ailgna*⁷ be. But graunte it were so, and admit that others excelled them (which is false), shall we do euill because they do so? shall their wickednesse excuse vs of sinne, if we commit the like & worse? shall not the soule that sinneth dye? wherefore let vs not sinne of⁹ presumption with the multitude, because they do so, least we be plagued with them because we doe the like. Moreouer, those Cuntreyes are rich and welthie of them selues, abounding with all kinde of preciouſe ornaments and riche attyre, as silks, veluets, Satens, damasks, ſarcenet, taffetie,¹⁰ chamlet, and such¹¹ like (for al these are made in those foraine cuntreyes), and therefore ¹²if they weare them they are not muche¹³ to bee blamed, as not hauing anie other kind of cloathing to couer themſelues withall. So if wee would contente ourſelues with such kinde of attire as our owne Countrey doeth

¹ Dutch, French *added in F.*

² nations F.

³ England F.

⁴ get *not in F.*

† leaf 9.

Brutishe fashions in *Ailgna*. B.

⁷ England F.

⁶ are B, E, F.

⁹ in B, E.

¹⁰ Taffeta F.

¹¹ the B, E, F.

¹³ *not in F.*

¹ minifter vnto ¹ vs, it were much ² tollerable. But wee are fo furprifed ³ in Pride, that if it come not from beyond the feas, it is not worth a fraw. And thus we impouerifh our felues in buying their trifling merchandizes, more plefant than neceffarie, and ⁴ inrich them, who rather ⁵ laugh at vs in their fleeues than otherwise, ⁶ to fee our gret follie in affecting of trifles, & departing ⁷ with good merchandizes ⁸ for it. ⁹ And howe litle they efteeme of filkes, veluets, fatens, damafks, ¹⁰ and fuch like, ¹⁰ wee maye eafely fee, in that they fell them to vs for ¹¹ wolles, frizes, rugges, carzies, and the lyke, whiche they coulede ¹² neuer doe ¹³ if they efteemed of them as much as we doe. So that you fee they are forced of neceffityte to weare fuch riche attyre, wanting other things (whereof we haue ftore) to inueft themfelues withall. But who feeth not (excepte wilfullie blynde) that no neceffitie compelleth vs to weare them, hauing abundance of other things to attire our felues with, ¹⁴ both hanfomer, warmer, ¹⁵ and as comlie as ¹⁵ they in euerie refpecte? But 'farre fetched and deare boughte' is good for Ladyes, ¹⁶ they fay.

Other Countreyes efteeme not fo muche filkes, veluets, as we do.

[⁴ leaf 9, back B.†]

[Foreigners change their veluets, &c. for our wools. Cp. *Stafford*, p. 54, 87, &c.]

Spud. Doe you thinke it not permitted to any, hauinge ftore of other neceffary clothing, ¹⁷ to weare filks, veluets, taffeties, & other fuche riche attyre, of what calling foeuer they be of ¹⁸?

Ph. I doubt not but it is lawfull for the potestates, ¹⁹ the nobilitie, the gentrie, ²⁰ yeomanrie, and for euerye priuate fubiecte els ²⁰ to weare ²¹ attyre euery one in ²² his degree, accordinge as his calling and condition of life requireth; yet a meane is to be kept, for *omne extremum vertitur in vitium*, euery extreme is turned into vice. ²² The nobilitye ²³ (though they haue ftore of other attyre) and the gentrie (no doubt) may vfe a rich and precioufe kynd of apparell (in the feare of God) ²³ to innoble, garnifhe, & fet forthe their byrthes, dignities, ²⁴ functions, and callings; but for no other refpecte they may not in any maner of

Euery man may weare apparell according to his callinge.

The nobility may weare gorgious attire, and why

¹—¹ afford B, E; yeeld F. ² somewhat B, E, F. ³ captiuate F.
 † leaf 9, back. Pride and Pleasure in Ailg. B. ⁵ rather *not in* B, E, F.
⁶ than otherwise *not in* B, E, F. ⁷ parting F. ⁸ wares F.
⁹ them B, E, F. ¹⁰—¹⁰ Taffetaes, and fuch, F. ¹¹ for our B, E, F.
¹² would F. ¹³ *not in* F. ¹⁴ with-all F.
¹⁵—¹⁵ and comlier then B, E, F. (comelier F.) ¹⁶ ladies as B.
¹⁸ of *not in* B, F. ¹⁹ the potestates *not in* B, E, F.
²⁰—²⁰ and the magisterie B, E, F. ²¹ weare riche B, E, F.
²²—²² their calling B, E, F. ²³—²³ *omitted in* B; and gentrie E, F.
²⁴—²⁴ & estates. The magistry B, E, F.

Maiestrats
may were
sumptuouse
attyre, & why.
[3 leaf 10 B.*]

[7 C 2, back]

[Men die for
want of food.]

Not lawfull
for priuate
subiectes to
weare sump-
teous attyre.

Hard to know
a Gentleman
from another
by apparell.

[16 leaf 10, back.
B.†]

wyse. The maiestrats also & Officers in the weale publique, by what tytyle soeuer they be called (accordinge to their abylyties), may were (if the Prince or Superintendent do Godly commaund) coslye ornaments and riche attyre,²⁴ to dignifie their callings, and to demonstrat¹ and shewe forth¹ the excelency² and worthines of their offices and functions, therby to strike a terroure & feare into the harts of the people to offend against³⁴ the maiesty of their callings⁴: but yet would I wish that what so is superfluous or ouermuche, either in the one or in the other, shold be distributed to⁵ the helpe of⁶ the pore members of Christ Iesus, of whom an infynite number⁷ daylie do⁸ perishe thorowe wante of necessarie refection and due sustentation to their bodies. And as for the priuat subiects, it is not at any hand lawfull that they should weare filks, veluets, satens, damasks, gould, siluer, and what they list (though they be neuer so able to maintain it), except they, being in some kinde of office in the common wealth, do vse it for the dignifying and innobling of the fame.⁹ But now there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparell in Ailgna,¹⁰ and such preposterous¹¹ excesse therof, as euery one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparell he lust¹² himselfe, or can get by anie kind of¹³ meanes So that it is verie hard to knowe¹⁴ who is noble,¹⁴ who is worshipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not: for you shall haue those which are neither of the nobylitie, gentilitie, nor yeomanry; no, nor yet anie Magistrat, or Officer in the common welth, go daylie in filkes, veluets, satens, damasks, taffeties, and such like, notwithstanding that they be both base by byrthe, meane by estate, & seruyle by calling. ¹⁵This is ¹⁵a great confusion, & ¹⁶a general disorder: ¹⁷God be mercyfull vnto vs ¹⁷!

Spud. If it be not lawfull for euery one to weare filks, veluets,

¹—¹ not in B.

² the maiestie added in B, E, F.

* leaf 10. Sumptuous Attire. B.

⁴—⁴ their office and authoritie B, E, F.

⁵ and erogat to B, E, F. ⁶ and subvention of B, E, F. ⁸ do not in F.

⁹ Or at the commaundement of † their superintendent, or Archprimate, ‡ for some speciall consideration or purpose, added in B, E, F. (†—‡ the chiefe Magistrate F.)

¹⁰ England (and so in every other place where Ailgna occurs) F.

¹¹ horrible F.

¹² listeth F; lusteth B, E.

¹³ kind of not in F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ not in F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ And this I compt [accompt F.] B, E, F.

† leaf 10, back. Riche ornaments. B.

¹⁷—¹⁷ in a christian common wealth E, F.

fatens, damasks, taffeties, gold, filuer, preciouſe ſtones, & what not, wherefore did the Lord make & ordein them?

Philo. I denie not but they may be worne ¹ of them who want ^[7 C 3] other things to cloth them withal, or of *the* nobylity, gentilytie,² or magiſtery, for the cauſes aboueſaid, but not of euery proud fixnet³ indifferently, that haue⁴ ſtore of other attyre inough. And yet did not the Lord ordeane theſe riche ornaments and gorgiouſe veſtments to be worne of all men, or of anie, ſo muche as to garniſh,⁵ bewtiſe, and ſet forth, the maieſty & glorie of this his earthly kingdome: For as cloth of gold, Araſe, tapeſtrie, & ſuch other riche ornaments, pendices, and hangings in a houſe of eſtate, ſerue not onely to manuall vſes and ſeruyſe occupations, but alſo to decorate,⁶ to bewtiſe, & become⁷ the houſe, and to ſhewe the riche eſtate and glorie of the owner; ſo theſe riche ornaments, and ſumpteuſe veſtments of the earthly territory of this World, do not onelie ſerue to be worn of them, to whome it doth appertaine (as before) but alſo to ſhew forth *the* power, welth, dignity, riches, and glorie of the Lord, the Author of all goodneſſe.⁸ And here in the prouidence and mercy of God appeareth moſt plainely; for wher there is ſtore of other clothing, there hath he geuen leſſe ſtore of filks, veluets, fatens, damasks,⁹ and ſuch like: and wher there is plenty of them, there is no clothing els almoſt; & thus the Lord ¹⁰did deale¹⁰, for that euery cuntrey ¹¹ought to contente themſelues¹¹ with there owne kind of attyre; except neceſſytie inforce ¹²the contrarie; for than we are to vſe our libertie, ^[12 C 3, back] in the feare of God.

Spud. I praye you, let mee intreate you to ſhewe me wherefore our apparell was giuen vs, and by whome?

Philo. Your requeſte is both diſſuſe and intricate, and more than my weake and infirme knowledge is able to comprehend¹³; yet leaſt I might bee adiudged vnwilling to doe good, I will aſſay to doe the beſt¹⁴ I can. ^{When, where, and for what cauſe our apparell was geuen vs.}

When the Lord our God, a ſpiritual, intellectuall vnderſtanding ſubſtance, incomprehenſible, immenſurable, & inacceſſible, had, by

² Gentry F.

³ Thraso B, E, F.

⁴ hath B, E, F.

⁵ ſplendiſhe B, E, F.

⁶ decore B, E, F.

⁷ adorne F.

⁸ thynges B, E, F.

† leaf 11. By whom App[arell] was giuen. B.

^{10—10} hath dealt B, E, F.

^{11—11} ſhould be content B, E, F.

¹³ performe B, E, F.

¹⁴ beſt that B, E, F.

Wherefore the lord made riche ornaments.

Wherto riche ornaments do ſerue.

[9 leaf 11. B.†]

his woord and heauenly wisedome, Christ Iesus, created and made *the* world & all things therin containyd, *the* fixte day he created man after his own similitude and likenes, in innocencie, holines, righteoufnes, & all kind of perfeccion, ¹he placed¹ him in Paradise tereftrial, commaunding² him to tyl & manure *the* same. Than *the* deuill, an old maligner of mankind, who before was an Angel in heauen, & through fin³ of pride in arrogating to himselfe *the* seate & throne of Gods maiefty, cast down into *the* lake of hell, enuying mans glorious estate, which he than had lost, came vnto man in Paradise, & ⁴inticed him (oh,⁵ torteouse serpent!) to eat of *the* forbidden fruite, wherof the Lorde God had forbidden him to tast on pain of his life: notwithstanding *Adam*, condescending to ⁶his wife her perswasions,⁶ or ⁷rather to⁸ the Serpent,⁹ hauing buzzed his venemous suggestions into their¹⁰ eares, tooke of the apple & did eat, contrary to *the* expresse commandement of his God. This done, their eyes were opened, thei saw their nakednes, & were not a litle ashamed; (& yet before fin was committed, they, being both naked, were not ashamed; but fin once committed¹¹ they became vncleane, filthie, lothsome, & deformed,) & sewed them garments of fig leaues together, to couer their shame withall. Than the Lord, pitying their miserie & loathing their deformity, gaue them pelts & ¹²felles¹³ of beafts¹² to make them garments withall, to the end that their shamefull parts might lesse appeare; yet some are so brazen faced & so impudent that, to make *the* deuill & his members sport, will not sticke to make open shew of those parts which God commaundeth to be couered, nature willeth to be hid, & honesty is ashamd once to behold or looke vpon.

Spud. I gather by your words three speciall poynts. First, *that* fin was the cause why our apparell was giuen vs; Secondly, *that* God is the author & giuer therof; Thirdly, *that* it was giuen vs to couer our shame withall, & not ¹⁴to feed *the* insatiable desires of mens wanton & luxurious eies.

¹—¹ and placing B, E, F. ² commanded B, E, F. ³ the sinne B, E, F.

* leaf 11, back. The fall of Adam. B.

⁵ like a F.

⁶—⁶ the perswasions of his wife B, E, F.

⁸ of B, E, F.

⁹ in his wife *added in* F.

¹⁰ her F.

¹¹ contracted F.

¹²—¹² beafts felles and skines F.

¹³ and skins E.

† leaf 12. Proude Ap[parell] the Deuils nets. B.

[⁴ leaf 11, back. B.*]

The fall of man by the malice of the deuill.

[⁷ C 4]

Impudent beafts, [that shewe their priuities. E.]

[¹⁴ leaf 12. B.†]

Philo. Your collection is very true. Than, seeing *that* our apparell was giuen vs of god to couer our shame, to keep our bodies from cold, & to bee as pricks in our eies to put vs in mind of our miseries, ¹ frailties, imperfections, and sin, of our backflyding from the commaundements of god and obedience of the highest, and to excite² vs the rather to contrition and compunction of the³ spirit, to bewaile our misery, & to craue mercy at *the* mercifull hands of God, let vs be thankfull to God for them, be sorie for our sinnes (which weare the cause⁴ therof,) and vse them to the glory of our God, & the benefyte of our bodies and soules, ⁵ against the great day of the Lord appeare.⁵ But (alas) these good creatures which the Lord our God gaue vs for the respects before rehearsed, we haue so peruered as now they serue, in stead of the deuills nettes, to catche⁶ poore soules in; for euery one now adaies (almost) couet to⁷ deck and painte their liuing⁸ sepulchres, ⁹ or earthy graues⁹ (their bodies I meane) with all kind of brauerie, what soeuer can be deuised, to delight *the* eyes of the vnchast behoulders, wherby God is dishonored, offence ¹⁰ is encreased,¹⁰ and much sinne daylie committed, as in further discourse shall plainly appeare.

Wherfor our
apparell was
giuen vs.
[¹ C 4, back]

Mens bodies
lyuing sepul-
chres.

Spud. Did the Lord cloth our first parents in leather, as not hauing any thing more precious to attyre them withall, or for that it might be ¹¹ a permanent¹² rule, or patern, vnto vs (his posterity) for euer, wherafter we are of force to make all our garments, so as it is not now lawfull to¹³ go in ¹⁴ richer arraye,¹⁴ without ¹⁵ offendinge

[^{xx} leaf 12, back.
B.†]

[²⁵ C 5]

Philo. Although *the* Lord did not cloth *them* so meanly, for that he had nothing els more precious to attyre them withall, (for *Domini est terra, et plenitudo eius*, the earth is the Lords and the fulnesse therof, saith the Lord by his Psalmist; And by his Prophet, Gold is myne, siluer is myne, and all the riches of the world is my¹⁶ own,) yet, no doubt, but he would *that* this their meane & base attyre should be as a rule, or pedagogie, vnto vs, to teach vs *that* we ought rather

² exercise F.

³ the *not in* F.

⁴ causes F.

⁵—⁵ at the last F.

⁶ intangle B, E, F.

⁷ couet to *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ liuing *not in* B, E, F.

⁹—⁹ *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ ministred B, E, F.

† leaf 12, back.

The right vse of App[arell]. B.

¹² perpetual F.

¹³ for vs to F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ riche attire B, E, F.

¹⁶ mine F.

38 No conscience reposed in Ap[parell]. The Anatomie

In our appa-
rell we ought
rather to obey¹
necessity than
to feed vanity.

[⁴ leaf 13. B. †]

Adam's his
mean kind of
attire was a
signe of medio-
crity vnto vs
in our appa-
rell.

[⁵ C 5, back]

No religion
reposed in
apparell.

[¹² C 6]

to walke meanelye and simplye, than gorgiously or pompously; rather serueng presente necessitie, than regarding the wanton appetits of our lasciuious mindes. Not-withstandinge, I suppose not that his heauenly maiesty would that those garments of lether should stand as a rule or pattern of necessitie vnto vs, wherafter we shold be bound to shape all our apparell for euer, or els greuously to offende; but yet by this we may see his blessed will is,² that we should rather go an ace beneth our degree, than a iote aboue. And *that* any simple couering pleaseth the Godly, so that it repell the colde and couer the shame, it is more than manifest, as well by the legends both³ of prophane Historyographers, Cronologers, and other writers, as also by the censures, examples,⁴ and lyues of all Godly since the beginning of the world. And if the Lord would not⁵ that the attyre of Adam should haue beene a signe or patterne of mediocritie vnto vs, he both in mercy would &, in his almighty⁶ power, could, haue inuested them in filks, veluets, fatens, grograins, gold, siluer, & what not.⁷ But the Lord our God foresawe that if he had clothed man in rich and gorgious attire (suche is our procluytye to sinne), he wold haue bene proude therof,⁸ as we see it is come to passe at this day (God amend it!), and therby⁸ purchase to himselfe, his body and foule, eternall damnation.

Spud. Than, it seemeth a thinge materiall, and of great importance,⁹ that we resemble our first Parents in austeritie¹⁰ and simplicity of apparell,¹⁰ so muche as maye be possible, doth it not?

Philo. I put no religion in goinge, or not goinge, in the like simple attyre of our parents Adam & Eua (as¹¹ our Papistes, Papiests? no, Sorbonists, Sorbonists? no, Atheists, atheists? no, plaine Sathanists¹¹ do, placing all thier religion in hethen garments & Romish raggs) so that we obserue a meane, and excede not in pride. But notwithstanding, if we approached a litle nearer them in Godly simplicitie and Christian sobrietie, both of apparell and maner of lyuinge, we should not onely please God a great deale the more, and enritche our Cuntrey, but also auoyd many scandals & of¹²fences which grow

¹ oby A. ² was then, & is now F. ³ both *not in* B, E, F.
† leaf 13. No conscience reposed in App[arell]. B. ⁶ mighty E.
⁷ not els F. ⁸—⁸ and so F. ⁹ moment F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ of apparell and simplicity of attire B, E, F.

¹¹—¹¹ Sorbonicall Papists B, E, F (F *prefixes* the).

daily by our exceſſiue ryot, and ryotouſe exceſſe in apparell. For doth not *the* ¹apparell ſtyrre vppe the heart to pride? doth it not intice others to finne? and doth not ſin purchaſe hell, the guerdon of pride?

[¹ leaf 13, back.
B.*]
The fruite of
Pride.

Spud. But they ſay they pleaſe God, rather than offend him, in wearing this gorgiouſe attyre, for therby the glory of his workmanſhip in them doth more² appeare. Beſides that, it maketh a man to be accepted and eſteemed of in euery place; wheras otherwiſe they ſhould be nothing leſſe.

Philo. To think that the Lorde our God is delighted in the ſplendente ſhewe of outward apparell, or that it ſetteth forth *the* glory of his Creatures, and the maieſty of his kingdom, I ſuppoſe ther is no man (at leaſt no perfect chriſtian man) ſo bewitched or aſſotted: For that weare as much as to ſay, that ſtinking pride & filthie Sinne tended to the glory of God; ſo that the more we ſyn, the more we increaſe his prayſe and glorye. But the Lord oure God is ſo farre from delightinge in ſinne, that he adiudgeth them to eternall Death and damnation that committe the ſame. Than, who is he that will take pleaſure in vayne apparell, which, if it be worne but a whyle, will fall to ragges, and if it be not worne, will ſoone rotte, or els be eaten with mothes. His wayes are not oure ³wayes, his iudgements not⁴ our iudgements, as he ſayth by his Prophet: and wheras they holde that Apparell ſetteth forth the glory of his Maieſtie in his creatures, makynge them to appeare fairer, than other wyſe they would of themſelues, ⁵it is blaſphemouſly ſpoken, and muche derogateth from *the* exellency and glory of his name. For, ſaith not God by his prophet Moyſes, that after he had made all creatures, he beheld them all, & behould they weare (and eſpecially man, the excellenteſt of all other his creatures, whom he made after his own ſimilitude & likneſſe) excedinge good? And were all creatures good & perfect, & only man not perfect, nor faire inough? If theſe their ſpeeches were true (which in the⁶ fulneſſe of their blaſphemie they ſhame not to ſpeake) than might we eaſily conuince the Lord of ⁷vnttrue ſpeak-

The Lord accepteth no man after his apparell.

[³ C 6, back]

No attyre can make the creature of God ſeeme fayrer.
[⁵ leaf 14. B.†]

* leaf 13, back. Hell, the rewarde of Pride. B.

² more *not in E*; more brauely F.

⁴ are not F.

† leaf 14. Man comely of hymſelf. B.

⁶ the *not in F*.

⁷—⁷ untruthes B, E, F.

40 Proud App[arell] deformeth man. The Anatomie

ing,⁷ who in his sacred word informeth¹ vs, that man is the perfectest Creature, & the fayrest of al others, *that* euer he made (excepting the heuenly spirits, & Angelical creatures) ²after his own liknesse,² as before. O³ man! who arte thou, that reafonest with thy Creator? shall the clay say vnto the potter, why hast thou made me thus? Or can *the* clay make himselfe better fauored than the potter, who gaue him his first stamp & proportion? Shall we think that stinking pride can make the workmanhippe of the Lord to⁴ seeme fayrer? Than, why did not the Lord cloth vs ⁵so at *the* first? or at least, why gaue he not commaundement in his will & testament, which he sealed with the ⁶price of the ⁶bloud of his sonne, to cloth our selves in riche & gorgiouse apparel to set forth his glory *the* more? But away with these⁷ dogs & hellish haggis, who retaine⁸ this opinion,⁹ that cur¹⁰fed pride glorifieth God, & setteth forth or bewtifieth his workmanhippe in his creatures! In vain is it for me to expostulat with them, for doubtles *non* hould this, but such as be¹¹ miscreants (or deuills incarnate) ¹²& men ¹²cast off[f] into a reprobate fence,¹³ whom I beseech the Lord, in the bowels of his mercy, either speedely to conuert, that they perish not, or els confounde, *that* they hurte not, that peace may be vppon¹⁴ Israel. Thus, hauing sufficiently (I trust) refelled their false positions, I leaue them to the Lord, beseeching them (as they tender their own saluation, *linguas compefcere digitis*, to stoppe their sacrilegiouse mouthes with ther fingers, & not to spit against heauen, or kicke against the pricke, as they do, anie longer: For the Lord our God is a consuming fier, & vpon obstinate finners shal raine down fire & brimston, & consume them in his wrath. This is our¹⁵ portion acquired by sinne.

Spud. But what say you to the other branch of their conclusion, namely, that Apparell maketh them to be accepted, and well taken in euery place?

¹⁶*Philo.* Amongest the wicked and ignorante Pezants, I must needes

Euery one is to contente him selfe with his creation, and to prayse God for it.

[5 C 7]

[¹⁰ leaf 14, back. B.†]

The Lord our God is a consuming fire to destroy all impenitent sinners.

[¹⁶ C 7, back]

¹ teacheth B, E, F.

^{2—2} not in B, E, F.

³ But O F.

⁴ to not in F.

^{6—6} not in F.

⁷ sauage added in E, F.

⁸ are of B, E, F.

⁹ mind F.

† leaf 14, back. Proude Appa[rell] deformeth man. B.

¹¹ as be not in B, E, F.

^{12—12} as the Lord hath B, E, F.

¹³ and prejudicate opinion added in F.

¹⁴ vnto F.

¹⁵ their B, E, F.

confesse, they are the more esteemed in respect of their apparell; but nothing at all the more, but rather the lesse, amongst the godly wyfe. So farre off[f] will all wyfe men be from accepting of any for his gay apparell onely, that (be he neuer so gallantly pain^ted or curiously [1 leaf 15. B.*] plumed in the deceitfull fethers of pride) they wil rather contemne him a great deale *the* more, taking him to be a man puffed vp with pride and vaine glorie, a thing both odiouse, ²& detestable to God & good men.² And seeing it cannot stand with the rule of god his iustice, to accept, or not to accept,³ any man for⁴ his apparell, or any other externe shew of deceitfull vanytie, it is manifest, that man, doinge the contrarie, is a *Judas* to the truth, a Traytor to iustice, & an enemy to the Lord: wherefore farre be that from al good christians; and if those that go richely clothed should be esteemed *the* rather for their rich apparel than *à contrario*, must those that go in meane and base attyre, be the more contemned, and despised for their pouertie. And than should Christ Iesus, our great Ambassador from⁵ the king of heauen, ⁶& only Sauour,⁶ be contemned, for he came in poore & mean array: but Christ Iesus is blessed in his pore raggs, and all others are contemned in their rich & precious attyre. Vnder a simple cote many tymes lyeth hid great wisdom & knowledg; & contrarely, vnder braue ⁷attyre somtime is couered great ydiotacy⁸ and folly. ⁹Hereof euery daies succeffe offreth prooffe sufficient: more is the pytie⁹!

The wise will not accept of any after apparell.

[Wisdom not tyed to exteriour pompe of apparell. B, E.] [7 C 8]

Spud. Wherefore would you haue men accepted, if not for Apparell?

Philo. If any be so foolish to ymagin that he shalbe worshipped, reuerenced, or accepted the rather for his apparell, he is not so wyfe as I pray¹¹ God make me. For surely, for my part, I will rather worshippinge & accept of a pore man (in his ¹²clowtes & pore raggs¹²) hauing *the* gifts and ornaments of the mind, than I will do him *that* roisteth & flaunteth¹³ daylie & howrely in his silks, veluets, satens,

¹⁰ Reuerence due to vertue, not to attyre.¹⁰ [11 leaf 15, back B.†]

* leaf 15. No estimation due to App[arell]. B.

²—² before men and detestable before God B, E, F. ³ accept of E, F.

⁴ after E.

⁵ sent from B.

⁶—⁶ *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ adiocie F.

⁹—⁹ *not in* B, E, F.

† leaf 15. Reuerence due to Vertue. B.

¹⁰—¹⁰ *not in* E.

¹²—¹² torne cloutes and ragges E; ragged cloutes F.

¹³ flaunteth it out F.

[All reuerence
due to vertue
and not to riche
attire. B, E.]

damasks, gold or siluer, what soeuer, without *the* induments of vertue, wherto only al reuerence is due. And therefore as any man is indued, or not indued, with vertue, & true godlynesse, so will I reuerence, or not reuerence, accept or not accept of him: wherfore if any gape after reuerence, worship or acceptation, let them thirst after vertue, as namely,¹ wisdome, knowledge, discretion, modestie, sobrietie, affability, gentleness & fuche like; than can they be without reuerence or acceptation, no more than *the* sonne can be without light, the fire without heat,² or the water without his naturall moysture.

Sp. Than I gather, you would haue men accepted for vertue & true Godlines,³ wold you not?

[⁴ C 8, back]

Wherefore
man is to be
worshiped
and had in
reuerence.

[⁹ leaf 16. B.†]

Gentilitie
without vertue
is no genti-
lilie.

[An exelent
apothegme. E,
F.]

[¹³ D †]

Ph. I would not only haue men to be accepted & reuerenced for their virtue (though the ⁴chiefest reuerence is onely to be attributed to him, whose sacred brest⁵ is fraught with vertue, as it may well be called the *Promptuarie* or *Receptorie*⁶ of true wisdome and Godlines, but also (in parte) for their byrthes sake, parentage and consanguinitie⁷; and not only that,⁸ but ⁹also in respect of their callings, offices and functions, whether it be in the Temporal Magistracy, or ¹⁰Ecclesiastical presbitery (so long as they gouerne godly and well): For the Apostle sayth, that those Elders which¹¹ gouerne wel amongst vs are worthie of double honor. But yet the man whom God hath blessed with vertue and true godlynes, though he be neyther of great byrth nor callinge, nor yet any Magistrate whatsoeuer, is worthie of more reuerence and estimation then any of the other without the ornaments of *the* minde, & gifts of vertue aboute said. For what preuayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, and to be destitute of all vertue, which deserueth¹² true worship? what is it els then to carie a golden Swoorde in a Leaden Scabbarde? Is it any thyng els then a golden Coffyn or painted Sepulchre, making a fayre shewe outwardly, but inwardly is full of all stinche & lothsomnes? I remember once I red a certaine storie of one, a Gentleman by byrth and parentage, who greatly reproched, and withall disdayned an other, for that he was come to great autho¹³rytie onely by vertue,

¹ F adds feare of God, zeale to religion

² the heat. E.

³ onely added in F.

⁵ brest is so B, E.

⁶ storehouse F.

⁷ descent F.

⁸ for that E.

† leaf 16. How to know a Gentleman. B.

¹⁰ a or (*sic*) A.

¹¹ that F.

¹² maketh B, E, F.

being but a poore mans child by byrthe: "What! faith¹ the Gentleman by birth,² arte thou so lustie? Thou arte but a coblers sonne, and wilt thou compare with me, being a Gentleman by³ byrth and calling?" To whome the other answered,⁴ "thou arte no Gentleman, for thy gentilitie endeth in thee, and I am a Gentleman, in⁵ that my gentilitie beginneth in me:" Meaning (vnlesse⁶ I be deceiued) that the wante of virtue in him was the decay of his gentility, and his vertue was the beginning of true gentilitie in him selfe: for virtue therfore, not for apparell, is euerye one to be accepted; For if we should accept of men after apparell onely, respecting nothinge els, than shold it come to passe, that we might more esteeme⁷ of one, both meane by birth, base without⁸ virtue, seruyle by calling, & poore in estate, more than of some, by birthe noble, by virtue honorable, and by callinge laudable.⁹ And the reason is because euery one, tagge and ragge, go brauer, or at least as braue as those that be both noble, honorable and worshipfull.

[5 leaf 16, back. B.*]

The exordium of virtue is the exordium of gentilitie & worship, and want of the one is the decay of the other.

Spud. But I haue hard say, there is more holynesse in some kynd of apparell than in other some; which makes them so much to affecte vary[e]tie of fashions, I thinke.

Philo. Indeed, I suppose that the summe¹⁰ of their religion doth consist in apparell. And, to speake my conscience, I thinke there is more,¹¹ or as much holynesse in the apparell, as in them; that is, rust none at all. But admit that there be holynesse in apparell (as who is so infatuat to beleue it) than¹² it followeth that the holynes pretended is not in them; & so be they plaine Hipocrits to make shew of that which they haue not. And if the holines by there attire presaged be in them selues, than is it not in the¹³ garments; & why do they than attribute that to the garments whiche is neither adherente to the one, nor yet inherent in the other? Or if it wer so, why do they glory of it to the world? but I leaue them to their follie, hasting to other matters more profitable to intreate of.

[11 D 1, back]

No holynes in apparell

[13 leaf 17. B.†]

Spud. But I haue hard them reason thus: That which is good in it own nature cannot hurt; apparell is good, and the good Creature of

¹ quoth B, E, F.

² by birth *not in* F.

³ both by B, E, F.

⁴ replying, saide B, E, F.

* leaf 16, back. Vertue maketh Gentilitie. B.

⁶ vnlesse F.

⁷ accept B, E, F.

⁸ in B, E, F.

⁹ venerable B, E, F.

¹⁰ and enargie *added in* B, E; and substance *added in* F.

¹² then B.

† leaf 17. An obiection to maintain Pride. B.

44 App[arell] the Mother of pride. The Anatomie

An argument trimly contrived.

God: *ergo* no kynde of apparell can hurte. And if there be anie abuse in it, the apparell knowethe it not; Therefore take awaye the abuse, and let the apparell remaine still, for so it maye (say they) without anie hurte at all.

[But shortly to fall, without hope of recovery.]

[² D 2]

Philo. These be well seasoned reasons, and substantiall asseuerations in deed; but if they haue no better arguments to leane vnto than these, their kingdome of Pride will shortly fall ¹without all ¹hope of recouerie againe. The apparell in it owne nature is good, and the good Creature of God (I will not de²nie) and cannot hurte, except it be thorowe ouer³ owne wickednesse abused. And therefore wo be to⁴ them that make the good Creatures of God instruments of dampnation to them selues, by not vsing them, but abusing them. And yet, notwithstanding, it maye be said to hurte, or not to hurte, as it is abused or not abused; And wheras they would haue the abuse of apparell (if any be) taken away, and the apparell to remain still, it is impossible to supplant the one, without ⁵the extirpation of the other also. For it is trulye said, *sublata causa, tollitur effectus*; But not *subrepto* ⁶*effectu tollitur causa*; Take away the cause and the effecte falleth,⁷ but not contrarylye, take away the effect and the cause falleth.⁷ The⁸ efficiente cause of Pride is gorgiouse attire; ⁹the effecte is pride it selfe ingenerate by attire⁹: But to begin to plucke awaie the effecte (to wit, pride) and not to take awaye the cause first (namelie sumptuouse attyre) is as if a man, intendinge to supplane a Tree by the rootes, should begin to pull the fruite and braunches onelye; or, to pull downe heauen, should dig in the earthe, workinge altogether preposterouslye and indyreclye.¹⁰ And the reason is,¹¹ these two collateral Cofins, apparell and Pride (the Mother and Daughter of mischief) are so combinate together, and incorporate the one in ¹²the other, as the one can hardlie be dyuorced¹³ from the other, without the destruction of them both. To¹⁴ the accomplismente wherof, God graunte that those holosome lawes, fuctions, and statuts, which, by our most gracious and serene princeesse (whome Iesus preferue for euer)

[⁵ leaf 17, back. B.f]

Vnpossible to take away pride, except sumptuouse apparell be taken away also.

Apparell and pride combined together as mother & daughter.

[¹² D 2, back]

^{1—1} withall B. ³ through our F. ⁴ to *not* in F.
† leaf 17, back. Appa[rell] the Mother of Pride. B.

⁶ sublato B, E, F. ⁷ fayleth F.

⁸ The externe B, E, F. ^{9—9} *not in* F. ¹⁰ and contrarily *added in* F.

¹¹ is for that B, E, F. ¹³ plucked F. ¹⁴ For F.

and her noble and renoumed Progenitors, haue beene promulgate and enacted hertofore, may be put in execution. For, in my opinion, it is as impossible for a man to were preciouſe apparell and gorgiouſe attyre, and not to be proude therof (for if he be not proud therof, why doth he weare ſuche riche attire, wheras mea¹ner is both better cheape, eaſier to be had, as warme to the bodie, and as decent and comly to any chaſt chriſtians eye) as it is for a man to cary fire in his boſome and not to burne. Therefore, would God euery man might be compelled to weare apparell according to his degree, eſtat, and condition of life; which, if it were brought to paſſe, I feare leaſt ſome who ruffle now in filks, veluets, ſatens, damasks, gold, ſiluer, and what not,² ſhold be glad to weare frize cotes, & glad if they might get them.³

[² leaf 18. B. *]

Vnpoſſible not to be proud of rich attyre.

Spud. What is your opinion? did the people of the former world ſo much eſteeme of apparell as we doe at this preſent day, without reſpect had either to ſex, kind, order, degree, eſtat, or callinge?

⁴ *Philo.* No doubt but in all ages they had their imperfections⁵ and faults, for *Hominis eſt errare, labi et decipi*; it is incident to man to erre, to fall, and to be deceiued. But, notwithstandinge, as the wicked haue alwayes affected, not onelie pride in apparell, but alſo all other vices whatſoeuer, ſo the chaſte, Godly, and ſober Chriſtians haue euer eſchewed this exceſſe of apparell, hauing a ſpeciall regard to weare ſuche attyre as might neyther offend the maieſtie of God, prouoke them ſelues to pride, nor yet offend⁶ any of⁶ their Brethren in any reſpecte. But (as I haue ſaid) not onely the Godlie haue deteſted and hated this vaine ſuperfluitie of apparell in all tymes ſince the be⁷ginning of the Worlde, but alſo the verie panims, the heathen *Philophers*, who knew not God (though otherwiſe wyſe Sages and great Clarks), haue contemned it as a peſtiferouſe euill; in ſo muche as they haue writ (almoſt) whole volumes againſt the ſame, as is to be ſeene in moſt of their Books yet extant.

[⁴ D 3]

The Godly haue euer deteſted pride of apparell.

The verie hethen haue contemned ſumptuouſe apparell. [7 leaf 18, back. B. †]

Spud. Are you able to proue that?

Philo. That I am, verie eaſilye; but of an infinyte number, take a taſte of theſe few. *Democrates* beeing demaunded, wherein the

Testimonies of

* leaf 18. The godly abhorre Pride. B. ² not els F.

³ them too F. ⁵ blemishes added in F.

⁶—⁶ not in B, E, F. † leaf 18, back. Vertue the comeliest ornament. B.

hethen people
who derided
riche attire.

[¹ D 3, back]

Vertue is the
comlyest orna-
ment of all.

[² leaf 19. B.†]

Diogenes his
ansuenty.⁴

[⁵ D 4]

[The example of
a Philosopher,
deriding
pride. E, F.]

bewtie and comlie feature of man, or woman, consisted? answered, in fewnes of speaches well tempered together, in virtue, in integrity¹ of life, and suche like. *Sophocles*, feinge one weare gorgeouse apparell, said to him, 'thou foole! thy apparell is no ornamente to the, but a manifest shewe of thy follie.' *Socrates*, being asked what was the greatestt ornamente in a woman, answered, 'that which most sheweth her chastitie, and good demeanoure of body and mind, & not sumptuouse attyre, which rather sheweth her adulterate life.' *Aristotle* is so distrust² in this point, that he would haue men to vse meaner apparell than are permitted them by the lawe. The Wife of *Philo*, the *Philosopher*, being vpon a tyme demaunded why she ware not gold, siluer and preciouſe garments, said, she thought the vertues of her husbände sufficient ornaments for her. *Dionysius*, the king, sente the richest garments in all his wardrobes to the noble Women of the *Lacedemonians*, who returned them from whence they came, sayinge, they would be a greater shame to them than honore. Kinge *Pirrus* sente riche attyre to the Matrones of Rome, who abhorred them as menſtruous clowtes. The conceiued opinion amongest the Grecians to this day is, that it is neither gold nor gorgiouſe attyre that adorneth either Man or Woman, but vertuous conditions, and such like. *Diogenes* so much contemned sumptuous attyre, that he chose rather to dwell in wilder nesse amon⁵gest brute beaſts all his lyfe longe, than in the pompouſe courts of mightie kings one daye to be commorante.⁶ For he thought, if he had the ornaments of the minde, that he was than faire ynoughe, and fine inough also, not needing any more. A certain other *Philosopher* addrested himselfe towards a kings courte in his Philosophers attyre, that is, in meane, base and poore aray; But ſoe ſone as the Officers espied him, they cried, 'awaie with that rogue! what dothe he ſoe nie the kinges maiesties courte?' The poore Philosopher, ſeing it lighten ſo faſt, retyred back for feare of their thunderclappes,⁷ and repayinge home, appareled himselfe in riche Attyre, and came againe marchinge towards the court: he was no ſooner in ſight, but euery one receiued him plauſible, and with great ſubmiſſion and reuerence. When he came in preſence of the kinge, and other

² strict F.

† leaf 19. Philosophers examples. B.

⁴ austerie [austerity] in B, E.

⁶ resiant F.

⁷ thunderboltes F.

mightie potentats, he kneled¹ down, and² ceaſed not to kiſſe³ his garments. The king and nobles marueylinge not a litle therat, aſked him, wherfore he did ſo? Who aunſwered, ‘O noble kinge! it is no marueyle; for that whiche my vertue and knowledge could not doe, my Apparell hath brought to paſſe: For I, comminge to thy gates in my PHILOSOPHERS⁴ weede, was repelled; but hauing put vpon me this riche attyre, I was brought to thy preſence with as great veneration and worſhip as could be.’ Wherby is⁵ to be ſeene in what deſtation he had the ſtinkinge Pride of apparell, takeing this occaſion to giue the King to vnderſtand the inormious abuſe thereof, and ſo to remoue the ſame as a peſtilent euill out of his whole dominion & kingdome. I read of a certen other *Philosopher* that came before a king, who, at the ſame tyme, had inuited his nobles to a feaſt or banquet: the Philoſopher comming in and ſeing no place to ſpit in (for euery place was hanged with cloth of gold, cloth of ſiluer, tinſell, arrace, tapeſtrie, and⁶ what not⁶) came to the kinge and ſpat in his face, ſaying, ‘it is meet (o king!) that I ſpit in the fowleſt place.’ This good *Philosopher* (as we may gather) went about to withdraw the king from taking pleaſure or delight in the vaine gliſtering ſhewe, either of apparell or any thing els, but rather to haue conſideration of his owne filthynes, miſerie & ſinne, not ryſing vp into pride, and ſpitting againſt heauen, as he did, by diligthting in prowde attyre and gor⁷geouſe ornaments. Thus we ſee the verie painims and heathen people haue from the beginning diſpyſed this exceſſe of apparell, both in them ſelues and⁸ others, whoſe examples heerin god graunt we may folowe.

⁹ *Spud.* But you are not able to proue that any good Chriſtians euer ſet light¹⁰ by precious attire, but alwayes eſteemed it as a ſpecial ornament to the whole man. As for theſe Heathen, they were fooles, neyther is it materiall what they vſed, or vſed not.

Philo. I am able to prooue that euen from the beginning of the world, the choſen and peculiar people of God haue contemned proude¹¹ Apparel, as things (not onely) not neceſſarie, but alſo as very euilles

[³ leaf 19, back B.*]

The example of a Philoſopher deriding the pompe of the World.

[⁴ D 4, back]

The example of a Philoſopher who ſpat in the kings face.

[⁷ leaf 20. B.†]

[⁹ D 5]

Probation that the former world hath

¹ kneelyng, B, E, F.

² not in B, E, F,

* leaf 19, back. The Heathen diſpiſe Pride. B. ⁵ it is E, F.

⁶—⁶ the like F. † leaf 20. The baſe attire of the former age. B.

⁸ and in F.

¹⁰ lightlie F.

¹¹ gorgious F.

48 Chrift his example for Ap[parell]. The Anatomie

contemned
pompouse
attyre.

Elias.

Elizeus.

Samuell.

[⁴ leaf 2r, back.
B.*]

[⁵ D 5, back]

The children
of Israell.

Iohn Baptist.

Peter.

[The early
Church.]

The humility
and pouertie of
Christe vppon
earth.
[⁹ leaf 2r. B.†]

themselues, and haue gone both meanelly and poorely in their vsuall attyre. What say you to our Grandfather *Adam*, and *Eua* our Mother? Were they not clothed in pelves, and skins of beafts? Was not this a meane kinde of Apparell, thinke you? Was it not vnfitting¹ to see a woman inuested² all ouer in leather? But yet the Lord thought it precious and seemelie ynough for them. What saye you to the noble Prophet of the world, *Elias*? did hee not walke in the solitude³ of this worlde in a simple playne mantell, or gowne, girded to him with a girdle of leather? *Elizeus*, the Prophet, did not he in a manner the verie same? And what say you to *Samuell*, the golden mouthed Prophet, notwithstanding *that* ⁴hee was an Archprophet, and a chiefe seer of that time? did hee not walke so meanelly, as *Saul*, seking his fathers Asses, could not know him from the reste, but asked him, where was ⁵the seers house? This must needs argue that he went not richer then the common forte of people in his time? The Children of *Israell*, beeing the chofen people of God, did they not weare their Fathers attire fortie yeeeres together in the wildernes? was not *Iohn* the *Baptist* clothed with a garment of Camels heare, girded with a thong of the skin of the same, in sted of a girdle or succinctorie about his loines? *Peter*, the deere Apoflle of our Sauour, was not distinct from the rest of his Fellowes,⁶ Apofles, by any kinde of rich apparel, for then the maid would not haue said, 'I know thee by thy tung,' but rather, 'by thy apparel.' The Apoflle *Paul*, writing to the *Hebrues*, faith that the persecuted Church, bothe in his time and before his dayes, were clothed, some in Sheep skinnies, and some in Gote skinnies, some in Camels heare, some in this, and some in that, and some in whatsoeuer they coulede get; for if it would hide their shameful parts, and kept⁷ them from the colde, they thought it sufficient, they required no more. but, to speak in one woord for all: did not our Sauour *Iesus Christ* weare the very same fashion of apparell that his Cuntrey-men vsed, that is, a cote without a seame, either knit or weaued⁸? which fashions the ⁹*Palestynians* vse there yet to this day, without any alteration, or chaunge, as it is

¹ straunge F ² couered F. or wildernesse added in F.

* leaf 2r, back. Chrift his example for Appa[rell]. B. ⁶ fellow F.

⁷ keepe F. ⁸ wouen F.

† leaf 2r. Greate superfluitie of Ap[parell]. B.

thought. This his attyre was not ¹very handsome (one would think): [¹ D 6] at the ²least it was not curious, or new fangled, as ours is; ³but, as the Poet wel said, ³*nitimur in vetitum, semper cupimusque negata*, we desire things forbid, and couet thinges denied vs. We lothe the ⁴simplicitie of Chrifte, and abhorring the christian pouertie, and godly mediocritie of our Forefathers in apparel, are ⁵neuer content except wee haue fundry futes of apparel, one diuers from an other, so as our Preiſes crack withall, our Cofers bruft, and our backs sweat with the cariage therof: we muſt haue one fute for the forenoone, another for the afternoone, one for the day, another for the night; one for the workeday, another for the holieday, one for ſommer, another for winter; one of the newe faſhion, an other of the olde, one of this colour, another of that, one cutte, an other whole, one laced, another without, one of golde, and other of ſiluer, one of filkes and veluets, and ⁶another of clothe, with more difference and varietie than I can expreſſe. god be merciful vnto vs, and haſten his kingdome, ⁷that all imperfections may be doon away⁷!

[Modern extravagance]

[* Side-note here in B, E, F.]

* Superfluitie of apparell With dyuerſitie of faſhions.

A perticuler Diſcription of apparell in Ailgna by degrees.

⁹[*Spud.*] YOu haue borne me in hand of many and greeuous abufes reigning in *Ailgna*,⁸ but now ſetting aparte theſe¹⁰ ambagies and ¹¹ſuperfluous vagaries, I pray you deſcribe vnto me more¹² particularly the ſundrie abufes in¹³ Apparell there vſed; running ouer by degrees the whole ſtate thereof, that I maye ſee, as it were, the perfect Anatomie of that Nation in Apparell, whiche thinge I greatlye deſire to knowe.

[⁹ leaf 21, back. B.†][¹¹ D 6, back]

Philo. Your requeſt ſeemeth both ¹⁴intricate and harde,¹⁴ conſider-

² the *not in F.*

^{3—3} For of us that Poeticall Apothegme maie very well be verified B, E, F.

⁴ this F.

⁵ wee are F.

⁶ and *not in* B, E, F.

^{7—7} for his electes ſake B, E, F.

⁸ England F.

† leaf 21, back. Hattes of ſundry faſhions. B.

¹⁰ theſe impertinent B, E, F (ambagies *not in* F.

¹² more *not in* B, E.

¹³ of B, E, F.

^{14—14} harde and intricate B, E, F.

ing ¹there bee *Tot tantæ mæryades inuentionum*, So manie and so fonde fashions, and inuentions of Apparell euerie day.¹ But yet, left I might be iudged vnwilling to shewe you what pleasure I can, I will assay (*pro virili mea*, ²*omnibus neruulis undique extensis*)², with all the might and force I can, to satisfie your desire. Wherefore, to begin first with their Hattes.

³Sometimes they were⁴ them sharp on the crowne, pearking vp like a⁵ sphere,⁶ or shafte of a steeple, standing a quarter of a yard about the crowne of their heades; some more, some lesse, as please the phantasies of their⁷ mindes. Otherfome be flat and broad on the crowne, like the battlements⁸ of a house. An other sort haue round crownes, sometimes with one kinde of bande, sometime with an other; nowe blacke, now white, now ruffet, now red, now greene, now yellowe, now this, nowe that, neuer content with one colour or fashion two dayes⁹ to an ende. And thus in vanitie they spende the ¹⁰Lorde his treasure, ¹¹consuming their golden yeares and siluer dayes in wickednes & sin. And as the fashions bee rare and straunge, so ¹²are the things¹³ wherof their Hattes be made, diuerse also; for some are of filke, some of veluet, some of taffetie, some of sarcenet, some of wooll: & which is more curious, some of a certaine kind of fine haire, ¹³far fetched and deare bought, you maye bee sure¹³; And so common a thinge it is, that euerie Seruingman, Countreyman, and other, euen all indifferently, do weare of these hattes. For he is of no account or estimation amongst men,¹⁴ if hee haue not a veluet or a¹⁵ taffatie Hatte, and that muste bee pincked and cunningly carued of the beste fashion; And good profitable Hattes bee they,¹⁶ for the longer you weare them the fewer holes they haue.¹⁷ Besides this, of

The diuersity
of hattes in
Ailgna.

[¹⁰ D 7]

[¹¹ leaf 22. B.†]

The sundrye
things wherof
hattes be
made.

¹—¹ the innumerable *meriades* of sondrie fashions dailei inuented amongst them B, E, F.

²—² *not in F.*

³ A description of the Hattes of England *added in F.*

⁴ vse B, E, F.

⁵ the B, E, F.

⁶ speare F.

⁷ their inconstant B, E; their wauering F.

⁸ battlement F.

⁹ moneths F.

† leaf 22. Varietie of Hattes. B.

¹²—¹² is the stuffe B, E, F.

¹³—¹³ These thei call Beuer hattes of xx, xxx, or xl shillinges price fetched from beyond the seas, from whence a greate sorte of other varieties* doe come besides B, E, F. (*vanities F.)

¹⁴ them F.

¹⁵ a *not in F.*

¹⁶ these B, E, F.

¹⁷ F *adds* :—They haue also Taffeta hattes of all collours quilted, and im-

late there is a new fashion of wearing their Hattes sprung vp amongſt them, which they father vpon *the* Frenchmen, namely to weare them without bandes; but how vnſeemelie (I will not ſay how Aſſy) a fashion that is, let the wiſe iudge. Notwithſtanding, howe euer it bee, if it pleaſe them, it ſhall not diſpleaſe me. An other¹ ſort (as phantaſticall as the reſt) are content with no kind of Hatt without a great bunche² of feathers of diuerſe and ſundrie colours, peaking on toppe of their heades, not vnlyke (I dare not ſay) Cockſcombes, but ³as ſternes of pride and en⁴ſigns of ⁵vanitie; and ³theſe fluttering ſayles and fethered flags of defiance to vertue (for ſo they are⁶) are ſo aduanced in *Ailgna*, that eueſy Childe hath them in his hat or cap: many get good liuing by dying and felling of them, and not a fewe prooue them ſelues more then fooles⁷ in wearing of them.

Wering of
hattes without
bandes.

[Wearing of
Feathers in
hattes. B, E, F.]

[4 D 7, back]
[5 leaf 22, back
B.f.]

Spud. Theſe Fethers argue the lightnes of their fond imaginations, and plainly conuince them of inſtabilitie and folly; for ſure I am, haſome they cannot be, therefore Badges⁸ of pride they muſt needs be, which I think none wil weare, but ſuch as be like them ſelues. But to your intended diſcourſe.

⁹*Philo.* They haue great and monſterous ruffes, made either of Cambrick, holland, lawn, or els of ſome other the fineſt cloth that can be got for money, whereof ſome be a quarter of a yard deep, yea, ſome more, very few leſſe; So that they ſtand a full quarter of a yarde (and more) from their necks, hanging ouer their ſhoulder poynts, inſted of a vaile.¹⁰ ¹¹But if *Aeolus* with his blaſts, or *Neptune* with his ſtormes chaunce to hit vppon the craſie bark of their bruſed ruffes, then they goe flip flap in the winde, like rags flying¹² abroad, ¹³and lye¹³ vpon their ſhoulders like the diſhcloute of a ſlut.¹¹ But wot

Great ruffes
deformed &
ill fauored.

broydered with golde, ſiluer, and ſilke of ſundrie ſortes, with monſters, antiques, beaſtes, foules, and all maner of pictures and images vpon them, wonderfull to behold.

¹ And another B, E, F.

² plume F.

³—³ fooles bables if you liſt: And yet notwithstanding F.

+ leaf 22, back. Feathers, Flagges of vanitie. B.

⁶ be E, F.

⁷ Asses F.

⁸ Ensignes. F.

⁹ heading:—Of great Ruffes in England. F.

¹⁰ Pentise F.

¹¹—¹¹ F has: But if it happen that a ſhoure of raine catch them before they can get harbour, then their great ruffes ſtrike ſayle, and downe they fall, as diſhcloutes fluttering in the winde, like Windmill ſayles.

¹² that flew B, E.

¹³—¹³ liying B, E.

[² D 8]

Two arches or
pillers to vnder
proppe the
kingdom of
great ruffles
withall, *vide*
acet support-
asses and
starche.

[5 leaf 23. B.*]

you what? the deuill, as he in the fulnes of his malice, first inuented these ¹great ruffles, so hath hee now found out also two great staves² to beare vp and ³maintaine that³ his kingdome of ⁴great ruffles⁴ (for the deuill is ⁵king and prince ouer all the children of pride): the one arch or piller wherby⁶ his kingdome of great ruffles is vnderpropped, is a certaine kinde of liquide matter which they call Starch, wherein the deuill hath willed⁷ them to wash and diue his⁸ ruffles wel, which, ⁹when they be⁹ dry, wil then stand stiffe and inflexible about their necks.¹⁰ The other piller is a certain deuice made of wyers, crefted for the purpose, whipped ouer either with gold, thred, siluer or silk, & this hee calleth a suppartaffe, or vnderpropper. This is to be applyed round about their necks vnder the ruffe, vpon the out side of the band, to beare vp the whole frame & body of the ruffe from falling and hanging down.

Spud. This is a deuice passing all the deuices that euer I sawe or heard of. Then I perceiue the deuill not onely inuenteth mischeif, but also ordaineth instrumentall¹¹ meanes to continue the same. These bands are so chargeable (as I suppose) that¹² but fewe haue of them: ¹³if they haue, they are better monyed then I am.¹³

Philo. So few haue¹⁴ them, as almost none is without them; for euery one, how meane or ¹⁵simple soeuer they bee otherwise, will haue of them three or foure apeece for faying. And as though Camericke,¹⁶ Holland, Lawne, and the finest cloth that maye bee got anie where for money, were not good inough, they haue them wrought all ouer with filke woorke, and peraduenture laced with ¹⁷golde and siluer, or other costly lace of no small price. And whether they haue Argente¹⁸ to mayntaine this geare withall, or not, it ¹⁹forceth not muche,¹⁹ for they will haue it by one meane or other, or els they

[¹⁵ D 8, back]

Euery pesant
hath his stately
bands &
monsterouse
ruffles, how
costly soeuer
they be.

[¹⁷ leaf 23, back.
B †]² pillers B, E, F.^{3—3} vphold this F.^{4—4} Pride withall F.

* leaf 23. Great Ruffles and Supportasses. B.

⁶ wherewith F.⁷ learned F.⁸ their B, E, F.^{9—9} beyng B, E, F.

¹⁰ F adds:—And this starch they make of diuers substances, sometimes of Wheate flower, of branne, and other graines: sometimes of rootes, and somtimes of other thinges: of all colours and hewes, as White, Redde, Blewe, Purple, and the like.

¹¹ instrumentes and F.¹² that comes before as F^{13—13} such as are of the richer sort F.¹⁴ haue of F.¹⁶ Cambricke F.

† leaf 23, back. Costly shirtes and bandes in Ailg. B.

¹⁸ Unde F.^{19—19} is not greatly material B, E, F.

of Abufes. Nice App[parell] make tender bodies. 53

will eyther¹ fell or² morgage their Landes ³(as they haue good store)³ on Suters hill & Stangate hole,⁴ with loffe of their lyues at Tiburne in a rope.⁵

[New kind of Ruffes, called Three stepps and a halfe to the Gallowes. F.]

Spud. The state and condition of that Land must needes be miserable, and in tyme growe to greate scarcitie and dearth, where is such wayne⁶ Prodigalitie, and⁶ excesse of ⁷all thynges⁷ vsed.

⁸*Philo.* Their Shirtes, which all in a manner doe weare (for if the Nobilitie or Gentry onely did weare them, it were somedeal⁹ more tollerable) are eyther of Camericke, Holland, Lawne, or els of the finest cloth that maye bee got. And of these kindes of Shirts euerie one now doth weare alike: so as it may be thought our Forefathers haue made their Bandes & Ruffes (if they had any at all) of grosser cloth and baser stuffe than the worst of our shirtes¹⁰ are made of now

The shirts vsed in Ailgna

[¹⁰ E 1]

a dayes. And these shurts (somtimes it happeneth) are wrought through out with needle work of filke, and fuche like, and curiouse stitched with open seame, and many other knackes beydes, mo than I can describe.¹¹ [In so much as I haue heard of Shirtes that haue cost some ten shillinges, some twentie, some fortie, some fife pound, some twentie Nobles and (which is horrible to ¹²heare) some ten pounde a peece, yea, the meanest shirt that commonly is worne of any, doest cost a crowne, or a noble at the least: and yet this is scarcely thought fine enough for the simplest person that is. B, E, F.]

[The cost of these Shirts.]

[¹² leaf 24. B.]

Spud. These be goodly shurts indeed, & such yet¹³ as will not¹⁴ chafe their tender skinner, ¹⁵nor¹⁶ vlcera their ¹⁷lyllie white¹⁵ bodies; or if they¹⁸ do, it wil not be much to their greeuances, I dare be bound. Is it anie maruell, *si Cristas erigant & cornua attollant*, if they stand vpon their pantoffles, and hoyse vp their sayles on highe, hauinge

¹ eyther *not in* B, E, F.

² or at the least F.

³⁻³ *not in* F.

⁴ F *adds*, and Salisbury plaine.

⁵ F *adds* :—& in sure token therof, they haue now newly found out a more monstrous kind of ruffe of xii. yea, xvi. lengthes a peece, set 3 or 4 times double, & is of some, fittie called: *Three stepps and a halfe to the Gallowes*.

⁶ *vaine comes after and in* B, E, F.

⁷⁻⁷ things is F.

⁸ *heading in* F :—Of costly Shirtes in England.

⁹ *not in* F.

¹¹ recount F. † leaf 24. Nice Appa[rell] make tender bodies. B, F.

¹³ yet *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁴ neither B, E, F.

¹⁵⁻¹⁵ nor yet fret their delicate F.

¹⁶ nor *not in* B, E.

¹⁷ tender fleshe, nor yet make perforation into their *added in* B, E.

¹⁸ it F.

these dyamond shurts on their ¹ delicate bodies¹: but how foeuer it is, I gather by your words that this must needs be a nice and curious² People, who ³ are thus nuffeled vp³ in such daintie attyre.

Nicenes of
apparell mak-
eth the body
tender.

[⁸ E x, back]
[¹⁰ leaf 24, back.
D.†]

Our predeces-
sours weringe
meaner appa-
rell were
stronger[r] than
we.

Philo. It is very true, for this their curiositie, and nicenes in apparell (as it were) transfigureth them,⁴ makinge⁵ them weake, tender and infirme, not able to abide such ⁶ sharp conflicts and blustering stormes⁶ as many other people, both abroad farre from them, and in their confines nie to them, do daylie⁷ sustaine. I haue hard my Father, with other wyfe Sages affirme, that in his tyme, within the compasse of foure or fyue score yeres, when men went clothed in black or white frize coates, in hosen of Hufwyues carzie of the same colore, ⁸ that the sheep bore⁹ them (¹⁰ the want of making and wering of which clothe, together with the excessiue wering of filks, veluets, fatens, damasks, taffeties, and such like, hath and doth make many a thousand in *Ailgna* ¹¹ as poore mendicants¹¹ to begge their bread) wherof some weare strait to the thigh, other some litle bigger: and when they ware shurts of hempe or flax (but now these are to grosse, our tender stomacks cannot easilye digest such roughe and crude¹² meats) men weare stronger than we,¹³ helthfuller, fayrer complectioned, longer lyuinge,¹⁴ and finallye, ten tymes harder than we,¹⁵ and able¹⁶ to ¹⁷ beare out¹⁷ any forowe¹⁸ or paynes whatfoeuer. For be sure, this pampering of our¹⁹ bodies makes them weker, tenderer and neshier, than otherwyse they would be, if they were vsed to hardnesse, and more subiect to receiue anye kind of infection or maladie; And²⁰ rather abbreviat²¹ oure dayes by manye yeres, than extenuate our liues one minut of an houre.

Spud. I thinke no lesse; for how stronge men were in tymes past, how long they lyued, and how helthfull they weare before suche Nicenes, and vayne pamperinge curiositie was inuented, we may reade, and many that lyue at this daye can testifie. But now,

¹—¹ backes F.

² womanish kind of F.

³—³ thus pamper their bodies B, E, F. ⁴ them, and B. ⁵ and maketh F.

⁶—⁶ blustering stormes and sharpe showers F. ⁷ daily beare and F.

⁹ bare F. † leaf 14, back. Men strong in tymes past. B.

¹¹—¹¹ not in B, E, F.

¹² a hard F.

¹³ than we not in B, E, F. ¹⁴ liued F. ¹⁵ we be now B, E, F.

¹⁶ abler F. ¹⁷—¹⁷ undure F. ¹⁸ any discrasie B, E. ¹⁹ their B, E, F.

²⁰ and doeth B, E, F.

²¹ shorten F.

through our fond toyes and nice inuentions, we haue brought our felues into fuche pufil¹lanimitie and effeminat condition, as we may [1 E 2] feeme rather² nice dames and yonge³ gyrles than puiſſante⁴ agents or manlie⁴ men, as our⁵ Forefathers haue bene.

[5 leaf 25. B.*]

⁶ *Pñilo*. Their dublettes are noe leſſe monſtrous than the reſte ; For now the faſhion is to haue them hang downe to the middeſt⁷ of their theighes, or at leaſt to their priuie members, beeing ſo harde-quilted, and⁸ ſtuffed, bombaſted and ſewed, as they can⁹ verie hardly eyther ſtoupe downe,¹⁰ or decline¹¹ them ſelues¹² to the grounde, ſoe ſtyffe and ſturdy they ſtand about them.

The monſtrous dubblets in Ailgna.

Now, what handſomnes can be in theſe dubblettes whiche ſtand on their bellies like, or¹³ muche bigger than, a mans codpeece (ſo as¹⁴ their bellies are thicker than all their bodyes beſyde) let wyſe men iudge ; For for¹⁵ my parte, handſomnes in them I ſee none, and muche leſſe profyte. And¹⁶ to be plaine, I neuer ſawe any weare them, but I ſuppoſed him to be a man inclined to gourmandice, gluttonie, and fuche like.¹⁶

For what may theſe great bellies ſignifie els than that either they are fuche, or els¹⁷ are affected that way ?¹⁷ This is the trueſt ſignification that I could euer¹⁸ preſage or diuine¹⁸ of them. And this maye euerye one¹⁹ iudge of them that ſeeeth them ; for certaine I am there was neuer any kinde of apparell euer inuented that could more diſproportion the body of man then theſe Dublets with great bellies, hanging down beneath their *Pudenda* (as I²⁰ haue ſaid), & ſtuffed with foure, five or fix pound of Bombaſt at the leaſt. I ſay nothing of what their Dub-

Great bellied dublets betoken gourmandice, gluttony, and ſuch like.

[19 E 2, back]

[20 leaf 25, back. B.||]

² rather ſeeme F.

³ wanton B, E ; wayriſh F.

⁴—⁴ valorous and hardy F.

* leaf 25. Monſtrous Dublets in Ailgna. B.

⁶ heading to chapter :—English Doublets. F.

⁷ middle B, E, F.

⁸ and not in B, E, F.

⁹ neither worke, nor yet well plaie in them, through the exceſſiue heate † thereof : & therefore are forced to weare them loſe about them for the moſt part otherwiſe they could added in B, E, F. († F adds and ſtiſneſſe)

¹⁰ downe not in B, E, F.

¹¹ bowe F.

¹² themſelues not in B, E.

¹³ as big or F.

¹⁴ that F.

¹⁵ 2nd for not in F.

¹⁶—¹⁶ beſides that I ſee no good end wherto thei ſerue, except it be to ſhewe the diſpoſition of ye wearer, how he is inclined, namely †, to gluttonie gourmandice, riotte ‡, and exceſſe. B, E, F. († as namely F ; ‡ drunkenneſſe added in F.)

¹⁷—¹⁷ would be thought to be ſuch F.

¹⁸—¹⁸ gather F.

|| leaf 25, back. Pride in Doublets, and Hoſe. B.

Dublettes of
diuerse¹ fash-
ions.

lets be made, some of Saten, Taffatie, silk, Grogram,² Chamlet, gold, filuer, & what not; flashed, iagged, cut, carued, pincked and laced with all kinde of costely lace of diuers and sundry colours, for if I shoulde³ stand vpon⁴ these particularities,⁴ rather time then matter would be wanting.

Spud. These be the strangest doublets that euer I heard of; and the furdest from handsomnes in euery respect, vnlesse I be deceiued.

Hosen of
diuerse &
sundry fash-
ions.

[French hosen
of two sortes. E,
F.]

⁵ *Philo.* Then haue they Hosen, which as they be of diuers fashions, so are they of sundry names. Some be called french-hose, some gally-hose,⁶ and some Venitians. The french-hose are of two diuers makings, for the common french-hose (as they list to call them) containeth length, breadth, and sidenes sufficient, and is made very round. The other containeth neither length, breadth nor sidenes (beeing not past a quarter of a yarde side) wherof some be paned, cut and drawne out with costely ornaments, with Canions annexed⁷ reaching down beneath their knees.

[Gally hosen. E,
F.]

[⁸ E 3]

⁸ The Gally-hosen are made very large and wide, reaching downe to their knees onely, with three or foure guardes a peece laid down along either hose. And the Venetian-hosen, they reach beneath the knee to the gartering place to⁹ the Leg,¹⁰ where they are tyed finely with¹¹ silk points, or some such like, and laied on also with rewes of lace,¹² or gardes as the other before. And yet notwithstanding all this is not sufficient, except they be made of silk, veluet, saten, damask, and other such precious things¹³ beside: yea, euery one, Seruing man and other inferiour to them, in euery condition, wil not sticke to flaunte it out in these kinde of hosen, with all other their apparel futable therunto.

[¹¹ leaf 26. B.†]

[* Side-note here
in B.]

* The great ex-
cesse vsed in
hosen.

In times past, Kings (as olde Historiographers in their Bookes yet extant doo recorde) would not disdaine to weare a paire of hosen of a Noble, tenne Shillings, or a Marke price, with all the rest of their apparel after the same rate; but now it is a small matter to bestowe twentie nobles, ten pound, twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a

¹ diuers B, E, F.

² grograine B, E, F.

³ could F.

⁴—⁴ particularie F.

⁵ heading in F: Costly Hosen in Englande.

⁶ Gallie in B, E; Gallie hosen F.

⁷ adioyned F.

⁹ of F.

¹⁰ beneath the knee added in B.

† leaf 26. Great excesse in hose. B.

¹² of lace not in F.

¹³ stuffe F.

hundred pound of one paire of Breeches. (*God be mercifull vnto vs !*)¹

Spud. This is a wonderful exceſſe as euer I hearde of, woorthy with the Swoorde² of *Iuſtice* rather to be puniſhed, then with paper and pen to be ³ſo gentle³ confuted.⁴

⁵*Philo.* Then haue they nether-ſtocks to theſe gay hoſen, not of cloth (though neuer ſo fine) for that is thought to baſe, but of *Iarnſey* worſted,⁶ filk, thred, and ſuch like, or els at the leaſt of the fineſt yarn *that* can be,⁷ and ſo curiouſly knit with open ſeam down the leg, with quirks and clocks about the ancles, ⁸and ſometime (haply) interlaced with gold or ſiluer threds, as is wonderful to behold. And to ſuch⁹ inſolency &¹⁰ outrage it is now growen, that euery one (almoſt) though otherwiſe verie poor, hauing ſcarce fortie ſhillings of wages by the yeer, wil ¹¹be ſure¹¹ to haue two or three paire of theſe filk neither-ſtocks, or els of the fineſt yarne that may be got, though *the* price of them be a Ryall¹² or twentie ſhillinges or more, as commonly it is; for how can they be leſſe, when as the very knitting of them is worth a noble or a royall, and ſome much more? The time hath beene when one might haue clothed all his body well¹³ for leſſe then a pair of theſe neither-ſtocks wil coſt.

[⁵ E 3, back *]

The diuerſity of neither-ſtocks worne in Ailgna.

[⁸ leaf 26, back. B.*]

Spud. I haue ſeldome hearde the like: I think verely that *Sathan*, prince of darknes & Father of pride, is let looſe in *the*¹⁴ land, els it could neuer ſo rage¹⁵ as it dooth; for *the* like pride (I am fully perſwaded) is not vſed vnder the ſonne of any nation or people how barbarous ſo euer: wherefore wo be to this age, and thiſe accuſed be theſe dayes, which bring¹⁶ foorth¹⁷ ſuch ſowre¹⁸ frutes; & vnhappy are that people whom *Sathan* hath ſo bewitched & ¹⁹captiued in ſin. *The Lord holde his hand of mercy ouer vs !*¹⁹

The miſerie of theſe daies.

[¹⁷ E 4]

Philo. To theſe their nether-ſtocks, they haue corked ſhooes, pinſnets, and fine pantofles, which beare them vp ²⁰a finger or two²⁰

¹ and yet is this thought no abuſe neither *added* in B, E, F.

² Rodde F. ^{3—3} not in F. ⁴ confuted F. ⁶ crewell *added* in B, E, F.

* *heading to chapter* :—Costly Nether Stockins in England. F. ⁷ be got F. † leaf 26, back. Costly netherstockes in Ailgna. B. ⁹ ſuch impudent B, E, F.

¹⁰ and ſhamefull B, E, F. ^{11—11} not ſticke B, E, F. ¹² royal F.

¹³ from top to toe *added* in F. ¹⁴ that F. ¹⁵ ſo far exceed F.

¹⁶ bringeth F.

¹⁸ vnsauorie B, E, F.

^{19—19} captiuate in Pride. (*heading*) Corked ſhooes in England. F.

^{20—20} two inches or more F.

Corked ſhoes,
Pantoffles and
pinſnets.
[¹ leaf 27. B.*]

Pantoffles &
ſlippers are a let
to thoſe that
go abroad in
them.

Pantoffles vn-
easie to go in.

[⁸ E 4, back]

[^{xx} leaf 27, back.
B.+]

The varytie
of coates and
ierkins.

from the ground; wherof ſome be of white leather, ſome ¹ of black, and ſome of red, ſome of black veluet, ſome of white, ſome of red, ſome of green, raced, carued, cut, and ſtitched all ouer with ſilk, and laid on with golde, ſiluer, and ſuch like: yet, notwithstanding,² to what good vſes ſerue theſe pantoffles,³ except it be to wear in a priuate houſe, or in a mans Chamber to keepe him warme? (for this is the onely vſe wherto they beſt ſerue in my iudgement) but to go abroad in them, as they are now vſed al together, is rather a let or hinderance to a man then otherwiſe; for ſhall he not be faine to knock and ſpurn at euery ⁴ ſtone, wall,⁴ or poſſe to keep them on his feet? ⁵ wherfore, to diſcloſe euen the bowels of my iudgement vnto you,⁵ I think they be rather worne abroad for nicenes, then either for any eaſe which they bring (for the contrary is moſte true), or any handſomnes which is in them. For how ſhould they be eaſie, when⁶ as the heele hangeth an inch or two ouer the flipper on⁷ the ground? Inſomuch as I haue knownen diuers mens legs ſwel with the ſame. ⁸ And handſome how ſhould they be, when ⁹ as with their flipping & flapping⁹ vp and down in the dirte ¹⁰ they exaggerate a mountain of mire, & gather a heape of clay & baggage together, loding the wearer with importable burthen.¹⁰

Spud. Thoſe kinde of pantoffles can neither ¹¹ be ſo handſome, nor yet ſo warme as other vſuall¹² common ſhoes be, I think. Therefore the weringe of them abroad rather importeth a Nicenes (as you ſay) in them that weare them, than bringeth any other commodytie, els vnleſſe I be deceiued.

¹³ *Philo.* Their coates and Ierkins, as they be diuerſe in colors, ſo be they diuerſe in faſhions; for ſome be made with colors, ſome without, ſome cloſe to the bodie, ſome looſe,¹⁴ couering the whole

* leaf 27. Greate exceſſe in ſhooes. B.

² I ſee not *added* in F.

³ doe ſerue *added* in F.

⁴—⁴ wall, ſtone F.

⁵—⁵ And therefore to tell you what I iudge of them F.

⁶ a man can not goe ſteadfaſtly in them, without ſlipping and ſliding at euery pace ready to fall doune: Againe how ſhould thei be eaſie where *added* in B, E, F.

⁷ from B, E, F.

⁹—⁹ they go flip flap F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ caſting vp mire to the knees of the wearer F.

† leaf 27, back. Coates and Ierkins. B.

¹² not in F.

¹³ *heading* in F:—Coates and Ierkins in England.

¹⁴ which they cal Mandilians E, F.

body downe to the theighe, like baggs or sacks that weare drawn ouer them, hidinge the dimenſions and proportions¹ of the body: ſome are buttoned downe the brest, ſome vnder the arme, & ſome downe the back; ſome with flappes ouer the brest, ſome without, ſome with great fleeuës, ſome with ſmall, and ² ſome with non at all²; ſome pleated and creſted behind, & curiouſlye gathered; ſome not ſo³; & how many dayes ⁴(I might ſay houres, or minuts of houres,⁴ in the yeare) ſo many fortes of apparell ſome⁵ one man will haue, and thinketh it good prouiſion in faire weather to lay vp againſt ⁶a ſtorme!⁶ But if ⁷they would conſider that their clothes (except thoſe that they weare vppon their backs) be non of theirs, but the poores, they would not heap vp their preſſes and wardrobes as they do. Do they think that it is lawfull for them to haue millions⁸ of ſundry fortes⁸ of apparell lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Ieſus ⁹Chriſte die at their doores for wante of clothing? God commaundeth in his law, that there be no miſerable poore man, nor begger amongeſt vs, but that euery one be prouided for and maintained of that abundance¹⁰ which God hath bleſſed vs withal. But we thinke it a great matter if we geue them an old ragged coate, dublet, or a paire of hoſen, or els a penny or two, wheras not withſtanding we flow in abundance of all things. Than we thinke we are halfe way to heauen, and we need to do no more. If we geue them a peace of brown bread, a meſſe of porredge (nay, the ſtocks & priſon, with whippinge cheare now and than, is the beſt portion of almes which many Gentlemen geue) at our dores, it is counted meritorious, and a worke of ſupererogation, when we fare full delicatelye oure ſelues, feeding on many a dainty¹¹ diſh. There is a certen Citye in *Ailgna* called *Munidnol*,¹² where as the poore lye in *the*¹³ ſtreets vppon pallets of ſtraw, and well if they haue that to, or els in the mire and dirt, as commonlie it is ſeene, ¹⁴hauing neither houſe to put in their heads, couering to keep them from the cold, nor yet to hide their ſhame withal, penny to buy them ſuſtenance, nor any thing els, but are permitted¹⁵ to dye in the ſtreets like dogges, or beaſts, without anie

[The ſhapes * of coats and jerkins.]

(* varitie (*sic*) F.)

[7 E 5]

The poore ought to be prouided for
[9 leaf 28. B.†]

Our ſmal regard to the poore.

[Londinum in Anglia.]

Cold charitie to the poore.
[14 E 5, back]

¹ lineaments B, E, F. ^{2—2} not in F. ³ so not in B, E, F. ^{4—4} not in F.

⁵ some some (*sic*) F.

^{6—6} foule F.

^{8—8} of sutes F.

† leaf 28. Cold Charitie in Ailgna. B.

¹⁰ store F.

¹¹ danity A.

¹² Londou F.

¹³ the not in F.

¹⁵ suffered B, E, F.

mercie or compassion shewed to them at all. And if anye be sicke of the plague (as they call it) or any other¹ diseafe, their Maisters and Maistres² are so impudent³ (being,⁴ it should seeme, at⁵ a league with Sathan, a couenante with Hell, and⁶ as it were obliged them-selues by⁶ obligation to⁷ the deuil neuer to haue to do with the works of mercy) as fraight way thei throw them out of their dores. And so being caried foorth, either in carts or otherwyse,⁸ and thrown⁸ in the streets,⁹ there⁹ they end their dayes most miserably. Truly, Brother, if I had not seen it, I would scarcely haue thought that the like Turkish cruelty had bene vsed in all¹⁰ the World. But they say *vnus testis oculatus plus valet quam mille auriti*, one eye witnesse is better to be belyued than a thousand eare witnessses besydes. But to leaue these excursions, and to returne from whence I haue digressed, I think it the best; for I am perswaded, they will¹¹ as much respect¹¹ my words (or amend their maners) as the wicked¹² World did at¹³ the preaching¹⁴ of our Sauour Christe Iesus; that is, iust nothing at all.

[³ leaf 28, back. B.⁴]

The Turkish impietie of some towards the poore disensed.

[¹⁵ E 6]

¹⁵ *Spud.* Well then, seeing they are suche a stifneckned People, leaue them to the Lord; and proceed to your former tractation.¹⁶

¹⁷ *Philo.* They haue clokes there also in nothing discrepante¹⁸ from the rest, of dyuerse and fundry colors, white, red, tawnie, black, greene, yellowe, russet, purple, violet, and infynite other colors: some of cloth, silk, veluet, taffetie,¹⁹ and such like, wherof some be of the Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion²⁰: Some short, scarcely reaching to the gyrdlestead, or wast, some to the knee, and other some traylinge vppon the ground (almost) liker gownes than clokes. ²¹ These clokes must be garded, laced, & thorowly faced; and sometimes²¹ so lyned as the inner side standeth almost in as much as the

The sundry fashions of clokes.

[¹⁹ leaf 29. B.†]

¹ other mortall B, E, F.

² Mistresses F.

* leaf 28, back. Turkishe impietie in Ailgna. B.

⁴ hauing made B, E, F (as added in F.)

⁵ at not in B, E, F.

⁶—⁶ an B, E; sealed an an F.

⁷ with B, E, F.

⁸—⁸ are laied doune either B, E, F; but E F have or laide

⁹—⁹ or els conueied to some olde house in the feldes, or gardens, where for want of due sustentation B, E, F. (and good tending added in F.)

¹⁰ any place of F. ¹¹—¹¹ regard as much F. ¹² former B. ¹³ at not in F.

¹⁴ of Noah, or the latter worlde at the preachyng added in B, E, F.

¹⁶ discourse F.

¹⁷ heading in F: Cloakes in Englande.

¹⁸ different F. † leaf 29. Costly Clokes in Ailgna. B. ²⁰ fashions F.

²¹—²¹ Then are thei garded with Veluette gardes, or els laced with costly lace,

ouſide : ſome haue ſleeues, otherſome haue none ; ſome haue hooſes to pull ouer the head, ſome haue none ; ſome are hanged with points & taffels of gold, ſiluer, or ſilk, ſome without al this. But how ſoeuer¹ it be, the day hath bene when one might haue bought him two clokes for leſſe than now he can haue one of theſe clokes made for,² they haue ſuch ſtore of workmanſhip beſtowed vppon them.

Spud. I am ſure they neuer learned this³ at the hands of our *Pro-confuſ*, and chief Prouoſt,³ Chriſt Ieſus, nor of any other that euer lyued godly in the Lord ; but rather out of the deceitfull forge of their own braines haue they⁴ drawen⁵ this⁶ curſed Anatomy⁶ to their owne deſtruction⁷ in the end, except the⁸ repente.

The counting
houſe of all
euill is mans
braine.
[⁴ E 6, back]

⁹ *Philo.* They haue alſo bootehoſe which are to be wondered at ; for they be of the fynest cloth that may be got, yea, fine enough to make any band, ruffe, or ſhurt¹¹ needful to be worn : yet this is bad enough to were next their greſie boots. And would¹² God this were all¹³ : but (oh,¹⁴ phy for ſhame !) they muſt be wrought all ouer, from the gartering place vpward, with nedle worke, clogged with ſilk of all colors, with birds, foules, beaſts, and antiques purtrayed all ouer in comlie¹⁵ forte.¹⁶ So that I haue knowen the very nedle work of ſome one payre of theſe bootehoſe to ſtand, ſome in iiij pound, vi. pound, and ſome in x. pound a peece. Beſides this, they are made ſo wyde to draw ouer all, and ſo longe to reach vp to the waſte, that as litle, or leſſe, clothe would make one a reaſonable large ſhurte. But tuſh ! this is nothing in compariſon of the reſte.

[⁹ leaf 29, back.
B.†]
¹⁰ The vain ex-
ceſſe of bote
hoſen ¹⁰

Spud. I would thinke that boote-hoſen of groſſer linnen, or els of¹⁷ wollen clothe, were both warmer to ride in, as comly as the other, though not ſo fine, and a great deal more durable. And as for

The varietie of
fashions con-
uince vs of
folle.

either of golde, ſiluer, or at the leaſt of ſilke three or fower fingers broad doune the back, about the ſkirtes, and euery where els. And now of late thei vſe to garde their clokes rounde about the ſkirtes with (babes) I ſhould ſaie Bugles, and other kinde of glaſſe, and all to ſhine to the eye. Beſides al this, thei are ſo faced, and withal B, E, F.

Bugled clokes.

¹ howeuer E, F. ² for *not in F.* ^{3—3} of our ſauour F.

⁵ sucked E, F. ^{6—6} filthy poyſon F. ⁷ conſuſion B, E, F. ⁸ they F.

† leaf 29, back. Great exceſſe, in Boote hoſe. B. *Heading in F* : Boothoſe in England. ^{10—10} *not in E.* ¹¹ ſhirt of F.

¹² would to E, F. ¹³ all too F. ¹⁴ oh *not in F.* ¹⁵ ſumptuous B, E, F.

¹⁶ yea and of late, imbroydered with Golde and Siluer very coſtly *added in F.*

¹⁷ of *not in E.*

those geugawes wherwith you say they be blanched and trimmed, they serue to no end but to feade *the* wanton eyes of gazing fools, & planly argue *the* vertiginie, and instability of their more than fantastical brains.

[¹ E 7]

Swords and
daggers gilt
& damasked.

[² leaf 30. B.†]

[Scabbards and
sheaths of
velvet.]

[Why gilt
swords, and
daggers be
worne. E, F]

Lucc. x6.

¹ *Phil.* To these haue they their Rapiers, Swords and Daggers, gilt twise or thrise ² ouer the hilts, with ³ [good Angell golde, or els argented ouer with filuer both within and without, and if it be true as I heare say it is, there be some hiltes made all of pure filuer itself, and couered with golde. Other some at the least are Damasked, Vernished, and ingrauen marueilous goodly: and least any thyng should be wantyng to set forthe their pride, their]³ scabberds and sheathes of⁴ Veluet or the like; for leather, though it be more profitable and as seemely, yet wil it not carie such a ⁵ porte or countenance like⁶ the⁵ other. And wil not these golden swords & daggers almoste apale a man⁷ (though otherwise neuer so stout a *Martialist*) to haue any deling with them? for either to *that* end they be worne, or els other swords, daggers and rapiers of bare yron and Steele were as hanfom as they, & much more conduible⁸ to that end whereto swords and rapiers should serue, namely,⁹ for a mans lawful and godly defence against his aduersarie in time of necessitie. But wherfore they be so clogged with gold and filuer I know not, nor yet wherto this excesse serueth I see not; but certain I am, a great shewe of pride it is, an infallible token of vain glorie, and a greuous offence to God, so prodigallie and licentiouslie¹⁰ to lauish forth his treasure, for which we must render accounts at the day of Iudgement, when it shall be saide to euerie one, *Redde rationem Vilicationis tuæ*. Come, giue accounts of thy Stewardship.

¹ *Heading in F* :—Rapiers, Daggers, Swords, gilde in Englande.

† leaf 30. Swordes, Rapiers, and Daggers. B. ³⁻³ *in* B, E, F.

⁴ are of B, E, F. ⁵⁻⁵ Majesty or glorious shewe as the F. ⁶ as B, E.

⁷ thinke you *added in* F. ⁸ auailable F. ⁹ that is F. ¹⁰ wastfully F.

² *A particulare Discription of the Abufes of Womens* <sup>[² E 7, back ;
leaf 30, back. B.]</sup>
apparell in *Ailgna*.

THus hauinge geuen thee a³ superficiall⁴ viewe,⁵ or small taft⁵ (but not discouered the hundreth part) of the guyfes of *Ailgna* in mens apparel, and of the abufes contained in the fame, now wil I, with like⁶ celeritie of matter,⁶ impart vnto thee the guyfe and feuerall Abufes of the apparell of women there vfed alfo : wherefore, geue attentieue eare. [The abufes in women's apparel]

Sp. My eares be preft to heare : begin when you wil, and truely herin you fhall pleasur me much, for I haue greatly defired to know thorowly the ftate of *that* Land, euen a *crepundiis* (as they fay) from my tender yeres, for the great prayfe I haue hard therof. Wherefore I pray you proceed to the fame, & though I be vnable with any benefit to counteruail your great pains,⁷ yet *the* Lord, I doubt not, wil fupplie my want.

Ph. The Lord our God is a mercifull God, & a bountifull Rewarder of euery one that trusteth in him ; but yet (fuch is *the* magnificency⁸ & liberalitie of that gentle fex) that I trust I fhall not be vnrewarded at their hands, if⁹ to be called a thoufand knaues be a fufficient guerdon for my pains. But though it wilbe¹⁰ a corrofiue¹¹ to their hautie¹² ftomacks, & a *nippitatum* to their¹³ tender brefts¹³ to heare their dirtie dregs ript vp and caft in¹⁴ their dial¹⁵mond faces, yet hope¹⁶ing that they, feeing the horroure of their impieties, and tragicall abufes laide open to the world (for now they fleep in the¹⁷ graue of obliuion) wil at the laft, like good Conuertes and¹⁸ Penitentiaries of *Chriftie Iefus*, leaue of their wickednes, call for mercie at the hands of God, repent and amend. I will proceed to my intended purpofe. [¹⁵ leaf 31. B.†]
[¹⁶ E 8]

² Womans F.³ a taste or B, E, F.⁴ not in F.⁵ not in B, E, F.⁶ expedition F.⁷ curtesie F.⁸ munificencie B, E, F.⁹ if at the least B, E, F.¹⁰ maie bee perhappes B, E, F.¹¹ corrasieue F.¹² tender F.¹³ haughty minds F.¹⁴ into F.

† leaf 31. Coloryng of faces in Ailgna? B. E has a new head-line here, Abuse of the female sex. ¹⁷ dust of silence and added in E, F.

¹⁸ become faithfull B, E ; become the faithfull F.

Coloring of
faces with
oyntments and
waters.

Adulteration
of the Lord
his workman-
ship in his
Creatures.

¹The Women of *Ailgna*² vse to colour their faces with certain oyles, liquors, vngvents and waters made to that end, whereby they think their beautie is greatly decored: but who see the not that their foules are thereby deformed, and they brought deeper into the displeasure and indignation of the Almighty, at whose voice the earth dooth tremble, and at whose presence the heauens shall liquifie and melt away. Doo they think thus to adulterate the Lord his workmanship, and to be without offence? Doo they not know that he is *Zelotipus*,³ a ielous God, and cannot abide any alteration of his woorkes, other wife then he hath commaunded⁴?

Yf an Artificer or Craftsman shoulde make any-thing belonging to his art or science, & a cobbler should presume to correct the same, would not the other think him self abused, and iudge him⁵ woorthy of reprehension?

And ⁶thinkest thou (oh Woman!)⁶ to escape the Iudgement of God, who hath fashioned thee⁷ ⁸to his glory, when thy⁹ great, and more then presumptuous, audacitie¹⁰ dareth to alter, & ¹¹chaunge his workmanship in thee¹²?

[⁸ E 8, back]

[¹¹ leaf 3r, back.
B.*]

¹³Thinkest thou that thou canst make thy self¹³ fairer then God, who¹⁴ made vs all? These must needs be their inuentions,¹⁵ or els they would neuer go about to colour their faces with such fibber-fawces. And these beeing their inuentions,¹⁵ what can derogate more from the maiestie of God in his creation? For in this dooing, they plainly conuince the Lord of vntueth in his word, who saith he made man glorious, after his owne likenes, and the fayrest of all other terrestiall¹⁶ Creatures. If he be thus faire, then what need they to make them fayrer? Therefore this their colouring of their faces importeth (as by probable coniecture may be presupposed) that they think them selues not faire enough,¹⁷ and then must God needs be vntue in his woord.

They that
colour their
faces, deny the
Lord of glory
to bee true
God, and so
no God at all.

¹ *Heading in F*:—Collouring of womens faces in England.

² (many of them) use B, E, F.

³ deus added in B, E, F.

⁴ made them B, E, F.

⁵ the reprocuer F.

⁶—⁶ doe these women thinke B, E, F. ⁷ them B, E, F. ⁹ their B, E, F.

¹⁰ audacitie A. * leaf 31, back. Coloured faces abhord of God. B.

¹² them B, E, F.

¹³—¹³ Doe they suppose that they can make themselues B, E, F.

¹⁴ that B, E, F.

¹⁵ intentions B, E, F: (suppositions for the 1st word F.) ¹⁶ terrestriall F.

¹⁷ els why doe thei goe about to make themselues fairer added in B, E, F.

And alſo they deny the Lord to be either merciful or almightie, or bothe, and ſo conſequently no God at all; for if hee could not haue made them faire, then is hee not almightie; and if hee could and would not, then is hee not a merciful God; and ſo euery way they ¹fall in to the ſinck¹ of offence, ²beeing² aſhamed of the good creation of the Lord in them; but³ it is to be feared leaſt at the day of Iudgement the Lord wil be aſhamed of them, & in his wrath ⁴denounce this heaue and ineuitable ſentence con⁵demnatorie againſt them: "*Depart from mee, you curſed, into euerlaſting fire, prepared for the deuil and his Angels: I knowe you not: (I ſay) departe, for you were aſhamed of mee, and of my creation in you.*"⁶

[⁴ F 1]Sentence condemnatory againſt thoſe that coulour their faces.
[⁵ leaf 32. B.†]

Spud. Wherof doo they make theſe waters, and other⁷ vnctions wherwith they beſmeare their faces, can you tel?

Philo. I⁸ am not ſo ſkilful in their ⁹matters of pride,⁹ but I holde this for a *Maxime*, that¹⁰ they are made of many mixtures, and fundry compounded¹¹ ſimples, bothe farre fetched and deer bought, cunningly couched¹² together, and¹³ tempered with many goodly condiments and holſome confections, I warrant you; els you may be ſure they would not applye them to their amorous¹⁴ faces, for feare of harming or blemiſhing the ſame.

[Materials of waters, &c. for women's faces.]

[*Spud.* I praiſe you ſhewe me the ¹⁵iudgements, and¹⁵ opinions of the Fathers, concernyng theſe colourynges¹⁶ of faces ¹⁷with ointmentes and waters, that I maie the better know, what to iudge of it¹⁸ my ſelf.¹⁷ B, E, F; *part inserted with the pen in A.*]

Philo. *S. Ciprian*, amongſt all¹⁹ the reſt, faith, a Woman, thorow painting and dying of her face, ſheweth her ſelf to be more then whoriſh. For (faith hee) ſhee hath corrupted and defaced (like a filthie ſtrumpet or brothel) the woorkmanſhip of God in her: what is this els but to turne trueth into falſhood with painting and fibber-

Inuectiues of the Fathers againſt paynting and coulouring of faces.

^{1—1} ſtumble at the ſtone of B, E, F.

^{2—2} whiche one day will cruſhe them all to peeces, excepte they repent. And as they be B, E, F.

† leaf 32. Harlottes vse painted faces. B.

⁷ other *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ Truly I, F.

³ ſo B, E, F.

¹⁰ that *not in* E.

¹¹ compounde B, E; *not in* F.

⁶ in you *not in* F.

¹³ and artificially B, E, F.

¹⁴ amiable F.

¹² mingled B, E, F.

¹⁶ this colouringe A, pen.

^{17—17} *not in* A, pen.

^{15—15} *not in* A, pen.

¹⁸ them E, F.

¹⁹ all *not in* B, E, F.

fawces, wheras the Lord saith, "*Thou canst not make one haire white or black.*" In an other place hee saith, *Qui* ¹*se pinguunt* ²*in hoc seculo, aliter quam creauit* ³*Deus, metuant ne, cum dies resurrectionis uenerit, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscat.* Those which ⁴ paint or collour them selues in this world otherwise then God hath made them, let them feare, least when the day of iudgement commeth, the Lorde wil not know them for his Creatures. Againe, *Feminae crines suos inficiunt malo praefagio, capillos enim flammeos auspicari* ⁵*non metuunt.* Whosoeuer doo color their faces, or their haire, with any vn-naturall collour, they begin to prognosticate of what colour they shalbe in hel.

S. Ambrose saith that from the coullouring of faces spring the incitements to vices, and that they which ⁶ color their faces doo purchase to them selues the blot and stain of chastitie.

For what a dotage is it (saith hee) to chaunge thy naturall face which God hath made thee for a painted face, which thou hast made thy self? If thou beeest faire, why paintest thou thy self to seeme fairer? and if thou be not faire, why doost thou hippocritically desire to seeme faire, and art nothing lesse? Can those things which, besides that they be filthie, doo cary the brand of God his curse vpon their backs for euer, make thee to seeme fayrer? I could show you the sharp Inuections, and grounded reasons of many moe, as of *Aug[u]stine, Hierome, Chrysostome, Gregorie, Caluin, Peter Martyr, Gualter*, and of an infinite number moe; ⁷ yea, of all generally since the beginning of ⁸ the world, against this ⁹ whorish and brothellous painting and coulouring of faces; but to auoid *prolixitie* I will omit them, deferring them to further oportunitie, for *pauca sapienti*, ¹⁰ To a wiseman few woords are sufficient.

Spud. It must needs be graunted, that the dying and coulouring of faces with artificiall colours, and vnnaturall Oyntments, is moste offensue to God, and derogatorie to his Maiestie: [And when thei haue doen all that thei can, and the cunningest artist that euer liued besides, yet shal thei neuer be able to make so splendent, so orient, and

[1 leaf 32, back.

13, *]

[3 F 1, back]

[St. Cyprian
against face-
painting]

No painting
can make any
to seeme fairer,
but fowler.

[7 F 2]

[8 leaf 33 B.†]

† Colouring of
faces, the deuils
net.

² pinguunt E.. * leaf 32, back. Colouring of faces detestable. B.

⁴ that F. ⁵ auspicare F. ⁶ which comes before that in F.

† leaf 33. Painted faces, the Deuilles nets. B. ⁹ those E.

¹⁰ sapientia B, E, F.

fo naturall a colour, as dame Nature hath giuen to the herbes in the feeld. Then if God hath imprinted suche an excellent colour in the graffe of the feeld, which to-day ¹is standing,¹ and to-morrow is cut doune; how muche more hath he ingrauen a beautifull colour in man, the excellentest creature of all others²? Therefore ought every one to content himself with the shape that God hath giuen hym, without sekynge of alteration or change. B, E, F.] for doo they think that the God of all glorie, and who only decketh and adorneth the Sun, the Moon, the Starres, and all the hoast of heauen with vnspcakable glorie, and incomparable beautie, cannot make them beautiful and faire enough (if it please him) without their fibberfawces? And what are they³ els then the Deuills inuentions, to intangle poore soules in the nets of perdition?

[God's own
colouring
of man.]

⁴ *Philo.* Then followeth the trimming and tric⁵king of their heds in laying out their hair to the shewe, which of force must be curled, frised and cripped, laid out (a World to see!) on wreathes & borders from one eare to an other. And least it should fall down, it is vnder propped with forks, wyers, & I can not tel what, rather⁶ like grime⁷ sterne monstres, then chaste christian matrones. Then, on the edges of their bolstred heir (for it standeth crested round about their frontiers, & hanging ouer their faces like ⁸pendices⁹ with glasse windowes an¹⁰ euery side) there is layd great wreathes of gold and siluer, curiouslie wrought & cunninglie¹¹ applied to the temples of their heads. And for feare of lacking any thing to set foorth their pride withal, at their heyre, thus wreathed and crested, are hanged bugles (I dare not say bables) ouches, rings, gold, siluer, glasses, & such other¹² gewgawes and ¹³trinkets besides, which, for that they be innumerable, and I vnkilfull in wemens termes, I can not easily recount.¹⁴ But God giue them grace to giue ouer these vanities, and studie to adorn their heads with the incorruptible ornaments of vertue & true Godlynesse.

[† side-note,
p 66, here
in B, E.]

Trimming of
their heds.
[5 leaf 33, back.
B.†]

Simia erit
simia, etiam si
aurea gostat,
insignia.

Laying out of
their haire.
[8 F 2, back]

Gold wreathes,
circumgyring
the temples of
their heads.

Gewgawes
hanged about
their Frontiers.

Spud. The Apostle *Paul* (as I remember) commaundeth wemen to cherish their heyre, saying that it is an ornament to them; &

¹—¹ standeth E.

² other F.

³ but F.

⁴ *heading in F* :—Attiring of womens heades in England.

† leaf 33, back. Laying out of coloured haire. B.

⁶ rather comes before than in F.

⁷ and added in F.

⁹ or vailes added in B, E, F.

¹⁰ on F.

¹¹ cunning = (*sic*) F.

¹² other childishe B, E, F.

¹³ and foolish B, E, F.

¹⁴ expresse B, E; recompt F.

therfor me think this abuse of curling and laying it out¹ (if eyther were lawfull) is much^e more tollerable than dying their faces.

[² leaf 34. B *]

Curling and
crisping and
laying out of
heyre.

Bought heyre
and colored
vsed to be
worn.

[Children's hair
cut off by women
in London.]

[¹⁰ F 3]

[Women dye
their hair.]

[¹⁶ leaf 34, back.
B.†]

² *Philo.* If curling, & laying out of³ their own naturall heyre weare all (which is impious, and at no hand lawfull, ⁴ notwithstanding for⁴ it is the⁵ ensigne of Pride, and the stern⁶ of wantonnes to all that behould it) it were the lesse matter; but they are not simply contente with their owne haire, but buy other heyre,⁷ dying it of what color they list themselues: [And if there be any poore women (as now and then, we see God doeth blesse them with beautie, as well as the riche) that hath faire haire, these nice dames will not rest, till thei haue bought it. Or if any children haue faire haire, thei will intice them into a secrete place, and for a penie or two, thei will cut of their haire: as I heard *that* one did in the citie of Munidnol⁸ of late, who metyng a little child with verie faire haire, inuegled her into a house, promised her a penie, and so cutte off her haire. B, E, F.] & this they were⁹ in the same order as you haue ¹⁰heard, as though it weare their owne¹¹ natural heir: and vppon *the* other side, if any haue heyre¹² which is not faire inough, than will they dye it into¹³ dyuerse colors, almost chaunginge the substance into accidentes by their dyuelish, & more than thrife cursed deuyfes. So, wheras their heire was geuen them as a signe of subiection, and therefore they were commaunded to cherish the same, now haue they made ¹⁴(as it were) a *Metamorphosis* of it, making¹⁴ it an ornament of Pride, and destruction to them selues ¹⁵for euer,¹⁵ except they repent.

¹⁶ *Spud.* This is a styfnecked People, & a rebellious, I see well, that thus dareth, in euerie respecte, to peruert the straight wayes of the Lord, digginge vp to them-selues cesterne of iniquity, ¹⁷& pittes of aduersity,¹⁷ which in th'end, without the great mercy of God, will be their vtter confusion.

¹ forth F. * leaf 34. Bought haire & coloured, worne. B.

³ of *not in* B, E, F. ⁴—⁴ beyng as B, E, F. ⁵ an B, E; and F.

⁶ stander F.

⁷ either of Horses, Mares, or any other straunge beastes *added in* E, F.

⁸ London F.

⁹ weare F.

¹¹ owne owne F.

¹² haire of her owne naturall growyng B, E, F.

¹³ in E, F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ *not in* F.

† leaf 34, back. Capitall ornamentes for heads. B.

¹⁷—¹⁷ *not in* F.

¹ *Philo.* Than, on toppes of these stately turrets (I meane their goodly heads wherin is more vanitie than true Philosophie now and than) stand their other capitall ornaments, as french hood, hat, cappe, kercher, and sutch like; wherof some be of veluet, ² some of taffatie, some (but few) of woll, ³ some of this fashon, some of that, ⁴ and some of this color, some of that, ⁵ according to the variable fantasies of their serpentine minds. And to such excesse ⁶ is it growen, as ⁷ euery artificers wyfe ⁸ (almost) wil ⁹ not sticke to goe in her hat of Veluet euerye day, euery marchants wyfe and meane Gentlewomen in her french-hood, and euerye poore Cottagers Daughter in her taffatie hat, or els of woll at least, wel lined with silk, veluet or taffatie. But how they come by this (so they haue it) they care not; who payeth for it they regard not, nor yet what hurt booth to them selues and others it ¹⁰ dooth bring, ¹¹ they feare not, But runne daylie *a malo ad peius* (as they say) from one mischiefe to an other, vntill they haue ¹² filled vp the mesure of their euill ¹³ to their owne ¹⁴ perdition at that day.¹⁵

Capitall ornaments for the head.

[⁶ F 3, back]

Hattes of veluets: taffaty worn in common

Trahit sua queneque voluptas.

¹⁶ They haue also other ornaments besydes these to furnishe forth their ingenious heads, which they cal (as I remember) cawles, made Netwyfe, to th' ende, as I thinke, that the clothe of gold, cloth of siluer, or els tinsell, (for that is the worst) wherwith their heads are couered and attyred withall ¹⁷ vnderneath their cawles maye ¹⁸ appeare, and shewe it selfe in the brauest maner. Soe that a man that seeeth them (there heads glister and shine in sutch sorte) wold ¹⁹ thinke them to haue golden heads. [And some weare Lattice cappes with three hornes, three corners I should saie, like the forked cappes of Popishe Priestes, with their perriwinckles, chitterlynges, and the like apishe toyes of infinite varietie. B, E, F.]

[¹¹ leaf 35. B.+1]

Cawles made Netwyse.

Thus lauish they forth the goods of the Lorde, which are none of their owne (but lent them for a tyme) vppon Pride and naughtinesse, delighting (as it seemeth) in nothing so ²⁰ muche as in the fincking puddle of vanitie and sinne, which will be their owne decay ²¹ at the

Golden heads fraught with leaden wit.

[²⁵ F 4]

¹ heading in F:—French Hoodes in England.

²—² not in F.

³—³ not in F.

⁴—⁴ it is growen that F.

⁵ wyse A.

⁷—⁷ bringeth F.

⁸ haue not in F.

⁹ iniquitie B, E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ confusion at the last F. † leaf 35. Golden heads with leaden wit. B.

¹² not in F.

¹³ may the better B, E, F.

¹⁴ he would F.

¹⁵ in the end F.

Making of holes
in their eares
to hang rings
and Jewels by.

[² leaf 35, back.
B.*]

A people who
cut their skin
to set precious
stones in
them selues.

last.¹⁶ Another sorte of dissolute minions & wanton *Sempronians* (for I can term them no better) are so far bewitched, as they are not ashamed to make holes in their eares, wherat they hang rings, and other Jewels of gold and precious stones. But what this signifieth in them I will hold my peace, for the thing it selfe speaketh sufficiently. There is a certen kinde of People in the ¹Orientall parte of the World¹ (as Writers affirme), that are such *Philautoi*, ²louers of them selues, and so prowde with all, that, hauing plentie of precious Stones and Margarits amongst them, they cut and launce their skinnes and fleshe, setting therein these precious Stones, to the end they maye glister and shine to the eye.

So, except these Women weare minded to tread their pathes, and³ folowe their direfull wayes in this curfed kind of ⁴vnhard of⁴ Pride, I wonder what they meane.

But because this is not so much frequented amongst Women as Men, I will say noe more thereof, vntill further occasion be offred.

[⁷ F 4, back]

Spud. Except it weare a People wedded to ⁵the deuills eldest Daughter⁵ Pride (for I thinke chastitie⁶ amongst them maye dwell ⁷a Virgin for any that wil marry her), and giuen ouer of God, I neuer heard the like. I am perswaded ⁸neither the *Libertines*, the *Epicures*, nor yet the vile *Atheists*, euer⁹ exceeded this people in pride, ¹⁰nor¹¹ the wickednes of them might euer counterpease with the wickednes of these people¹⁰: *God be merciful vnto them!*

Great ruffes,
Neckerchers,
and partlets
vsed of Wo-
men.

[*Starche* the
deuills liquor. E,
F]

Supportasses
the pillars of
pride.

[¹⁴ leaf 36. B.†]

Philo. You heare not the tenth parte, for no pen is able so wel to discribe it, as the eye is to discry¹² it. The Women there vse great ruffes, & neckerchers of holland, lawne, camerick, and such cloth, as the greatest thred shall not be so bigge as the least haire that is: then,¹³ least they should fall down, they are smeared and starched in the deuills liquore, I meane *Starch*; after that, dried with great diligence, streaked, patted, and rubbed ¹⁴very nicely, and so applied to their goodly necks, and, withall, vnderpropped with supportasses (as I tolde you before) the statelie arches of pride: beyond all this they

^{1—1} Orient F.

³ and to F.

^{5—5} not in F.

⁸ that neither B, E, F.

¹¹ nor that B, E,

* leaf 35, back. Wearyng of eare-ringes. B.

^{4—4} not in B, E, F.

⁶ humilitie B, E, F.

⁹ that euer liued F.

¹² discerne F.

^{10—10} not in F

¹³ and E, F.

† leaf 36. Great ruffes and minor ruffes. B.

haue a further fetch, nothing inferiour to the rest; as, namely, three or foure degrees of *minor ruffles*, placed *gradatim*, ¹step by step,¹ one beneath another, and all vnder the Maister deuil ruffe. the skyrts, then, of these great ruffles are long and fide euery way, pleted and crested ful curiously, God wot. Then, last of all, they are either clogged with golde, filuer, or silk lace of stately price, wrought all ²ouer with needle woork, speckled and sparkled heer & there with the sonne, the moone, the starres, and many other antiquities³ straunge to beholde. Some are wrought with open woork down to the midit of the ruffe and further,⁴ some with purled lace so cloyd, and other gewgawes so pefired, as the ruffe is the least parte of it self. Sometimes they are pinned vp to their eares, sometimes they are suffered to hang ouer their shoulders, like ⁶windmil sayles fluttering in the winde; and thus euery one pleaseth her self with⁷ her foolish deuices, for *suus cuiusque crepitus sibi lene olet*, as the prouerb saith: euery one thinketh his own ⁸wayes best⁸, ⁹though they leade to distruction of body and soule, which I wish them to take heed of.⁹ ¹⁰And¹¹ amongest many other fearfull examples of Gods wrathe against Pride,¹² to sett before their eyes, the fearfull Iudgement of ¹³God, shewed upon a gentlewoman of Eprautna¹⁴ of late, euen the 27 of Maie 1582, the fearfull sound whereof is blown through all the worlde, and is yet fresh in euery mannes memorie. This gentlewoman beeyng a very riche Merchaunte mannes daughter: vpon a tyme was inuited¹⁵ to a Bridall, or Weddyng, whiche was solemnized in that Toune, againste whiche daie she made greate preparation, for the plumyng of her self in gorgious arraic, that as her body was moste beautifull, faire, and proper, so her attire in euery respec-te might bee corefpondent¹⁶ to the same. For the accomplishment whereof, she curled her haire, she died her lockes, and laied them out after the best maner, she coloured her face with waters and Ointmentes: But in no case could she gette any (so curious and daintie she was) that could starche, and sette her Ruffles, and Neckers to her mynde: wherefore she sent for a couple of Laundresses,

Minor ruffs.

[² F 5]

The great curiosity of 5 ruffs and neckers.

[¹³ leaf 36, back. B.†]

[Antwarpe. E.]

[A fearfull example against pride shewed vpon a gentlewoman in Antwarpe E, F]

[Womens lubricious mindes neuer content with anything when it is well. E.]

¹—¹ not in B, E, F.³ antiques B, E, F.⁴ some with close woork, added in B, E, F.⁵ in E.⁶ flagges or added in F.⁷ in B, E, F.⁸—⁸ foist the sweetest F.⁹—⁹ not in F.¹⁰ added in B, E, F.¹¹ But F.¹² I would wish them added in F.

† leaf 36, back. No head-line. B.

¹⁴ Antwarpe F.¹⁵ inuited A; inuited F.¹⁶ answerable F.

[The fearful
end of the proud
Antwerp lady.]

who did the beſt thei could to pleaſe her humors, but in anywiſe thei could not. Then fell ſhe to ſweare and teare, to curſſe and banne, caſtyng the Ruffes vnder feete, and wiſhyng that the Deuill might take her, when ſhe¹ weare any of thoſe Neckerchers againe. In the meane tyme (through the ſufferaunce of God) the Deuill, tranſforming himſelf into the forme² of a young man, as braue, and proper as ſhe in euery pointe in outward appearaunce, came in, fainyng hymſelf to bee a woer or futer vnto her. ³And ſeyng her thus agonized, and in ſuche a pelytyng chafe, he demaunded of her the cauſe thereof, who ſtraight waie tolde hym (as women can conceale no thyng that lieth vppon their ſtomackes) how ſhe was abuſed in the ſettyng of her Ruffes, which thyng beeyng heard of hym, he promiſed to pleaſe her minde, and thereto⁴ tooke in hande the ſetting of her Ruffes, whiche he performed to her greate contentation, and likyng, in ſo muche as ſhe lokyng her ſelf in a glaſſe (as the Deuill bad her) became greatly inamoured with hym. This dooen, the yong man killed her, in the doyng whereof, he writhe her necke in ſonder, ſo ſhe died miſerably, her bodie beyng ⁵Metamorphoſed, into blacke and blewe⁵ colours, moſt vgglesome to behold, and her face (whiche before was ſo amorous) became moſte deformed, and fearfull to looke vpon. This being knowen, ⁶preparaunce⁶ was made for her buriall, a riche coffin was prouided, and her fearfull bodie was laied therein, and it⁷ couered verie ſumpteuſly. Foure men immediatly aſſaied to liſte vp the corps, but could not moue it, then fixe attempted the like, but could not once ſtirre it from the place, where it ſtoode. Whereat the ſtanders by marueilyng, cauſed the Coffin to bee opened, to ſee the cauſe thereof. Where thei founde the bodie to be taken awaie, and a blacke Catte verie leane and deformed ſittyng in the Coffin, ſetting of greate Ruffes, and frizlyng of haire, to the greate feare, and ⁸wonder of all the beholders. This wofull ſpectacle haue I offered to their viewe, that by looking into it, in ſtead of their other looking Glaſſes

[The deuill found
ſetting of great
Ruffes. E.]

[⁸ leaf 37, back.
B.1]

¹ ſhee did F.

² ſhape F.

* leaf 37. *No head-line* B. E *has head-line*, A fearfull example agaynſt Pride.

⁴ ſo F.

⁵—⁵ ſtraight waies changed into blew and black F.

⁶—⁶ in the cittie, great preparation F.

⁷ it *not* in F.

† leaf 37, back. Women wearyng Dublets. B. E *has* The deuill found ſetting of ruffes.

thei might see their own filthinesse, & auoyde the like offence, for feare of the same, or worser iudgement: whiche God graunt thei maie doe¹.]

Spud. As in a *Camelion* are said to be all coulours, saue white, so I think in these people are all things els², saue Vertue and christian sobrietie. *Proteus*, that Monster, could neuer chaunge him self into so many fourmes & shapes as these women doo; belike they haue made an obligation with hel, and are at agreement³ with the deuil, els they would neuer outrage thus, without either feare of God or respect to their weak Bretheren, whom heerin they offend.

Proteus.

⁴ *Philo.* The Women also there haue dublets & Ierkins, as men haue heer, buttoned vp the ⁵brest, and made with wings, welts, and pinions on the shoulder points, as mans apparell is ⁶for all the world⁶; & though⁷ this be a kinde of attire appropriate⁸ onely to man, yet they blush not to wear it; and if they could as wel chaunge their sex, & put on the kinde of man, as they can weare apparell assigned onely to man, I think they would as verely become men indeed, as now they degenerat from godly, sober women, in wearing this wanton lewd kinde of attire, proper onely to man.

Women wearing dublets and Ierkins
[⁵ F 5, back]

It is written in the 22 of *Deuteronomie*, that what man so euer weareth ⁹womans apparell is accursed, and what woman weareth mans apparell is accursed also. Now, whether they be within the ¹⁰bands and lymits¹⁰ of that curse, let ¹¹them ¹²see to it them selues¹².¹¹ Our Apparell was giuen vs¹³ as a signe distinctiue to discern betwixt sex and sex, & therefore one to weare the Apparell of another sex is to participate with the same, and to adulterate the veritie of his owne kinde. Wherefore these Women may not improperly be called *Hermaphroditi*, that is, Monsters of bothe kindes, half women, half men.¹⁴

A curse to them that weare contrary apparell to their sex.
[⁹ leaf 38. B. f.]

Hermaphroditi.

Spud. I neuer read nor heard of any people, except drunken with

¹ added in B, E, F.

² els not in E.

³ a league F.

⁴ heading in F:—Doublets for Women in England.

^{6—6} in all respectes F.

⁷ although F.

⁸ proper F.

† leaf 38. A curse for Apparell. B.

^{10—10} compasse F.

^{11—11} they themselves iudge F.

^{12—12} take heede B, E.

¹³ us not in E, F.

¹⁴ Who if thei were naturall women, and honest matrones, would blushe to go in suche wanton and leude attire, as is proper* onely to man added in B, E, F. (* incident F.)

Cyrce cups, or poyſoned with the *exorcifms* of *Medea*, that famous and renowned Sorcereſſe, that euer woulde weare ſuche kinde of attire as is not onely ¹ ſinking before the face of God, ² offenſiue to man, but alſo ³ painteth out to the whole world the ⁴ venereous inclination ⁴ of their corrupt conuerſation.

[¹ F 6]The diuerſity
of Gownes.

⁵ *Philo.* There Gownes be no leſſe famous alſo ⁶; for ſome are of ſilk, ſome of veluet, ſome of grogram, ſome of taffetie, ſome of ſcarlet, and ſome of fine cloth, of ten, twentie, or fortie ſhillings a yard. But if the whole gowne be not filke or veluet, then the ſame ſhall ⁷ be layed with lace, two or three fingers broad, all ouer the gowne, or els the moſte parte.

Simile in
purpuris.[⁸ leaf 38, back.
B.†]

Coſtly gownes.

Or, if not ſo (as lace ⁸ is not fine enough ſometimes ⁹), then it muſt be garded with great gardes of veluet, ¹⁰ foure or fix fingers broad at the leaſt, and edged with coſtly lace; and as theſe gownes be of diuers and fundrie colors, ſo are they of diuers faſhions, changing with the Moon, for ſome be of the new faſhion, ſome of the olde, ſome of this faſhion, and ſome of that, ſome with ſleeues hanging down to their ſkirts, trayling on the ground, and caſt ouer their ſhoulders, like Cow-tayles.

Diuers faſhions
of Gownes.

Some haue ſleeues much ſhorter, cut vp the arme, ¹¹ and pointed with ſilk-ribbons very gallantly, tyed with true-looues knottes (for ſo they call them).

[¹³ F 6, back]

Some haue Capes reaching downe to the middeſt of their backs, faced with Veluet, or els with ſome fine wrought ſilk ¹² Taffatie ¹³ at the leaſt, and fringed about very brauely; & (to ſhut vp all in a word) ſome are pleated & ryueled ¹⁴ down the back wonderfully, with more knacks than I can declare. ¹⁵ Than haue they Petticots of the beſt cloth that can be bought, and of the faireſt dye that can be made. And ſometimes they are not of cloth neither, for that is thought to baſe, but of ſcarlet, grogram, taffatie, ſilk, and ſuche like, fringed about the

Petticots.

² and *added in* B, E, F. ³ ſuch as *added in* F. ⁴—⁴ diſſoluteneſſe F.

⁵ *heading in* F:—Womens Gownes in England.

⁶ then the reſt *for* alſo B, E, F. ⁷ muſt F.

† leaf 38, back. The great exceſſe in Gownes. B. ⁹ now and then F.

¹⁰ euery gard *added in* B, E, F.

¹¹ drawne out with diuers and ſundry collours *added in* F.

¹² ſilk *not in* F.

¹⁴ creſted F.

¹⁵ expreſſe F.

skirts with filk fringe of chaungable coloure. But which is more
 vayn, of whatfoeuer their petticoats be, yet muſt they haue kyrtles
 (for ſo they call them), eyther of filk, veluet, grograin, taſſatie, ſaten,
 or ſcarlet, borde¹red with gards, lace, fringe, and I cannot tell what
 beſydes. So that when they haue all theſe goodly robes vpon them,
 women ſeeme to be the ſmalleſt part of themſelues, not naturall
 women, but artificiall Women; not Women of fleſh & blod, but
 rather puppets or mawmets of² rags & clowtes compact together.
 So³ farre hath this cancker of pride eaten into the body of the com-
 mon welth, that euery poore Yeoman his Daughter, euery Husband
 man his daughter, & euery Cottager his Daughter, will not ſpare⁴
 to flaunt it out in fuche gownes, petticoats, & kirtles as theſe. And
 not withſtanding that their Parents owe a braſe of hundred
 pounds more than they are worth, yet will they haue it, *quo iure*
quaue iniuria, eyther⁵ by hooke or⁶ crooke, by right or wrong, as they
 ſay, wherby it commeth to paſſe that one can ſcarſly know who is a
 noble woman, who is an honorable or worſhipfull Woman, from them
 of the meaner ſorte.

Kyrtles.

[¹ leaf 39. B. ⁹]Women the
leſt part of
themſelues.Poore Mens
Daughters
exceſſe.[⁵ F 7]

Spud. Their parents & Freinds are muche to be blamed for ſuf-
 fering them to go in fuche wanton attyre. They ſhould not allowe
 them ſuch large pittance, nor ſuffer them to meaſure their apparell
 after their own licentious yardes of ſelfe will, and wicked deſires.⁷

Parents to
blame.

Philo. Than ſhall they⁸ be ſure neuer to haue good day with them,
 For they are ſo impudent⁹ that, all be it their poore Parents haue but
 one cow, horſe, or ſheep, they wil neuer let them reſt til they be
 ſould to maintain them in their braueries,¹⁰ paſt all tongue can tell.¹⁰
 And, to ſay the truth, ſome Parents (worthie to be inauigured¹¹ with
 the lawrell Crowne of triple follie,) are ſo buxome to their ſhame-
 leſſe deſires, and ſo exorable to their prostitute requests, *that* they
 graunt to their too too nice daughters more than they can¹² deſire

The impud-
ency of proud
harlots.
[⁹ leaf 39, back.
B. 1]

* leaf 39. The impudencie of Harlottes. B.

² conſiſtyng of B, F.³ Yea, ſo F.⁴ ſtick E, F.⁶ or by F.⁷ then ſhould thei not rage† ſo farre as thei doe added in B, E, F; but E F
haue could; † F has exceede, which comes after far.⁸ theyr Parents F.

‡ leaf 39, back. What makes youth wicked. B.

¹⁰—¹⁰ beyond all meaſure B, E, F.¹¹ for fooles added in E, F.¹² do E, F.

Our remisse
leuitie of Pa-
rents to their
Children.

themselves, taking a singular felicity &¹ furrmounting pleasure in
f[ee]ing them ²to go plumed and decked² in the Feathers of
deceiptfull vanity.

[⁵ F 7, back]

Sp. This ouer great lenitie & remisse libertie in³ the education
of youthe, in respect of the euent and successe⁴ in the end, maye rather
be counted an extrem cruelty, than a Fatherly ⁵pitie⁶ of them to-
wards their children; For what maketh them so soone whores, strum-
pets,⁷ and bawdes, as that cockering of them doth?

⁸ what maketh
whores and
strumpets.⁸

What maketh them apt & prone to all kind of 'naughtynesse but
this? Nothing in the World foe muche; For, giue a wild horse the
libertie of the head neuer so litle, and he will runne headlonge to
thyne and his owne destruction also.

[²² leaf 40. B.*]

So long as a sprigge, twift,⁹ or braunche, is yong, it is flexible
and bowable ¹⁰to any thing¹⁰ a man can desire; but if we tarie till it be
a great tree, it is inflexible and vnbowable. If wax be taken whyleft
it is hote, anye character maye be easlye imprinted¹¹; but tarying till it
be hard, it re¹²ceiueeth no printe at all.

Netherstocks
of gernsey or
silk.

So, correct Children in their tender yeres, and you may bow them
to what good lore you will your selfe; but tarie till they be old, than
¹³is it¹³ to late, as experience teacheth daylie.

¹⁴ *Philo.* Their neitherstockes, in like maner, are either of filke
gearnsey,¹⁵ worsted, crewell, or, at least, of as fyne yarn, thread, or
cloth, as is possible to be had, [yea thei are not ashamed to weare
hofe of all kinde of chaungable colours, as greene, red, white, russet,
tawny, and els what,¹⁶ whiche wanton light colours, any¹⁷ sober chaste
Christian ¹⁸(except for necessitie sake)¹⁸ can hardly, without any¹⁹ suspi-
tion of lightnesse, at any tyme weare; but whatsoeuer is a deformitie
or shame in²⁰ others is an ornament to them that be past all shame.
Then these delicate hosen must bee, B, E, F] cunningly knit and curi-

¹ and farre B, E, F.

²⁻² decked and plumed B, E, F.

³ of theirs in D, E, F.

⁴ that it bringeth added in F.

⁶ loue or pittie B, E, F.

⁷ Harlots added in F.

⁸⁻⁸ not in E, F.

⁹ a twist F.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ which way F.

¹¹ in it added in F.

* leaf 40. New fashions euery daie. B.

¹³⁻¹³ it is F.

¹⁴ heading in F:—Netherstockes of women in England.

¹⁵ Iarnsey F.

¹⁶ what not F.

¹⁷ no F.

¹⁸⁻¹⁸ not in F.

¹⁹ any not in E, F.

²⁰ to F.

ously indented in euery point¹: wherto they haue korked shooes, pinfnetts, pantoffles, and ²flippers, some of black veluet, some of white, some of greene, and some of yellowe; some of spanish leather, and some of English lether,³ fitched with silk,⁴ and imbrodered with Gold and siluer all ouer the foote, with other gewgawes innumerable. All which, if I should ⁵endeuoure my selfe⁵ to expresse, I might ⁶with more⁷ facilitie⁶ number the sands of the Sea, the Starres in the skye, or the graisse vppon the Earth, so infinit and innumerable be their abuses. For weare I neuer foe experte an Arithmetician⁹, ¹⁰or¹¹ Mathematician¹⁰, I weare neuer ¹²capable of¹² the¹³ halfe of them, the deuill brocheth foe many new fashions euery day.

Corked shooes, pinfnetts, pantoffles, & such like, for women.

[² F 8]

The innumerable fash. mis of womens attire

[³ leaf 40, back. B.†]

Wherefore to their *Author* I leaue them, not omittinge to tell you by the way (¹⁴as an *interim*¹⁴) of a certen kynde of sweete Pride vrfed amongest¹⁵ Gentlemen and Gentlewomen in *Ailgna*.

Spud. I haue learned out of the Booke of God, that all Pride is fincking before the face of God; wherefore I greatlye desyre to knowe what abortyue Miscreant this is,¹⁶ for it is some portenteous mishapen monster, I am¹⁷ perswaded.

Pride stinking before the face of God.

¹⁸*Philo*. Is not this a certen¹⁹ sweete Pride to haue cyuet, muske, sweete powders, ²⁰fragrant Pomanders, odorous perfumes, & such like, wherof the smel may be felt and perceiued, not only all ouer the house, or place, where they be present, but also a stoncs cast of almost, yea, the bed wherin they haue layed their delicate bodies, the places where they haue fate, the clothes, and thinges which they haue touched, shall smell a weeke, a moneth, and more, after they be gon. But the Prophet *Esaia*s telleth them, instead of their Pomaunders, musks, ciuets, balmes, sweet odours and perfumes, they shall haue stench and horroure in the nethermost hel. Let them take heed to it, and amend their wicked liues.²¹

[²⁰ F 8, back]
The hauing of ciuet, musk, and other perfumes, a sweet kind of Pride.

Esaia, Cap. 3.

¹ with quirkes, clockes, open seame, and euery thing els accordingly *added* in B, E, F.

³ leather *not* in B, E, F.

⁴ with silke *repeated* in F. ^{5—5} take vpon me F. ^{6—6} as easily F.

⁷ like B, E. † leaf 40, back. Costly Perfumes and Muskies. B.

⁹ Arithmetrician A. ^{10—10} *not* in F. ¹¹ never so skillfull a *added* in B, E.

^{12—12} able to recompt F.

¹³ the one B, E, F.

^{14—14} *comes after* you in B, E, F.

¹⁵ amongst the B, E, F.

¹⁶ may be B, E, F.

¹⁷ am fully B, E, F.

¹⁸ *heading* in F:—Muske, Ciuet, and sweet powder in England.

¹⁹ certen *not* in E, F.

²¹ in tyme *added* in B, E, F.

[¹ leaf 4r. B.*]Nosegayes &
posies of flow-
ers worn and
caried abroad.Beware the
Spanish pip.[⁸ G r]These¹¹ curious
smelles obnu-
bilat the
spirits &
darken the
sences.Sweet smells
of musks,
cyuets, and such
like, do²¹ anoy
the spirits.[²² leaf 4r, back.
B.†]The vain
gestures &
coynes of
women in the
middest of

And in the Sommer-time, whilst floures be greene and fragrant, yee shall not haue any ¹ Gentlewoman almost, no nor yet any droye or puffie in the Cuntrey, but they will carye in their hands nosegayes and posies of floures to smell at; and which is more, two or three Nofegayes² sticked in their brests before, for what cause I cannot tel, except it be to allure their³ Paramours to catch at them,⁴ wherby, I doubt not, but they get many a flabbering kisse, and, paradeuenture, more freendship besides: they know best⁵ what I mean.

Spud. You will be thought very fraight laced to speak against these thinges, for I haue heard it said, that these⁶ sweet smels ⁷ are bothe corroboratiue to the sences, and confortatiue ⁸ to the spirits, and which doo viuifie and recreate aswel the body as the minde.⁷

Philo. They are so far from comforting the braines⁹, or lightning¹⁰ the spirits of men¹², that as mystes and exhalations which euaporate from these earthly bodyes, and are drawn vp by the attractiue power of the Sun, Moon, and starres, doo rather¹³ obnubilat¹⁴ and darken the beames of the Sun, ¹⁵ not suffering his radiations to disparte abrode¹⁵; So these (in a maner) palpable odors, fumes, vapours¹⁶, smells of these¹⁷ musks, cyuets, pomanders, perfumes, balmes, & fuche like, ascending to the braine, do rather denigrate¹⁸, darken, and obscure the spirit¹⁹ and sences, then either lighten them, or comfort them ²⁰ any manner of way. But howsoever it falleth out, sure I am they are enignes of pride, allurements to ²² sinne, and prouocations to vice. After all this, when they haue attired them selues²³ in the midst of their pride, it is a world to consider their coynesse in gestures, their minfედnes in words and speeches, their gingerlynes²⁴ in trippinge on toes like yong goats, their demure nicitie and babishnes, and withall their

* leaf 4r. Sweete smelles, hurtfull. B.

² nosegayes not in B, E, F.³ their amorous B, E, F.⁴ and to smell at their breastes added in F.⁵ best not in E, F.⁶ these not in B, F; the for that these in E.^{7—7} doe corroborate the sences, comfort the spirits, and recreate both the body & mynd of man greatly, doe they not so? B, E, F.⁹ braine F.¹⁰ illuminating E; reuiuing F.¹¹ The F.¹² man F.¹³ doo rather not in B; rather not in E, F.¹⁴ obnubilat not in F.^{15—15} not in F.¹⁶ vapours and B, E, F.¹⁷ these not in B, E, F.¹⁸ denigrate not in F.¹⁹ spiritus F.²⁰ by any B.²¹ do not in F.

† leaf 4r, back. Looking glasses, the deuils spectacles. B.

²³ thus added in B, E, F.²⁴ gingerlesse B, E, F.

hawtie stomackes and more than Cyclopicall countenances. their fingers are¹ decked with gold, filuer and precious stoncs, their wristles with bracelets and armalets of gold, and other preciouſe² Jewels: their hands are³ couered with their ſweet waſhed gloues, imbrodered with gold, filuer, and what not; & to ſuch abhominacion is it⁵ grown, as they muſt haue their looking glaſſes caryed with them wherſoeuer they go. And good reaſon, for els how cold they ſee the deuill in them? for no doubt they are the deuills ſpectacles to allure vs to pride, & conſequently to diſtruction for euer. ⁴and aboue al things they muſt⁶ haue their ſilk ſcarffes caſt about their faces, & fluttering in the winde, with great taſſels at euery end, either of gold, filuer, or ſilk. But I know wherfor they wil ſay they weare theſe ſcarffes; namely, to keep them from Sun-burning; But I wold aſke theſe Nicelings one queſtion, wherin if they can reſolue mee, then I will ſay, as they ſay, *that* ſcarffes are neceſſary, and not flags of pride. Can that thing which is moſte glorious & fair of it ſelf, make any thing foule or ilfauored? the ſun is a moſt glorious & fair creature, & therfor cannot make them fowler then they are of their own nature. From whence then is it⁸ *that* the Sun burneth them, & altereth their orient colour into woorſer hue? The cauſe therof proceedeth from their own genuine corruption and natural imperfection⁹; for no more is their fowleneſs to be aſcribed to the ſtelliferous¹⁰ beames of *the* glistering¹¹ Sun, then *the* ſtench of a dead carcaſſe may be ſaid to ¹²come of ¹²*the* ſun, & not rather of it own corruption & filthines. They buſie themſelues in

their pecock
fethers.
Fingers clog-
ged with
rings.
Womens
trinkets.
Sweetened
gloues.
Looking
glaſſes, the
deuills specta-
clus.

[† G 1, back]

Silk ſkarfes.

A queſtion to
ſkarfe werers.

¹ must be B, E, F. ² costly B, E, F. ³ are *not in* B, E, F. ⁵ it is F.

⁶—⁶ *Spud.* The deuill could neuer haue found out a more peſtilent euill then this, for hereby man beholding his face, and being naturally giuen to flatter himſelf too much, is eaſely drawn to thinke well of himſelf: and yet no man ſeeth the true proportion of his face, but a counterfaite effigie, and false image therof in the glaſſe, whiche the Deuill ſuffereth hym to ſee, that thereby he maie riſe into Pride, and ſo [so *not in* E, F] offende the Diuine Maieſtie. Therefore maie theſe looking glaſſes⁷ be called the deuills bellowes, wherewith he bloweth the blaſt of Pride into our hartes: and thoſe that looke in them may be ſaid to looke in the Deuilles arſe, whileſt he infuſeth the venomous winde of Pride into their ſoules. *Philo.* * Then muſt thei B, E, F. * *Heading in F* :—Scarffes and Maskes in England.

[Looking-glaſſes
the deuills
bellowes. E, F.]
[7 leaf 42. B.†]

† leaf 42. Silke Scarffes in Ailgna. B.

⁸ it is F. ⁹ prauitie F. ¹⁰ ſplendent F. ¹¹ glistering *not in* F.

¹²—¹² proceed of B, E, F.

preferuig the beautie of their bodyes, which lasteth but for a time, & in time ¹is cause of his ²own corruption, & which, ³in effect, is nothing els then ⁴putrifaction it self, & a dunghil couered with white & red; but for *the* beautie of *the* soule they care nothing at all. When they vse to ride abrod, they haue ⁵inuifories, ⁶or ⁵⁷visors made of veluet, ⁸wherwith they couer all their faces, hauing holes made in *them* against their eyes, whereout they look. So that if a man, that knew not their guise before, should chaunce to meet one of them, hee would think hee met a monster or a deuil; for face hee can see ⁹none, but two brode holes against her ¹⁰eyes with glasse in them. Thus they prophane *the* name of God, & liue in al ¹¹kinde of volup-tuoufnes & pleasure, wurffe *then* euer did the hethen.

Sp. What think you, are not the inuentors & first finders out of these new toyes & dyuelish deuices, in great daunger, and partakers with them of the euill committed?

Philo. It cannot be but the Inuentors of these new toyes are in great daunger before God, as they who shall render accounts to god, not only for the inuention of them, but also for the euil committed by them. For whofoeuer is author of any euil must needs answere for the euil. And surely *the* authors ¹²of these newfangles are ¹³not vn-worthy ¹³to be canonized faints when the yeere of *Iubilie* commeth (I meane faints of sathan); for ¹⁴there is no ¹⁴deed so flagitious, no ¹⁵fact ¹⁶so dangerous, ¹⁷nor any ¹⁷thing ¹⁸so hainous, which ¹⁹with alacritie is not plaufibly committed for the ²⁰maintenance of these Diuelish toyes and deuices: And albeit that the Persons themselues who offend this way shal dye in their finnes, their owne blood being powred vpon their owne heads, yet the *Authors* of these new toyes, wherthorow they offended, shalbe giltie of their deathes, and surely answear for their destruction in the day of the Lord.

Spud. But say they, 'if I make them not, an other wil, & it is as good for me to make them as an other; & it is my luying; wherefore

[¹ G 2]
[³ leaf 42, back.
B. *]

Visors or
inuifories of
veluet to ride
abrode in.

Sues voluta-
bris versantur.

[† side-note here
in B.]

† The first
finders and
inuentors of
new fashions
are culpable of
all the euill
that commeth
by them.
[⁴⁹ leaf 43. B †]

[²⁰ G 2, back]

A vaine
excuse.

² it B, E, F. * leaf 42, back. Veluet Visours to ride with. B.

⁴ but E, F. ⁵—⁵ not in B, E. ⁶ masks F. ⁷ and F.

⁸ (or in my judgement thei maie rather be called inuisories) added in B, E, F.

⁹ shew F. ¹⁰ their E, F. ¹¹ all in B, E. ¹² author F.

¹³—¹³ worthy F. ¹⁴—¹⁴ what B, E, F. ¹⁵ what B, E, F. ¹⁶ attempt F.

¹⁷—¹⁷ or what B, E, F. ¹⁸ fact F.

† leaf 43. A Caueat for Artificers. B.

I am difcharged of blame, if I make them (being commaunded) with fweat of my face, and with trauaile and paine to get my lyuing.'

Philo. We are commaunned (*sic*), indeed, to get our lyuing with the sweate of our face; but how? Not in doing thofe things which are euill of themfelues, and alfo drawe and intice others to euill, but in things lawful and good,¹ & which induce to goodneffe.² And to fay 'others will make them, if I³ do not,' no more excufeth them of offence,⁴ than for a Murtherer or⁵ Thief to fay, if I had not robbed, or killed this man, another wold, difcharge him from the penaltie of the iudiciall⁶ lawe⁷ to be inflicted againft⁸ him.⁷ Is it lawfull for vs to doe euill becaufe others do it? Or dooth the wickednes of an other delyuer me⁹ from blame, if I¹⁰ commit the fame offence? no, nothing leffe. Wherefore let Taylers and Artificers be¹¹ ware how¹² they eyther inuente or make thefe new deuyces and Dyuelifh fashions every day: And being requested to make them, if they perceiue them¹³ tende to vice, and¹⁴ allure to finne, let them refufe them in the name of God, more tendering the faluation of many, than the priuat commoditye of themfelues alone: which thing, if euery one wold do, he fhould delyuer his own foule, & fupport an infinit number from falling into the gulphe of finne; and fo in fhort tyme thefe new toyes, fond deuyces, and childifh babelries (new fashions I fhould fay) wold foone vanifh away and come to naught¹⁵: which God graunt may¹⁶ once be feene¹⁶!

¹⁷*Spud.* Did the women of the former world attire themfelues in fuche forte as thefe women do?

Philo. The Women of the former age, you may be fure, neuer appareled themfelues like one of thefe. But leaft you fhould thinke that the Godly onelie lyued thus aufterly, you fhall heare how litle the very hethen and barbarian Women haue, and do at this prefent, efteme of apparell; as *Stuperius* witneffeth, whofe words are thefe,

We are bound to get our lyuing in well doing, not in euill doing.

A caueat to Artificers that inuent new fashions.

[¹¹ leaf 43, back. B.†]

[¹² G 3]

[A caueat for Tailours and Artificers. F.]

[Heathen women despise dress.]

¹ honest F.

² godlinesse E, F.

³ they B, E, F.

⁴ before God *added in* F.

⁵ or a F.

⁶ *not in* F.

⁷⁻⁷ or guilt of the fact F.

⁸ upon B, E.

⁹ vs E, F.

¹⁰ we E, F.

† leaf 43, back. Mans faluation to be regarded. B.

¹³ to *added in* E, F.

¹⁴ and to F.

¹⁵ naught (*sic*) F.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ come to passe E, F.

¹⁷ *heading in* F: The meane attire of both Heathen and other Women in olde time.

82 Wommens habit, in other cuntries. The Anatomie

[Egyptian and
other heathen
women are
modest in dress.]

speking of the Egiptian women : “ *Vestimenta sciunt nec noua pristinis mutare, verum semper his in cultibus gaudent perpetuo tempore congrédi, quas cunque gentes hunc per orbem visitent* ; Which may be thus turned into English verse :

[¹ G 3, back]

¹ *The Egiptian Matrones neuer vse
Their fashìon² of attyre to change,*

[³ leaf 44. B.*]

³ *But euer keep one forme to chuse,
Although they visite Nations strange.*

AND as all Writers doo affirme, all the Women there indifferently go with their haire hanging downe, with a broade hat vppon their heads, and other attyre as playne as the rest, soo farre are these People from Pride, and hunting after strange fashions as our Women doo.

[The meannes
of other Nations
in attire. B, E,
F ; with maners
for meannes.]

The Women of *Affrica* are witnesfed, by the same *Stuperius*, and others, to be so farre from affecting⁴ strange fashions, or curiosity in apearel, that they cloth themfelues, in a manner, all ouer *ferinis pelli-bus*, with beasts skinnes, furies, and such like. And this they think so riche attire, as they vse it altogether when they celebrat their festiual solemne daies, or when they go abroad to be seene.

The *Brasilian* Women esteeme so litle of apparell also, as they rather chose to go naked (their secreet partes onely being couered) then they wold be thought to be proud, or desirouse of such vanities.⁵

[German women
dress plainly.]

[⁷ G 4]

The *Cantabrian* Women likewyse, with many others,⁶ do the same. In High *Germany*, the Women vse in effect one kind of apparell or habite, without any difference at all, nothing like other Nations delighting in new fangles, ⁷yea, the wiues there are so far from pride that they will not disdaine to carie all their househould stufte, and other trinctets,⁸ about with them vppon their backs in tyme of extremitie.⁹ These¹⁰ Mayds & Virgins go very plain, with kerchers only on their heads, their ¹¹haire hanging down behinde, in token of Virginitie.

[¹¹ leaf 44, back.
B.†]

Thus, you see, euery Nation, how barbarous foeuer, are much inferiour to the people of *Ailgna* in pride & exceffe of apparell ; and

² fashions F. * leaf 44. Wommens habit, in other Countries. B.

⁴ affecting of E, F. ⁵ vanity F. ⁶ other F.

⁸ supellectiles E, F. ⁹ necessity F. ¹⁰ Their B, E, F.

† leaf 44, back. Brutish Attire not commendable. B.

yet these examples I alledge not to th' end I wold wish all others to vse *the* same, or *the* very like brutish¹ kind of auster² habite, but to shew how farre they be from Pride, & how much the other be wedded to *the* same. And as for the vertuous, & godly christian women: from the beginning of the world they haue so litle cared for the vain glory of apparell, & so litle (or rather nothing at al) were they acquainted therewith, as they hunted for nothing els so much as for the ornaments of the mind, as wisdom, continency, chastitie, & true godlynesse, thinking the same bewtie sufficient. They counted it great shame to cloth their bodies with sumptuous apparel, & their minds to be naked, & voide of true vertue. So, if these women wold seek after *the* bewtie of *the* mind, they wold not affect apparell so much; for if they be faire in body alredy, than need they not gorgeous apparel to make them fairer: & if they be deforme³ in body, it is not *the* apparell⁴ that can make them fairer. And either their bewtie consisteth in them, or in their apparel: If in them, than not in the Apparell, & so it is meere foolery to were them; And if in apparel, than not in them, and so cannot the garments make them fayre whome God & na⁵t^{ure} hath made otherwise: wherfor look in what shape, forme, or condition, euery one is created by God, let him content himselfe with the same, without any alteration or chaunge, with praise to his Creator.

[The contempt of apparell of the former age. B, F.]

[⁴ G 4, back.]

[⁵ le if 45 B.†]

Spud. They hold (notwithstanding) that it is the pride of the heart, which God so much hateth and detesteth.

Philo. It is verie true that God punisheth the pride of the heart with eternal damnation (if they repent not), for he will be serued and obeyed either with the whole man, or els with none. Than, if he punish the pride of the heart with euerlasting damnation, he must needs (in iustice) punish the pride of Apparell with the like, being booth ioyned in one predicament of sinne, and the pride of apparell much more hurting before the world than the other.

Pride of the heart.

Pride of apparel equivalent with Pride of the heart.

Also it is manifest that the pride of apparel riseth first from the corruption of the heart, as the effects from the cause, the fruite from the roote of the tree: than, if the pride of *the* heart which, notwithstanding it hurteth not outwardly, but is secret betwixt God and him-

¹ sauge F

² not in F.

³ deformed F.

† leaf 45. Pride of the harte, and of Ap[parell]. B.

[¹ G 5][Pride of apparell
more damnable
than pride of
heart.]

¹ selfe, be damnable in it owne nature before God, than must it needs be that the Pride of apparell (which sheweth its selfe to the world, both offensue to God, and hurtfull to man, and which also is the fruite of the pride of the heart, and throweth almost as many as behold it, at least as many as followe it, into the deep dungion of hell,) is ² much more pernicious and damnable than the other.

[² leaf 45, back.
B.*]

Spud. Hath the Lord plagued this sinne of pride with any notable torture³ or punishment euer from the beginning of the World vnto this day, or hath he ⁴ omitted the reuenge therof⁴ as a thing of small force, or ⁵ importance?

⁶ *Philo.* Most fearfull plagues and dreadfull iudgements of God haue in all ages beene powred vppon them that offended herein, as all Histories, both holy and prophane, do beare record. For prooffe wherof I will geue you a taste but of a few, wherby may appeare how wonderfully the Lord, in all ages, tymes, kinreds, & peoples, hath punished those that thorow pride (like wicked recusants⁷ and back-flyders from God) haue rebelled against his maiestie. The deuill, who before was an Angell in Heauen, arrogating to himselfe the imperial throane of the maiesty of God, was cast downe into the depth⁸ of Hell, burning with fire⁹ and sulphur for euer.

Examples of
God his
punishments
executed
vppon them
that offended
in Pride in all
ages.[¹⁰ G 5, back.]

Adam, desiring to be a God (for the serpent ¹⁰ tould him, he should be as God, knowing both good & euill), was for the sin of Pride throwne downe to the bottome of Hell, & not onely he but all his posteritie to the end of the World. The hoast of *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, for their exceeding pride in stirring vp mutenie,¹¹ ¹² rebelling against their lawfull Magistrate, were swallowed vp ¹³ quick into hell, the earth opening her mouth & deuouring them, ¹⁴ with all their complices whatfoeuer. The People of *Babylon*, intending to builde a tower, whose top should ¹⁵ tutch the Skye,¹⁵ thinking that if God should drown the world againe with water, they would be sure enough on the toppe of their high turrets; yea, they intending¹⁶ to

[¹⁴ leaf 46. B.†][The Tower of
Babel.]

* leaf 45, back. Gods punishments for Pride. B.

³ plague F.⁴—⁴ passed it ouer F.⁵ force or *not in* F.⁶ *heading in* F:—Pun[i]shments of pride in all ages.⁷ runnagats F.⁸ lake E, F.⁹ brimstone B.¹¹ mutinies F.¹² and rebelling B; and rebellion E; and rebellions F.¹³ up *not in* E.

† leaf 46. Punishments for Pride. B.

¹⁵—¹⁵ reach the heauens F.¹⁶ intended F.

fit with God himfelfe (if need weare) weare all confounded, and a diuerfe language put into euery mans mouth, that none knew what an¹ other fpake. And thus were they forced to leaue there building, and difperfed themfelues abroad vppon the face of the earth, wherof² fprang the firft diuerfitie of languages in the world. Wherfore when we heare any language fpoken we³ know not, it may be a *memorandum* to⁴ vs to put vs in minde of our Pride, which was the caufe therof.

A memoran-
dum.

Goliath, the great Gyant, the huge Cyclops, and fworne enemy to the Children of *Ifraell*, for his pride againft the Lord was flaine by *Dauid*, the fait[h]full Seruaunt of the Lord.

⁵ *Antiochus*, intending to ouerthrowe and facke *Ierufalem*, to fpoile the Sanctuarie and Temple of the Lord, and to kill the people of God, was for his pride ouerturned in his chariet, ryding thetherward, his belly bruft,⁶ and filthy wormes crawled⁷ out moſte lothſomly; and, in fine, beganne ſo to ſtinke and ſwell,⁸ as neither his Seruants, nor he himfelfe, cold abide his owne fauoure; and thus ended his lyfe in great miſerie and wretchedneſſe.

Antiochus
[⁵ G 6]

*Nabuchodonofor*⁹ was for his pride caſt out of¹⁰ his Kingdom, and¹¹ forced to eat graſſe with wild beaſts in the wilderneſſe.

Nabuchod-
neſor. Daniel 4.
[¹⁰ leaf 46, back
B. f.]
K. [Saul.]

King *Saule*, for his pride and diſobedience, was depofed of his principallitie and Kingly regimete, and in the end ſlewe him ſelf on mounte *Gelboe* moſt deſperately.

Sodoma and *Gomorra* were both deſtroyed with fire & brimſtone from heauen for their ſin of pride & contempt of the Lord. All the world in the daies of *Noah* was drowned with¹² vniuerſall deluge for pride & contumacy of heart.

King *Hezekiah*s¹³ for his pride in ſhewing to the Ambaſſadors of the king of *Babylon* all his treaſure (for he ſent Meſſengers vnto him with giſte¹⁴ & lettres, congratulatorie¹⁵ for the recouerie of his helth) loſt al his iewels, treſures, & riches, with his owne¹⁶ ſonnes alſo, being transported captiues into *Babilon*. K. *Dauid*, for his pride in numbring the people contrary the wil of god,¹⁷ was greuouſlie pun-

2 Reg. Cap. 20.

[¹⁷ G 6, back]

¹ an *not in* E, F. ² and hereof F. ³ that we B, E; that me (*sic*) F.

⁴ vnto F. ⁶ burſting B, E, F. ⁷ crawling B, E, F. ⁸ ſmell E, F.

⁹ Nabuchadneſar F. † leaf 46, back. Proude Kynges punished. B.

¹¹ and and (*sic*) F.

¹² with an B, E, F.

¹³ Ezekiah F.

¹⁴ giſtes F.

¹⁵ reioycing *added in* F.

¹⁶ owne *not in* B, E, F.

² Samuel 1, c.
24, Ver. 15.

ished, and threecore and ten thousand of his People slaine with a greuous pefilence for the fame.

The proude
Pharisey.

King *Pharao*, for his pride againſt the Lord (for he thought him ſelfe a God vpon the Earth, and therefore asked he *Moyſes*, in deriſion, who is the Lord?), was drowned in the read Sea with all his hoaft. The proude *Phariſey*, iuſtifying himſelfe, for his pride was reprov'd of the Lord, and reiected.

K Herode.

[¹ leaf 47. B.*]

King *Herode*, for attiring himſelfe in ſumptuous aray & not aſcribing glory to the ¹Lord, was ſtrucken² dead by an Angel, and wormes conſumed his fleſh immediatly. Al theſe, with infinit millions moe in al ages, haue periſhed thorow pride; and therfore let not this people think that they ſhall eſcape vnpuniſhed, who drinke vp pride as it weare ſweet wyne, feede vpon it as vpon delicious meats, and wallowe in it as a³ filthie ſwyne doth in the dirtie⁴ myre. will the Lord puniſh his peculiare people and elect veſſels, and let them goo free?

God his Plagues
are prepared, if
we repent not.

[⁶ G 7]

Wherefore I wold wyſhe them to be warned, for it is a terrible thing to fall into *the* hands of God, who is a conſuming fire & a fearfull God. His bowe is bente, his arrowes of iudgements⁵ are drawn to the head, his fire is kyndled, his wrath is gone out, & ready to be powred vpon the contemptners of his lawes. Tempt not the Lord any longer; prouoke not⁶ his wrath, exaſperate not his iudgements towards thee; for as mercy proceedeth *from* him, ſo doth iuſtice alſo; And, be ſure of it, he payeth home at the laſt. For as in mercie he ſuffreth no good deed to be vnrewarded, ſo, in his iuſt iudgmente, there is no wickednes⁷ which he leaueth vnpuniſhed. And yet, notwithstanding, their wickedneſſe and pride is ſuch as ſtincketh before the face of God, and maketh the Enemies to blaſpheme and ſpeake euill of the wayes of the Lord: for, ſay they, the men of *Ailgna* are wicked & licentious⁸ in all their wayes, which eaſily appeareth by their apparell & ⁹new fangled faſhions euery day inuented. The beaſtly Epicures, the Drunkards & ſwilbowles, vpon their ale benches, when their heads are intoxicat with new wine,¹⁰ wil

[⁹ leaf 47, back.
B †]

* leaf 47. Gods iudgementes for Pride. B. ² ſtriken F. ³ a *not in* E, F.

⁴ dirtie *not in* F. ⁵ iudgement F. ⁷ without repentance *added in* F.

⁸ diſſolute F. † leaf 47, back. Our liues, a ſlaunder to the Goppell. B.

¹⁰ and ſtrong drinke *added in* F.

not flicke to belch forth and fay, that the inhabitantes of *Ailgna* go brauelye in Apparell, chaunging fashions euerie daye, for no caufe fo much as to delight the eyes of their harlots¹ withall, and to inamour the mindes of their flefhly paramours. Thus be this People a laughing flock to all the world for their pride, a flaunder to the word of God & to their profeffion, fcandalles to their brethren, a dishonor and reproch to the Lord, and very caterpillers to themfelues in wafting and confuming their goods and treasures vppon vanyties & trifles.

Our new fangles and toies are occasions why all nations mocke and floute vs.

Our lyuing a flaunder to the truth.

[² *Spud.* I perceiue thefe are nice dames, I pray you what exercifes followe thei, for the moſte parte beyng thus clothed in their robes, and how doe thei ſpende the tyme? For I ſtand in doubt thereof?³

Philo. You neede not to doubt. For thei ſpend their time very well, I warrant you, and to their owne contentation.⁴ For ſome of them lye in bed (I will not ſaie with whom) till nine or tenne of the clocke every mornynge; then, beyng rouzed forth of their dennes, thei are twoo or three howers in puttyng on their Robes, which beeyng⁵ doen, thei go to dinner, where no delicats either of wines or meates are wanting. Then their bo⁶dies beeyng ſatiſfied, and their heades pretely mizzled with wine, thei walke abroad for a time, or els confer with their familiars (as women you know are talkative enough, & can chat like Pies) all the world knoweth it. Thus ſome ſpende the daie till ſupper tyme, and then the night, as before. Other ſome ſpende the greateſt parte of the daie, in fittynge at the doore, to ſhewe their braueries, to make knowne their beauties, to beholde the paſſengers by, to viewe the coaſt, to ſee fashions, and to acquainte themſelues with the braueſt fellowes: for if not for theſe cauſes, I ſee no other cauſes why thei ſhould fitt at their doores, from Mornynge till Noone (as many doe) from Noone to Night; thus vainly ſpendynge their golden daies in filthie idleneſſe and ſinne. Againe, other ſome being weary of that exerciſe, wil⁷ take occaſion (aboute vrgent affaires you muſt ſuppoſe) to walke into the Towne; & leaſt any thing

[The great paynes that theſe gentlewomen take. E.]

[⁶ leaf 48 B.†]

[Exerciſes and practiſes of the gentlewomen of Munidnol. B, E.]

¹ whoriſh mates F.

² From here to p. 89, l. 24, is from B: it's not in A. Heading in F:—The dayly exerciſes of the Women of England.

³ they ſcarce ſpend it wel *inſtead of* thereof F.

⁴ contentments F.

⁵ beeyng not in F.

† leaf 48; no head-line B. E has Hand baskets clokes to ſinne.

⁷ wil not in E, F.

[This page is
not in A.]

[Hand baskets
clokes to
sinne. E.]

[might bee gathered, but that thei goe about fereous matters indeede, thei will ¹ take their baskets in their hands, or vnder their armes; vnder which pretence, pretie conceites are praftized, and yet maie no man faie blacke is their eye. But if al other waies faile them, yet haue thei one which be fure will fpeede.

Spud. What waie is that, I praie you declare vnto me.

[³ leaf 48, back.
B.*]

[Garden in the
fieldes no better
then the
Stewes. E.]

²*Philo.* Seyng you are fo defirous to knowe I will tell you. In the Feeldes and Suburbes ³of the Cities thei haue Gardens, either palled, or walled round about very high, with their Harbers and Bowers fit for the purpose. And leaft thei might bee espied in these open places, they haue their Banquetting houfes with Galleries, Turrettes, and what not els therein fumppteoufly erected: wherein thei maie (and doubtlesse doe) many of them plaie the filthie persons. And for that their Gardens are locked, some of them haue three or fower keyes a peece, whereof one they keepe for themfelues, the other their Paramours haue to goe in before them, leaft happely they should ⁴ be perceiued, for then were all their ⁵ fporte dasht. Then to these Gardens thei repaire when thei list, with a basket and a boy, where thei, meeting their fweete hartes, receiue their wished desires. These Gardens are exelent places, and for the purpose; for if thei can fpeak with their dearlynges no where els, yet there thei maie be fure to meete them, and to receiue the guerdon of their paines: thei know best ⁶ what I meane. But I wishe them to amende, for feare of Gods heauie wrathe in the daie of vengeance.

[Gardens, places
of baudry. B, E.]

Spud. Why? doe you condemne the vse of Gardens ⁷ and houfes ⁷ then altogether?

Philo. No nothyng lesse. For I knowe they bee very healthful, comfortable, and holsome for mans bodie, and fuche thynges, as the vse whereof we can ⁸ not lacke. But I condemne these abufes, these corruptions, and enormities there vsed, ⁹ and I pray God thei maie be reformed. There is no thyng so good but it maie be abused: yet I am not fo precise that I would haue the thyng remoued for the abuse, but the abuse to be taken awaie, whereby the thyng it self is made

[⁹ leaf 49. B.†]

[Euery thing
abused, is not to
be remoued, but
the abuse to be
taken away
onely. E.]

¹ will not in E, F. ² heading in F:—Gardens in Englande.

* leaf 48, back; no head-line B. E has Gardens places of baudrie.

⁴ might F. ⁵ the F. ⁶ best not in E, F. ⁷—⁷ and garden houses F.

⁸ can we F. † leaf 49; no head-line B. E has Women good and badd.

[worfe. Nor I fpeake not againft the good and Godly women, for I knowe there bee a greate number,—and the Lorde increafe the number of them that are chaft, wife, sober, continent, and verteous Matrones, and voyde of all thefe corruptions!—But againft thofe light, leaude,¹ and incontinent Harlottes (as it is well knowne there bee too many) that runne to thofe places, as faft as euer did the brothelles to the Stewes. And truly I thinke fome of thefe² places are little better then the Stewes and Brothell houfes were in tymes past: I befeeech the Lorde to make³ them cleane, either with the Oliue braunch of his mercie, or with the broome⁴ of his iudgement, that this wickedneffe maie be doen⁵ awaie.

[This page to l. 24, is not in A.]

[I denounce the lewd Harlots, not the virtuous Matrons.]

Spud. Are thefe⁶ nice Dames, gentle, sober and difcrete, or otherwife, giuen to chiding, braulyng, and vnquietneffe: For thei shewe themfelues abroade (by reporte) as though butter would not melt in their mouthes.

Philo. There are fome, sober, wife, gentle, difcrete, and verteous Matrones, as any be in al the worlde. And there be other fome (yea *maior numerus*) that are neuer well, but when thei be, either brawlyng, scoldyng, or fightyng with⁷ fome⁸ of their housholde⁹: and fuche deuilles, as a man were better to be hanged then to dwel with them. But because I haue fmall experience hereof¹⁰ my felf; ¹¹but onely by¹¹ reporte of them that haue made triall thereof themfelues, I will faie no more, committying them ouer to the Lorde, to whom thei either ftand if thei doe well, or fall if thei doe euill. B, E, F.]

[Women good and bad, but the greater number naught. E, F.]
[¹⁰ leaf 49, back. B.*]

Spud. Seeing that by diuine affiftance you ¹²haue now finifhed [¹² G 7, back] your traftation¹³ of the Apparell of *Ailgna*,¹⁴ shew me (I pray you) what other abufes be there vfed; for I am perfwaded that pride, the Mother of all¹⁵ finne, is not without her Daughters of finne¹⁶ femblable to her felfe.

¹ lewd F. ² those F. ³ sweep E; purge F. ⁴ sharpe rod F.

⁵ put F.

⁶ those F.

⁷ eyther with F.

* leaf 49, back. Horrible whordome in Ailgna. B.

⁹ or some others added in F.

¹⁰ therof E, F.

¹¹—¹¹ saue onely by the E, F.

¹³ discourse F.

¹⁴ This is always printed England in F.

¹⁵ all not in B, E, F.

¹⁶ of sinne not in B, E, F.

The horryble vice of Whordome in Ailgna.

Whordome in
Ailgna too too
rife.

Philo. THE horryble vice of Whordome also¹ is ther too too much frequented, to the great dishonor of God, the prouoking of his iudgements against them, the stain and blemish of their profession, the euill example of all the world, and finally to their owne damnation for euer, except they repente.

Vain and vn-
godly reasons
pretending
that whor-
dome is no
sinne.

[⁵ leaf 50. B.†]

Spud. I haue heard them reason,² that mutuall coition betwixt man and woman is not so³ offenſiue before God; For do not all Creatures (ſay they) as wel *reptilia terræ* as *volatilia Cœli*, the⁴ creeping things vpon the earth, as the⁴ flying⁵ Creatures⁶ in the aire, and all other Creatures in generall, both ſmall & great, ingender together? hath not nature and kynd ordained them ſo? & geuen them members incident⁷ to that uſe? & doth not the Lord (ſay they) (as it were with a ſtimule or prick, by his mandat, ſaing *creſcite & multiplicamini & replete terram*: increaſe, multiplie & fill the earth,) ſtirre them⁸ vp to the ſame? Otherwyſe the World wold become barren, and ſoone fall to decay: wherefore they conclude that whordome is a badge of loue, a cognizance of amitie, a tutch of luſtie youth, a frendlie daliance, a redintegration of loue, and an enſigne of vertue,⁹ rather meritorious than damnable: theſe, with the like, be¹⁰ the¹¹ exceptions¹⁰ ¹² which I haue hard them many times to obieſt¹³ in defence of their carnal pollutions.

Oh wicked
Libertynes!
[⁸ G 8]

[Those that
make whoredome
lawfull, are
worse then
Deuills. E.]

Philo. Curſed be thoſe mouths that thus¹⁴ blaſpheme the mightie God of *Iſraell* and his ſacred word, making the ſame, clokes to couer their ſinne withall: ¹⁵ worſe are they¹⁵ than Lybertines who thinke all things lawfull, or Atheiſtes who denie there is any God. The diuells themſelues neuer finned ſo horribly nor erred ſo groſſely as theſe (not Chriſtians, but dogges) do, that make whordome a vertue and meritorious: but becauſe you ſhal ſee their deceptions diſplayed & their damnable abuſes more plainly diſcouered, I will reduce you to the

¹ also *not in F.*

² reason thus B, E, F.

³ so much F.

⁴ the *not in F.*

† leaf 50. Libertines defend whordome. B.

⁶ Creatures *not in F.*

⁷ proper F.

⁹ good will B, E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ their ridiculous reasons F.

¹¹ their childishe B, E.

¹² and friuolous obiections *added in B, E.*

¹³ pretende B, E; alleadge F.

¹⁴ dare to *added in B; care in E; do in F.*

¹⁵—¹⁵ Thei are much worse B, E, F.

first institution ¹ of this Godly ordenance of matrimony. The Lord our God, hauing created all things in Heauen, earth or Hell whatfoeuer, created of euery sex two, male & female ² of both kindes²; and last of al other creatures he made man after his own likenesse & similitude, geuing him a woman, made of a ribbe of his own body, to be his³ companion, & comforter⁴; & lincking them together in the honorable state of ⁵ venerable wedlocke, he blessed them both, saying 'crescite, multiplicamini & replete terram'; Increase, multiplie, & replenish the earth: wherby it is more than apparent that the Lorde, whose name is *Iehouah*, the mightie GOD of *Israell*, is the Author of Godly matrimony, instituting it in the tyme of mans innocency⁶ in *Paradise*; and that, as mee seemeth, for foure causes. First, for the auoydaunce of whordom; Secondly, for the mutuall comforte & consolation that the one might haue of the other in all aduersities & calamities whatfoeuer: Thirdly, for the ⁷ procreation and Godly⁷ propagation of Children in the feare of the Lord, that both the world might be increased therby, and the Lord also ⁸ in them glorified.⁸ And, fourthlie, to be a figure or type of our spirituall wedlocke betwixt Christ and his church, both militant and triumphante. This congreffion, and mutuall copulation, of those that be thus ioyned together in the Godlye state of blessed matrimony is pure virginitie, and allowable before God and man, ⁹ as an action wherto the Lorde hath promised his blessing thorow his mercy, not by our merite, *ex opere operato*, as some shame not to say. All other goinges together and coitions are damnable, pestiferous, and execrable. So, now you see that wheras the Lord saith 'increase, multiplie, & fill the earth,' he alludeth to those that are cheyned¹⁰ together ¹¹ in the ¹² Godly state of¹² matrimonie and wedlocke, and not otherwyfe: For to those that go together after any other sorte, he hath denounced his curse and wrath for euermore, as his alfauing word beareth record. And wheras they say that all creatures vpon the Earth do ingender together, I graunte it is true; But how? *in suo genere*, in their owne kinde. There is no

The first institution of matrimonie.
[¹ leaf 50, back. B.*]

Gene. 2.
Mat. 19.
Marc.
Luc. 16.
1 Cor. 6.
Eph. 5.

[5 G 8, back]

1. Marriage instituted for 4 causes. 2.

3. [Procreation.]

4. [As type of Christ and his Church.]

[⁹ leaf 51. B.†]

All mutuall copulation except marriage is vnlawfull.
[¹² H 1]

How all creatures do goe together in their kinde.

* leaf 50, back. Gods curse for Whordome. B.

²—² not in E, F.

³ a for his E, F.

⁴ vnto him added in E, F.

⁶ in concency A; innocencie B, E, F.

⁷—⁷ not in B, E, F.

⁸—⁸ be glorified in him E, F. (be not in F.)

† leaf 51. Fidelitie in married couples. B.

¹⁰ linked F.

¹²—¹² state of godly F.

creature creeping on the earth, or flying in the aire, how irrationable foeuer, that dooth¹ degenerate as man dooth, but keepethe the same state and order wherein they were made at the first; ²and so² if man did, he should not commit³ abhominable whordome and filthie sinne as hee dooth. It is said of those that write *de natura animalium*, that (almost) all vnreasonable beafts and flying fowles, after they haue once linked and vnited them selues together to any one of the same kinde, and after they haue once espoused them selues the one to the other, wil⁴ neuer after⁵ ioyne them selues with any other, til the one be dissolved from the other by death. And thus they keepe the knot of matrimonie inuio⁶lable to the end. And if any one⁷ chaunce to reuolte, and go together with any other, during the life of his first mate, al the rest of the same kind assembl together, as it were in a council or parliament, and either kil or greuously punish the adulterer or adulteresse, whether [so]euer⁸ it be; which lawe I ⁹would God were amongst Christians established. By all which it may appeer how horrible a sinne whordome is in nature, that the very vnreasonable creatures doo abhorre it. The Heathen people, who know not God, so much lothe this stinking sinne of whordome, that some burne them quick, some hang them on gibbets, some cut off their heds, some their armes, legs and hands; some put out their eyes, some burne them in the face, some cut off their noses, some one parte of their bodye, some another, and some with one kind of torture, and some with another; but none leaueth them vnpunished: so that we are fet to schoole to learn our ¹⁰first rudiments¹⁰ (like yung Nouices or Children scarce crept out of the shel¹¹) how to punish whordome, euen by the vnreasonable creatures, and by the heathen people¹² who are ignorant of the deuine goodnes. ¹³*God be merciful vnto vs!*¹³

Spud. I pray you rehearse some places out of the woord of God, wherein this cursed vice of whordome is forbidden, for my better instruction.

Philo. Our Sauour Christe, in the eight of *Iohn*, speaking to the

¹ doeth so B, E, F. ²—² whiche thing B, E, F. ³ commit such E, F.

⁴ thei wil B, E, F. ⁵ after *not in* B; *follows* themselves in E, F.

† leaf 51, back. The Heathen detest whoredome. B. ⁷ one *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ soeuer B, E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ A. B. C. in F.

¹¹ swadling cloathes F.

¹² people themselves B, E, F.

¹³—¹³ *not in* B, E, F.

The fidelitie of vnreasonable creatures in marriage one towards another.

[⁶ leaf 51, back. B.†]

[⁹ H 1, back]

How much the Heathen haue detested whordome.

Sundry punishments of whordome amongst the Heathen.

woman whom the malicious *Iewes* had apprehended in adulterie, bad her go her way, and sin no more. If it had not been a mosse greuous sin, he would neuer haue bid her ²to sin therein² no more.

³In the fift of *Mathew* he saith, 'Who so lusteth after a woman in his hart, hath committed the fact alredy, and therefore is guiltie of death for the same.' To the *Pharises*, asking him whether a man might not put away his wife for any occasion? *Christe* answered, 'for no cause, faue for whordome onely'; inferring that whordome is so hainous a sinne, as for the perpetration therof it shalbe lawful for a man to sequester⁴ him self from his owne wife, and the wife from her owne husband. The Apostle *Paul* sayth, 'know you not that your bodyes are the members of *Christe*? shall I then take the members of *Christe* (saith he), and make them the members of an whore? *God forbid*! knowe yee⁵ not that he who coupleth him self with a⁶ harlot is become one body with her?' 'flee⁷ fornication (saith he), therefore, for euery sinne that a man committeth is without the body, but who committeth fornication, sinneth against his owne body.' And in an-other place: 'knowe you not that your Bodyes are the temples of the holy ghost, which dwelleth within you? And who so destroyeth the Temple of God, him shall God destroy.'

In an other place he saith: 'be not deceiued, for neither Whoremonger, Adulterer, Fornica⁸tor, incestuous person, nor such like, shall euer enter into the kingdome of heauen.' Again, '*Coniugium honorabile est inter omnes*: ⁹Mariage is honorable amongst all men, and the bed vndefiled; but whooremongers and adulterers, God shall iudge.' In the Reuelation of Saint *Iohn* it is said, that they who were not defiled with women doo waite vpon the Lamb, whetherfoeuer he goeth. The Apostle *Paul* willeth vs to be so far from fornication, that it¹⁰ be¹¹ not once named amongst vs, as becommeth Saints; with infinit such places, which for breefnes¹² I omit, referring you in the olde Testament to these and such like¹³ places, namely, the 20 of *Exodus*, 20 of *Leuiticus*, ¹⁴*Deutronomie* 22, *Deutro.* 27, 2 *Reg.*¹⁴ 11,

Testimonies
out of the
word of god
wherin whor-
dome is forbid.
[¹ leaf 52. B.*]

[³ H 2]
Mat. 5.

Mat. 19; Mat.
10, Luc. 16.

x Cor. 6.

[The Bible
against whore-
dome.]

[⁸ leaf 52, back.
B.†]

[⁹ H 2, back]

* leaf 52. Examples against whoredome. B.

²—² sin F.

⁴ deuide F.

⁵ you F.

⁶ an F.

⁷ Flie F.

† leaf 52, back. The rewarde of chast liuers. B.

¹⁰ it maie B, E, F.

¹¹ be comes after once in F.

¹² breuitie F.

¹³ like not in E, F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ 22. Deutronomy.† 27. 2. Kings F. († 22

Deutronomie for Deutronomie 22, Deutro. in B, E.)

[Bible bits
against whore-
dom.]

Leuit. 18,¹ *Exodus* 22. *Num.* 5, *Eccle.* 9, *Pro.* 23, *Pro.* 7² *verse*, 24.

Genesis 7, 8.

Spud. As you haue now prooued by inuincible testimonies of holy Scripture, that whordome is forbidden by the Lord, so, I pray you, shew mee the greenuofnes thereof by some feure & rare examples of Gods iust iudgement, executed³ vppon the same from the beginning.

Punishmentes
of whordom in
all Ages.

⁴ *Philo.* The whole world was deftroied with water, not any liuing thing left vpon the erth (saue in the Ark of *Noath*⁵) for the sin of whordom, incest, & brothelry, vied in those daies. *Sodoma* and *Gomorrah*, two famous Cities, were consumed with fire and brimstone from heauen for the like sin of whordom, adul⁶terie, and fornication. The citie of the *Sichemits*, man, woman, and childe, weare put to the edge of the ⁷fwoord for the rauishing of *Dina*, the daughter of *Iacob*. The Lord also tolde *Abimelech* that if he did not let go vntouched *Sara*, *Abraham* his⁸ wife, bothe he and all his housholde should⁹ dye the death, notwithstanding he did it ignorauntly. The very same hapned to *Isaac* also. *Iudah*,¹⁰ vnderstanding that his daughter in law was impregnate and great with childe, and not knowing by whom, commanded that she should be burned without any further delay.¹¹ Was not *Abfalon*, king *Dauid* his sonne, plagued all his life for going into his Fathers Concubines? And did not *Achitophel*, who gaue counsel so to do, hang himself? Was not *Ruben*, the first borne sonne of *Iacob*, accursed for going vp to his Fathers bed; and lost he not his birth-right, his dignitie, his¹² primacie, ouer his Bretheren for the same? Were there not abooue threescore and fue thousand men slain for the adulterie doon with one *Leuits* wife? Was not king *Dauid* punished all the daies of his life for his adultery doon with *Bersabe*, *Vrias* his wife? Was not his sonne *Amon*, for lying with¹³ *Thamar*, slain? Was not *Salomon*, beeing peruerterd with¹⁴ hethen women, cast out of the fauour of God, notwithstanding being otherwise the wisest Prince in all the world? ¹⁵ Did not¹⁵ *Achab*, at the perfw-

[⁶ leaf 53. B.†]

Genesis 19;
Genesis 24
Genesis 20.

[⁷ H 3]

G. 26.

Ge. 18.

2 Reg. 16.

[Absalon,

Ge. 29.

Reuben,]

Iudi. 20.

2 Reg. 13, 12.

[David,

Solomon,]

[1 Reg. 11. B.
E, F.]

¹ Leuiticus 11 B, E, F.

² 2 Prouer. 7 B, E.

³ poured forth E, F.

⁴ heading in F :—Examples of whoredom punished in all ages.

⁵ Noah F.

† leaf 53. Punishmentes for Whordom. B.

⁸ Abrahams F.

⁹ shall F.

¹⁰ Iudas A.

¹¹ de-delay (*sic*) F.

¹² and B, E, F.

¹³ his Sister added in F.

¹⁴ with many F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ not in F.

sions of *Iefabel*, his cursed wife, falling ¹to Idolatrie and woorthipping of Idolles ²and deuils, suffer³ moſte cruel puniſhment in this life all his dayes; beſides, what he ſuffereth now, God onely knoweth. Were not the *Iſraelite* and *Madianitiſh* woman both ſlain⁴ by that woorthy man *Phinees*, who ran them both thorow the⁵ priuy members with his Iauelin or ſwoord? Was not *Sampſon* brought to a miſerable end, his eyes beeing bothe put out, and he made to be a laughing ſtock to all men, thorow his too much fauouring of wanton women? Was not king *Pharao* wunderfully plagued, but for intending euil in his hart towards *Sara*, *Abraham* his wife? Did not the Lord ſlay (with a moſte greuous mortalitye) foure & twentie thouſand of the *Iſraelites* in one day, for whordome and adulterie with the women of the *Moabites* and *Madianits*?

3 Reg. 21.

[¹ leaf 53, back. B.*][² H 3, back]

Num. 25.

Iud. 16.

[Sampson,

Pharaoh,]

Gene. 12.

[24,000 Israelites

By theſe, and ſuch like fearful Examples of the iuſtice of God powred vpon theſe whoremongers & adultrers, we may learn to know the greuousnes of the ſame, and the puniſhment due to all whoremongers and fornicatours, either in this life, or in the World⁶ to come, or els in both: for if the Lord deferre the puniſhment of whordome in this life, hee reſerueth it for the world to come, ſuffering the wicked to wallow in their finne, and to fil vp the meaſure of iniquitie, that their damnation may be iuſt. And if the Lord left not ſin vnpuniſhed, no, not in ⁷his moſt deer Saints, ⁸what he wil⁹ doo in them who dayly crucifie him anew, let the world¹⁰ iudge.

were all puniſht for whoremongering.]

[⁷ leaf 54. B. 9][⁸ H 4]

Spud. Now am I fully perſwaded, by your inuincible reaſons, that there is no ſin greater before the face of God then whordome; wherefore, *God graunt that all his may auoid it.*

Philo. You haue ſaid true, for there is no finne (almoſt¹¹) comparable vnto it; for beſides that it bringeth euerlaſting damnation to all that liue therein to the end without repentance, it alſo bringeth theſe inconueniences, with many mo: *videlicet*, it dimmeth the ſight, it impairereth the hearing, it infirmeth the finewes, it weakneth the ioynts, it exhauſteth the marrow, conſumeth the¹² moiſture and ſupplement of the body, it riueth the face, appalleth the countenance, it dullereth

What euils whordome bringeth to mans body in this life.

* leaf 53, back. Examples for Whoremongers. B.

³ *should be* ſuffer'd in F.⁴ for Whoredome added in F.⁵ their B, E, F.⁶ life E, F.

† leaf 54. Many euils come by whordome. B

⁹ wil B; ſhall E, F.¹⁰ godly E, F.¹¹ almoſt *not* in F.¹² the radicall F.

the spirits, it hurteth the memorie, it weakneth the whole body, it bringeth ¹it into a ¹consumption, it bringeth ²vlcerations, ³scab, scurf, blain, botch, pocks, & biles; it maketh hoare haire & ⁴bald pates; it induceth olde age, &, in fine, bringeth death before nature vrge it, malady enforce it, or age require ⁵it.

Sp. Seeing that whordome bringeth such foure fauce with it, namely, ⁶death euerlasting after this life, and so many discommodities besides in this life, I wonder that men dare commit the same so securely as they doo now a dayes.

Philo. It is so little feared in *Ailgna*, that, vn⁷till ⁸euery one hath ⁸two or three Bastardes a peece, they esteeme him no man⁹ (for that they call a mans deede); insomuch as ¹⁰euery scurue boy of twelue, sixteen, or twenty yeeres of age, wil make no conscience of it to haue two or three, peraduenture half a dosen feuerall women with childe at once; and this exploite beeing doon, he shoves them ¹¹a faire pair of heeles, and away goeth he, *Euro*¹² *velocius*, as ¹³quick as a Bee¹³ (as they say) into some strange place where he is not knowen, where, how he liueth, let the wise¹⁴ iudge, for, *cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*; though they chaunge their place of abode, yet their naughtie dispositions they retaine stil. Then, hauing estraunged them selues thus for a small space, they returne againe, not to their pristine cursed life, I dare say, but vnto¹⁵ their cuntrey, and then no man may say black is their eye; but all is wel, & they as good christians as those that suffer them vnpunished.

Spud. The state and condition of that Cuntrey is most miserable, if it be true you report: it weare much better that euerye one had his lawful wife, and euery woman her lawfull husband, as the Apostle commaundeth, then thus to be¹⁶ drowned¹⁷ in the filthie sin of whordome.

Philo. That is the only salue and soueraine remedy which the lord ordained against whordome, that those who haue not the gift of

[7 leaf 54, back. B.†]

[9 H 4, back]

The small care to auoid whordome in Ailgna.

Whormongers runagates.

Marriage an antidotarie against Whordome.

¹—¹ not in B, E, F.

² causeth B, E, F.

³ vlceration F.

⁴ and not in B, E, F.

⁵ constraine F.

⁶ as namely B, E, F.

† leaf 54, back. Causes of bastardie in Ailgna. B.

⁸—⁸ one hath had F.

¹⁰ that E, F.

¹¹ all added in E, F.

¹² pilo F.

¹³—¹³ round as a hall F.

¹⁴ world F.

¹⁵ to E.

¹⁶ lye B, E.

¹⁷ and immersed added in E; plunged F.

continencie might mary, and fo keep their veffels ¹vndefiled to the Lord. But, notwithstanding, in *Ailgna* there is ouer great libertye permitted therin; for litle infants in fwadling clowts, are often married by their ambitious Parents and frends, when they know neither good nor euill; and this is the origine of much wickedneffe, & directlie againft the word of God, and examples of the primityue age. And beydes this, you fhall haue euery fawcy boy of x, xiiij, xvi, or xx yeres of age, to catch vp a woman & marie her, without any feare of God at all, or refpect had, either to her religion, wiſdom, integritie of lyfe, or any other vertue; or, which is more, without any refpecte how they maye lyue together with fufficient maintenance for their callings and estat. No, no; it maketh no matter for theſe things: fo he haue his pretie puffle to huggle withall, ²it forceth not, ³for that is the only thing he defireth. Than build they vp a cotage, though but of elder poals, in euery lane end, almoſt, wher they lyue as beggers al their life. ⁴This filleth the land with fuch ſtore of poore people, ⁵that in ſhort tyme (except ſome caution ⁶be provided to preuent the ſame), it is like to growe to great pouertie and ſcarfnes, ⁷which, God forbid!

[¹ H 5, A; leaf 55. B.*]
Maring of infants in swadling cloths.

Euery Boy snatcheth vp a Woman to wyfe.

[Cottages in euery lane end. E, F.]

Sp. I canot ſee how this geare ſhould be holpen.

Philo. What if a refraint were made *that* ⁷none (except vpon ſpeciall and vrgente cauſes) ſhould marie before they come to xx or xxiiij ⁸yeeeres, or, at *the* ⁹leaft, before they be xiiij or xviii yeeeres old, would not this make fewer beggers than now there are?

A restraint of marriage.
[⁷ leaf 55, back. B.†]

[⁸ H 5, back]

Sp. But if this were eſtabliſhed, than ſhould we haue moe Baſtards; and of the two, I had rather we had many ¹⁰legittimats than many illegittimates. ¹⁰

Philo. The occaſion of begetting of manye Baſtards were ſoone cut of, if the puniſhment which either ¹¹God his lawe doth allowe, or

How whordome may be ſuppreſſed.

* leaf 55. Causes of many beggers in Ailgna. B.

^{2—3} not in B, E, F.

³ life after B, E, F.

⁴ Mendicantes, or to ſpeak plainly §, of Beggers as wee call them B, E. § E has plainly. For ‘of poore people,’ F has of Beggers as we call them F.

⁵ remedy F.

⁶ extreame miſery F.

† leaf 55, back. Remedies to ſuppreſſe whordome. B. ⁹ the not in E, F.

^{10—10} children lawfully begot than many Baſtards F.

¹¹ either not in F.

98 Due punishment for whordome. The Anat[omie]

els which good pollicy ¹doth constitute,¹ were ²aggrauated and executed² vppon the Offenders.

The punishment for whordome ouer remis~~se~~.

[⁵ leaf 56. B.†]

[⁶ H 6]

[Whoredome ought not to be punished by the purse. E, F.]

[Let the Archdeacons look to it!]

For the punishment appointed for whordom now is so light that they esteeme not of it; thei feare it not, they make but a iest of it. For what great thing is it to go ij or three dayes in a white sheete³ before the congregation, and that somtymes not past an howre or two in a day, hauing their vsuall garments vnderneath, as commonly they haue?⁴ This impunitie (in respecte of condigne punishment, which that ⁵vice requireth) doth rather animate and imbolden them to the acte, than feare them from it. In so much as I haue heard some miscreants impudently say, that he is but a beaſt that for such white lyuered punishment would abstaine from suche gallant pastyme: but certen it is that they who thinke it suche sweet meate here, shall find the fawce sowre ⁶and fliptick⁷ enough in Hell. [⁸And yet as light and as easie as this punishment is, it may be, and is daiely dispenſed⁹ with-all for monie: and this is thought to be the best kinde of punishment, to puniſhe them by the purse. Then the whiche, what can be a greater disorder in a Christian common wealth? Is this any thyng els then to buye and sell the bodies and foules of Christians for monie? Can the Pope himself doe any more then this? Is not this a maintenance of the Stewes? Yea, so long as this is vsed, the Stewes shall neuer be out of Ailgna. Let the Magistrates therefore of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchie (for to them I speake) take heede that thei be not maintainers of Stewes and whoredome, whereof thei would so faine bee thought to bee suppressors. For this kind of dispenſing with Whoredome, Adulterie, and Fornication for monie, and settyng of them free a *culpa, rubore*,¹⁰ & *poena*,¹¹ in this worlde,¹¹ from the falte¹² it self, ¹³from the shame,¹³ and punishment due for the fault? What is it els then not onely a maintenaunce, but also a

¹—¹ hath constituted F. ²—² executed and aggravate B; inflicted F.

³ or els in a Cope (a ridiculous kinde of punishment) added in B, E, F.

⁴ [And truely I can not a little admire, nor yet sufficiently deplore the* (* that F.) wickednesse of the Ecclesiasticall Magistrates, in not punishing more greuously, this horrible sinne of whoredome: for to goe in a sheete with a white wande in their handes, is but a plain mockyng of God, and of his Lawes. Added in B, E, F.]

† leaf 56. No head line. B.

⁷ bitter F.

⁸ From this, to p. 99, l. 16, not in A.

⁹ suspended in E.

¹⁰ not in F.

¹¹—¹¹ not in E, F.

¹² falte B, E; fault F.

¹³—¹³ not in F.

[stirring of them vp to commit whoredome, when for a little monie thei¹ maie be discharged of all gilte? And this beyng certaine, or at least very likely, *that* whofoeuer getteth one with child, of what reputation or degree soeuer she be of, (if he be single) he shall be forced to marie her, and that² for a little peece of monie, thei may both haue a Bull of dispensation. This beyng so, who, I saie, will not seeke to aspire as high as he can,³ and assay⁴ to deflower (in hope of further gaine) as many as he maie.⁵ This siluer punishment is it, that defileth honest Matrones, polluteth chaste Virgines, and dishonesteth poore Maides, to their vtter shame and vndoing for euer. I saie nothyng, how the monie receiued for these dispensations is bestowed, how spent, nor wherevpon⁶ employed. The Lord for his mercies sake, giue them grace to punish vice seuerely, as the worde of God doeth commaunde, and not after their owne sensuall desires,⁷ and licentious lustes, that God maie be glorified, and their consciences disburdened⁸ at the greate daie of the Lorde. *Added in B, E, F.*]

Spud. What punishment would you haue inflicted vppon such as commit this horrible kinde of sinne?

Philo. I would wish that the Man or Woman, who are certenlye knowen, without all scruple or doubt, to haue committed the horrible fact of whordome, adulterie, incest, or fornication, eyther should⁹ drinke a full¹⁰ draught of *Moyse* cuppe, that is, tast of present death [as Gods word doth¹¹ commaunde, and good pollicie allowe B, E]; or els, if *that* be thought too seuer (for¹² in euill, men will be more mercifull than the Author of mercie him selfe, but in goodnesse, fare well mercy) than wold God they might be cauterized and seared with a hote yron on¹³ the cheeke, forehead, or some other parte of their bodye that might be seene, to the¹⁴ end the honest and chaste Christians might be discerned from the adulterous Children of Sathan.¹⁴ But (alas!) this vice (with the rest) wanteth such due punishment as God his Word doth commaunde to be executed¹⁵ thervppon.¹⁶

* leaf 56, back. Due punishment for whordome. B. ² thus F.

³ may in E, F. ⁴ assay not in E, F. ⁵ can in E, F.

⁶ whereunto in E, F. ⁷ appetites F. ⁸ discharged F.

⁹ eyther comes after should in F. ¹⁰ full not in F.

† leaf 57. A late example for whordom, in Ailg. B.

¹² as in E, F. ¹³ vppon F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ end that the adulterous children of Sathan, might be discerned from the honest and chaste Christians B, E, F. ¹⁵ inflicted F. ¹⁶ vppon them E, F.

[To L. 16 is not in A.]

[To dispen-
with whoredome
for money, is a
playne mainten-
ance of whore-
dome. E, F.]

[¹ leaf 56, back
B.*]

What kind of
punishment
whordome
ought to haue.

[¹¹ leaf 57. B.†]

100 Two adulterers burned in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

[Magistrates
wink at whore-
dom.]

The Magistrates wincke at it, or els, as looking thorowe their fingers, they see it, and will not see it.

¹ And therfore the Lorde is forced too take the sword into his owne hands, and to execute punishment him selfe, because the Magistrates will not.²

[³ H 6, back]

³ For better proof wherof, marke this strange & fearful iudgment of god, shewed vpon two adulterous persons there,⁴ euen *the* last day in effect, *the* remembrance wherof is yet green in their heds.

[A most dread-
full example of
two notorious
whoremongers.
E.]

[⁵ W. Brustar.]

There was a man whose name was *W. Ratfurb*⁵, being certainly known to be a notorious vsurer (and yet pretending alway a singular zeale to religion, so that he wold seldom tymes go without a byble about him: but see the iudgements of God vpon them that will take his word in their mouthes, and yet lyue cleane contrarie, making the word of God a cloke to couer their ⁶sinne and naughtynesse withall⁷); who, vppon occasion of busines, visiting *Lewedirb*, a place appointed for the correction of such that⁸ be wicked lyuers, saw there a famous whore, but a very proper Woman, whom (as is said) he knew not; but whether he did or not, certen it is that he procured her delyuery from thence, bayled her, &, hauing put away his owne wife before, kept her in his chamber, vsing her at his pleasure. Whyleft these two members of the deuill were playing the vile *Sodomits* together in his chamber, & hauing a litle pan of coles before them, wherein was a very litle fire, it pleased God, euen in his wrath, to strike these two persons dead in a moment. The Woman, falling ouer the pan of coles, was burned, that all her bowels gushed out: the man was founde lying by, his ⁹cloths in some partes being scorched and burned, & some partes of his body also. But, which is most wonderfull, his arme was burned to the very boone, his shirt sleeue and dublet not once perished, nor tutchted with the fire. Wherby may be thought, & not without great probabilitie of truth, that it was euen the fire of God his wrath from Heauen, and not any natural fire from the earth. And in this wonderfull & fearfull maner weare these cupple founde: which God graunt may be a document¹⁰ to all *that*

[⁶ leaf 57, back.
B †]
[Bridewell.]

[Whoremongers
members of the
Deuill. E.]

[⁹ H 7]

[The punish-
ment of whor-
dome by the
Lord himself
from heauen. E.]

¹ From here to p. 101, end of line 3, not in F.

² not do it added in E.

⁴ in Munidnol, for there E.

† leaf 57, back. Two Adulterers burned in Ailgna. B.

⁷ as many do in these daies added in E.

⁸ as B, E.

¹⁰ or lesson admonitorie added in B, E.

heare or read the same, to avoyde the like offence, and to all Magistrates an Example to see the same punished with more severitie, to the glorie of God and their owne discharge. [¹ leaf 58. B.*]

But so farre² are some from suffering condigne punishment for this horrible sinne, that they get good maintenance with practising the same. For shall you not³ haue some, yea many thousands, that liue vpon nothing els, and yet go clothed Gentlewomenlike, both in their silks,⁴ and otherwyse, with⁵ their fingers clogged with rings, their wrists with bracelets & Jewels, and their purses full of gold and siluer. And hereof they make no conscience, so their Husbands know it not. Or if they doo, some are such peafants, and such maycocks, that either they will not, or (which is truer) they dare not, reprove them for it. But & if the Husband once reprove them for their misde⁶meanour, than they conspire his death by some meane or other. And all this commeth to passe because the punishment therof is⁷ no extremer, as it ought to be⁷; And some, both Gentlemen and others (wherof some I know) are so nussed herein, that hauing put away their owne wyues, do⁸ keepe whores openly, without any great punishment for it; and hauing beene conuented before the⁹ magistrery, and there beene⁹ deposed vpon a booke to put away their whores, haue put them forth at one doore, and taken them in at the other. [Many gette great liuings with practising of whordome. E, F.]

And thus they dally in their othes with the Lord, and stoppe the course of the lawe¹¹ with *rubrum argentum*,¹² wherof they haue store to bestowe vpon such wickednesse, but¹³ haue not a mite¹³ to giue towards any good purpose. [⁶ H 7, back]

Wherefore, in the name of God, let all men that haue put away their honest wyues be forced to take them again, and abandon all whores, or els to taste of the law. And let all whores be cut of with the sword of¹⁴ right iudgement¹⁴; For as long as this immunity and impunitie is permitted amongst vs, let vs neuer looke to please God, but rather prouoke his heuie iudgements against vs. And the reason [Putting away honest wyues, and retaining of¹⁰ whores. E, F.]

* leaf 58. Knowne whores kept openly. B. ² Yea so farre of F.

³ not omitted in F. ⁴ and Veluets added in F. ⁵ not in F.

⁷⁻⁷ so easie and gentle as it is F. ⁸ they E, F.

⁹⁻⁹ magistrates and there F. ¹⁰ of not in F.

† leaf 58, back. Great excesse and belly cheere. B. E has Whoredome: Honest wyues put away. ¹² vnguentum F.

¹³⁻¹³ not a penny F. ¹⁴⁻¹⁴ iustice F.

[¹² H 8]

is, for that there is no ſinne in all the World, but theſe whores and whoremaiſters will ¹ willingly attempt and atcheiue for the ¹ inioying of their whordome. ² And Hell, deſtruction, and death euerlaſting, is the guerdon therof, and yet men cannot ³ be aware³ of it. The Lord ⁴ remooue it from all his Children,⁴ and preſent them blameles before his tribunall ſeate, without ſpote or wrinkle at that ⁵ great day of the Lord!

Spud. What ⁶ memorable thing⁶ els haue you ſeen there frequented? for ſeeing you haue begun in parte, I pray you deſcribe the whole.

Gluttonie⁷ and drunkenneſſe⁸ in Ailg[na].

Daintie fare,
gluttony and
gourmandice
vſed in Ailg.

[⁹ leaf 59. B. *]

Philo. I Haue ſeene that which greeneeth mee to report. The People there are marueilouſly giuen to daintie fare, gluttonye, belliecheer, & many alſo to drunkenneſſe & gourmandice.

⁹ *Sp.* That is a manifeſt argument of good hoſpitality, which both is commended in the word of God, & which I know you wil not reprehende.

Godly hoſpi-
talitye to be
commended.

Ph. Godly hoſpitalitie is a thing in no wiſe worthy of reprehention, but rather of great commendation; for many haue receiued Angels into their houſes, at vnawares, by vſing the ſame, as *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Tobias*, & many others. Yet if hoſpitality flow ouer into ſuperfluitie & riotous exceſſe, it is not tolerable: for¹⁰ now adaies, if the table be not couered¹¹ from the one end to the other, as thick as one diſh can ſtand by another, ¹² with delicat meats¹³ of ſundry ſorts, one cleane different from an other, and to euery diſh a ſeuerrall ſawce appropriat to¹⁴ his kinde, it is thought there vnworthye the name of a dinner. Yea, ſo many diſhes ſhal you haue peſteruing the table¹⁵ at once, as the infaciableſt *Helluo*, the deuouringeff glutton, or the greedieſt cormorant that is¹⁶, can ſcarſe eat of euery one a litle. And theſe many ſhall you haue at the firſt courſe; as many at the ſecond; and, peraduenture, moe at the third; beſydes other ſweet condyments,¹⁷ and delicat confections of ſpicerieſ, and I cannot tell what. And to theſe

[¹² H 8, back]

Variety of
diſhes and
meats, with
their curious
ſawces.

Exceſſe of
meats.

¹—¹ greedily commit for F.

³—³ beware B, E, F.

⁴—⁴ keep all his children from it F.

⁵ the F.

⁶—⁶ notable abuſes F.

⁷ The Gluttonie B, E, F.

⁸ exceſſe B, E, F.

* leaf 59. Great exceſſe in delicate fare. B.

¹⁰ and B, E.

¹¹ peſtered F.

¹³ meat F.

¹⁴ in F.

¹⁵ thereon F.

¹⁶ ever was B, E, F.

¹⁷ iunkets F.

dainties, all kind of wyne are not wanting, you may be sure. Oh, what nifitie¹ is this! what vanitie, exceſſe,² ryot and ſuperfluitie is heare! Oh, farewell former world! For I haue heard my Father ſay *that* in his dayes, one diſh or two of good whoſome ³meate was thought ſufficient for a man of great worſhip to dyne withall; and if they had three or four kinds, it was reputed a ſumptuous feaſt. A good peece of beef was thought than good meat, and able for the beſt; but now it is thought too groſſe, for their tender ſtomacks ⁴are not able⁴ to diſgeſt ⁵ſuch crude and harſh meats⁵: For if they ſhould, (their ſtomacks being ſo queaſie as they be, and not able⁶ to concoct it) they ſhould but⁷ euacuat the ſame againe, as other filthie excrements,⁸ their bodies receiuing no nooriſh⁹ment therby, or els ¹⁰they ſhould¹⁰ lye ſtincking in their ſtomacks, as dirte in a filthie ſinck or pryue. If this be ſo, I marueile how oure fore-Fathers lyued, who eat litle els but cold meats, groſſe and hard of diſgeſture. Yea, the¹¹ moſt of them ſeade vppon graine, corne, roots, pulſe, herbes, weeds, and ſuch other baggage, and yet liued longer then wee, ¹²helthfuller then we, were¹² of better complection then we, and much ſtronger then we in euerie reſpect: wherefore I cannot perſwade my ſelf otherwiſe, but that our nicenes and curiouſnes in dyet hath altered our nature, diſtempered our bodies, and made vs more¹³ ſubiect to millions of ¹⁴diſcrasies and ¹⁴diseases then euer weare our Forefathers ſubiect vnto, and conſequently of ſhorter life then they.

Spud. They wil aſke you again, wherefore god made ſuch varietie of meats, but to be eaten of men? what anſwere giue you to that?

¹⁵*Philo.* The Lord our God ordained, indeede, the uſe of meat¹⁶ and drinks for man to ſuſtain the fraile, caduke,¹⁷ and brittle eſtate¹⁸ of his mortall body withall¹⁹ for a time; But he gaue²⁰ it him not²⁰ to²¹ delight and ²²wallow therein continually²²; for as the olde Adage ſaith, *Nox*

The austeritie and Godly ſimplicity of the former World in meats and drinkes. [3 leaf 59, back. B. v.]

Nice, tender ſtomacks. [not in F.]

[9 I 1]

The faraginie or rough fare of our Forefathers.

Our nice fare hath altered our bodies and chaunged our nature.

¹ what prodigality added in F.

² what exceſſe F.

* leaf 59, back. Hard fare holsomest. B.

^{4—4} and ^{5—5} not in, B, E,

F. *From* ſuch to pryue, line 13, not in F.

⁶ ſo vnable for not able B, E.

⁷ but not in B; might happely E.

⁸ crude and indigeſt B, E.

^{10—10} it would B; might E.

¹¹ the not in F.

¹² were before helthfuller B, E, F. ¹³ more not in B, E, F. ^{14—14} not in F.

† leaf 60. How meates bryng deſtruction. B. ¹⁶ meates B, E, F. ¹⁷ not in F.

¹⁸ ſtate F. ¹⁹ withall not in F. ^{20—20} them not unto him B, E, F. ²¹ for F.

^{22—22} pleaſure onely, but for neceſſitie and neede F; as the ſwine do in yemire added after continually in B, E.

Medietie to be
observed in
meats.

[7 I 1, back]

When meats
and drinks are
Instruments of
destruction
vnto vs.

Ge. 24.

1 Reg 2.²⁴
[¹⁵ leaf 60, back.
B.*]

[Bible instances
of the evils of
Gluttony.]

Daniel 5.
verse 5.¹⁶

[¹⁸ sign. I 2]

Luc. 16.

Mat. 4.
[The Devil
tempted Christ
through Glut-
tony.]

*viuendum*¹ *vt edamus, sed edendum*² *vt viuamus* : Wee³ must not liue³ to eat, but wee must⁴ eat to liue; wee must not swill and ingurgitate our⁵ stomacks so ful,⁶ as no more can be crammed⁷ in. The Lord willed⁸ that they should be ordinarie⁹ meanes to preferue¹⁰ the state of¹⁰ our bodyes¹¹ a time, whilst we liue and soiourne in this vaste wildernes of the worlde, but not that they should be instruments of destruction to vs bothe of body and foule. And truely they are no lesse when they are taken immoderately without the feare of God. And¹² dooth not the impletion and facietie of meates and drinks prouoke lust? as *Hiero* saith, *Venter Mero estiuans spumat in libidinem*, the belly enflamed with wine bursteth forth into lust. Doth not lust bring forth sinne, and sin bring¹³ forth death? The Children of *Israel*, giuing themselves to delicat fare & gluttony, fel to Idolatrie, sacriledg & apostasie, worshipping stocks, stones, and deuils, in-fsted of the liuing God. The sonnes of *Hely* the Priest, giuing themselves to daintie fare & belly-cheere, fell into such sin as the Lord slew them all, & their fa¹⁵ther also, for that he chastised them not for the same. The Children of blessed *Iob*, in midst of all their banquetings & ryot, were slain by the lord, the whole house falling vpon them, and destroying them most pitifully. *Balthazar*, king of the *Chaldeans*, in midst of all his good cheer, saw a hand writing vpon the wall these woords, *mene*¹⁷ *techel upharfin*, signifying that his kingdome should be taken from him; and so it was, and he slain the same night by the¹⁸ hand of the lord. The rich glutton in the Gospel, for his riotous feastings & proposterous¹⁹ liuing, was condemned to the fire of hel. Our Father *Adam*, with all his of-spring (to the end of the world) was condemned to hel-fire for taking one apple to satisfie his glotonus desire withall. Gluttony was one of the chiefeft canons wherwith the deuil assailed Christe, thinking therby to batter his kingdome & to win the feeld for euer; yet not withstanding the greuousnes heerof, the same is thought to be a countenance & a great credit to a man in *Ailg[na]*. But true hospitality consisteth not in many dishes, nor in sundry sorts of meats

¹ viuimus F. ² edimus F. ^{3—3} liue not F. ⁴ must not in F.

⁵ so much into our B, E, F. ⁶ so ful not in B, E, F. ⁸ prouided them E, F.
⁹ as F. ^{10—10} not in F. ¹¹ for a B, E, F. ¹² Besides that B, E, F.

¹³ brings F.

¹⁴ 3 Reg. 2. in B, E, F.

* leaf 60, back. Small reliefe for the poore. B. E has Gluttony punished.

¹⁶ verse 5. 25. in B, E, F. ¹⁷ mene added in B, E, F. ¹⁹ inordinate F.

(the substance wherof is chaunged¹ almoſte into accidents thorow their curious cookries, &² which doo help to² rot *the*³ bodies & ſhorten their daies) but rather in giuing liberally to the poor and indigent⁴ members of Ieſus Chriſte, helping them to meat, drink, lodging, clothing,⁵ & ſuch other neceſſaries wherof they ſtand in need.

Wherin hoſpitalitie conſiſteth.

[⁵ leaf 6r. B.*]

But ſuch is their hoſpitality, *that* the poor haue *the* leaſt part of it: you ſhal haue 20, 40, 60, yea a C *li.* ſpent in ſome one houſe in banqueting & feſting, yet *the* poor ſhall haue litle or nothing: if they haue any thing, it is but *the* reſuſe⁶ meat, ſcraps & parings,⁷ ſuch as a dog would ſcarſe eat ſometimes; & wel if they can get *that* too: inſted wherof,⁸ not a few haue whipping cheer to feed them⁹ withall. ¹⁰it is counted but a ſmal matter for ¹¹a man that can ſcarſlie diſpend fortie pound¹² by the year, to beſtow againſt one time, ten or twentie pound¹³ therof in ſpices. And truly, ſo long & ſo greeuouſly hath this exceſſe of gluttonie and daintie fare ſurſteted in *Ailgna*, as I feare mee, it will ſpue out many of his Maiſters out of dores before it be long. But as ſome be ouer largeous,¹³ ſo other ſome are ſpare enough; for when any meat is ſtirring, then lock they vp their gates, that no man may come in. An-other ſorte¹⁴ haue ſo many houſes that they viſit them ¹⁵once in vii year¹⁶; many Chimnies, but little ſmoke; faire houſes, but ſmall hoſpitalitie. And to be plaine, there are three cankers, which, in proceſſe of time, wil eat vp the whole common Welth,¹⁷ if ſpeedy reformation be not had, namely, daintie Fare, gorgious Buildings, and ſumptuous Apparel; which three *Abuſes*¹⁸, ¹⁹eſpecially, yet not without their cofin germanes, doo florish there. *God remooue them thence, for his Chriſtes ſake.*

The ſmall reliefe of the poore.

[¹¹ I 2, back]

Locking vp of Gates when meat is ſtirring.

Three deuouring Cankers.

[¹⁹ leaf 6r, back.] B.†]

Spud. I had thought that daintie fare & good cheer had both nooriſhed the body perfectly, and alſo prolonged life²⁰; & dooth it not ſo think you?

Philo. Experience, as [by]²¹ my former intimations you may

¹ changed E.

²⁻³ impotionate ſlibber ſawces which B, E, F; (ſibber *in* B.)

³ their B, E, F. ⁴ needy F. * leaf 6r. Small hoſpitalitie in *Ailgna*. B.

⁶ reſuſe A; reſuſe B, E, F. ⁷ patrings A; parings B, E, F.

⁸ now and then not B, E, F. ⁹ themſelues B, E, F. ¹⁰ yea it B, F.

¹² poundes F. ¹³ and profluouſ herein *added in* F.

¹⁴ forte A; ſorte B, E, F. ¹⁵ not once B, E, F. ¹⁶ yeares F.

¹⁷ of *Ailgna* *added in* B, E, F. ¹⁸ three deuouring Cankers B, E, F.

† leaf 6r, back. Diuerſitie of meats hurtfull. B.

²⁰ life greatly B, E, F. ²¹ by F; in B, E; *both by and in wanting in* A.

Who more
subject to
infirmities
then they that
fare best?

[¹ sign. I 3. A.]

Eating of di-
uers meats
at one time
hurtful.

[¹⁰ leaf 62. B.†]

The speedy de-
cay of those
that geue
themselues to
daintie fare.

[¹⁴ I 3, back]

gather, teacheth clean contrary; for who is ficklier then they that fare deliciously every day? who is corrupter? who belcheth more? who looketh wurffe, who is weaker ¹and feebler then they? who hath more filthie colour, ²flegme, and putrifaction (repleat ³ with grosse humors) then they? and, to be breef, who dyeth sooner then they? Doo wee not see the poor man that eateth brown bread (wherof some is made of Rye, barlie, peafon, beans, oates, and such other grosse graines) & drinketh small drink, yea, sometimes water, feedeth vpon milk, butter, and cheefe; (I say) doo wee not see such a one healthfuller, stronger, ⁴and longer liuing, ⁵then the other that fare ⁶daintily every day? And how should it be otherwise? for wil not the eating of diuers and sundry kindes of meats, of diuers ⁷operations and qualities (at one meale) engender distemperance in the ⁸body? And the body distempered, wil it not fall into sundry diseases? one meat is ⁹of hard digestion, another of light ⁹; & whilst the meate of hard digestion is in concocting, the other meat ¹⁰of light digestion dooth putrifie and stink: & this is the very mother of all diseases. one is of this qualitie, another of *that*; one of this operation, another of that; one kind of meat is good for this thing, another is naught for that. Then, how can all these contrarieties & discrepancies ¹¹agree together in one body at one & the same time? wil not one contrary impugne his contrary ¹²? one enemy resist an other? Then, what wiseman is he that wil receiue all these enemies into ¹³the castle of ¹³his ¹⁴body at one time? Doo we not see, by experience, that they *that* giue themselues to dainty fare and sweet meats are neuer in health? dooth not their sight wax dim, their eares hard of hearing, their teeth rot & fall out? dooth not their breath stink, their stomack ¹⁵belch forth filthy humors, and their memory decay? doo not their spirits and senses become heuie & dul by reason of ¹⁶¹⁷exhalations & impure vapors, which rise vp in ¹⁸¹⁷their gingered breasts & spiced stomacks? &

² choller E, F.

³ together E, F.

⁴ fairer complexioned *added in* B, E, F.

⁵ liued F.

⁶ fared F.

⁷ contrary B, E, F.

⁸ the *not in* F.

⁹—⁹ hard of digestion, another light F.

† leaf 62. The decay of daintie feeders. B.

¹¹ repugnancies F.

¹² contrary A.

¹³—¹³ *not in* F.

¹⁵ stomacks F.

¹⁶ of the B, E, F.

¹⁷—¹⁷ the filthy vapours and stinking fumes which rise from F.

¹⁸ from B, E.

fumyng vp to *the* hed, they¹ mortifie *the* vitall spirits & intellectuall powers. ²dooth not³ *the* whole body become³ purfie & corpulent, yea, somtimes decrepit therewith,⁴ & ful of all filthy corruption? *The Lord keep his chosen from the tasting thereof.*⁵

⁶ *Sp.* You spake of drunkennes, what say you of *that*?

⁷ *Phi.* I say *that* it is a horrible vice, & too too much vsed in *Ail[gna]*. Euery cuntrey, citie, towne, village, ⁸ & other,⁸ hath⁹ abundance of alehouses, tauerns, & Innes,¹⁰ which are so fraughted¹⁰ with mault-wormes, night & day, that you would wunder to se them. You shal haue them there sitting at *the* wine and goodale all the day long, yea, all the night too,¹¹ peraduenture ¹²a whole¹² week together, so long as any money is left; swilling, gulling, & carowfing from one to another, til neuer a one can speak a redy woord. Then, when with the spirit of the buttery they are thus possessed, a world it is to consider their gestures¹³ & demenors,¹⁴ how they stut and stammer, stagger & reele too & fro like madmen: ¹⁵some vomiting, spewing, & disgorging their filthie stomacks; other some ¹⁶(*Honor sit auribus*)¹⁶ pissing vnder the boord as they sit, & which is most horrible, some fall to swering, curfing, & banning, interlacing their speeches with curious tearms of blasphemie, to *the* great dishonour of God, and offence of the godly eares¹⁷ present.¹⁸

[7 leaf 62, back. B.*]

The beastly vice of drunkennes frequented in Ailg[na].

[75 sign. I 4. A.]

The spirite of the buttery is drunknes and excesse.

Sp. But they wil say, *that* god ordained wines & strong drinks to cheer *the* hart & to sustaine the body¹⁹; therefore it is lawful to vse them to *that* end.

Philo. Meats (moderately taken²⁰) corroborate ²¹*the* body, refresh *the* arteries, & reuiue the spirits, making them apter, euery member, to doo his office as god hath appointed²²; but being immoderately taken

The loathsome qualities of those that be drunke.

[21 leaf 63. B.†]

¹ they *not in* B, E, F.

^{2—2} in so much that F.

³ becommeth F.

⁴ withall F.

⁵ *A new chapter-heading in B and E here:—Drunkennesse in Ailgna.*

⁶ *heading in F:—Drunkennesse in England.*

* leaf 62, back. The beastly vice of drunkennesse. B.

^{8—8} and other places B, E, F.

⁹ haue F.

^{10—10} in them, which are haunted F.

¹¹ too *not in* F.

^{12—12} all the F.

¹³ their countenances *added in* F.

¹⁴ one towards another, and towards every one els, *added in* B, E, F.

^{16—16} *not in* F.

¹⁷ hearers B, E, F.

¹⁸ present *not in* E, F.

¹⁹ body withall B, E, F.

²⁰ by the blessing of God F.

† leaf 63. The discommodities of drunkennes. B.

²² them *added in* E, F.

The transfiguration of those that be drunke.

[¹¹ I 4, back]

The commodities of drunkennes

[¹³ leaf 63, back. B.†]

Drunkards wurse then Beasts.

(as commonly they be), they are instruments of damnation to *the* abusers ¹of *the* same,¹ & noorish not *the* body, but corrupt it rather, ²& casteth ²it into a world³ of defeases. And ⁴a man once drunk with wine or strong drink, rather resembleth a brute beaste then a christian man; for doo not his eies begin to stare & to be red, fiery & blered, blubbering foorth seas of teares? dooth he not frothe & some at the mouth like a bore? dooth not his tung faultler and stammer in his mouth? dooth not his hed seeme as heuie as a milstone, he⁵ not being able⁶ to bear it vp? Are not his wits & spirits, as it were, drowned? Is not his vnderstanding altog[et]her decayed? doo not his hands, & all his body⁷, quiuer⁸ & shake, as it were, with a quotidian feuer? ⁹Besides these,⁹ it casteth him¹⁰ into a dropsie or plu¹¹resie, nothing so soon; it infeebleth the sinewes, it weakneth *the* natural strength, it corrupteth the blood, it dissolueth *the* whole man at *the* length, and finally maketh him forgetful of him-self altogether, so that what he dooth being drunk, he remembreth not, being sober. The Drunkard, in his drunkennes, killeth his freend, reuileth his loue, discloseth secrets, and regardeth no man: he either¹² expelleth all feare ¹³of god out of his minde, all loue of his freends &¹⁴ kinffolkes, all remembrance of honestie, ciuilitie, & humanitie; so that I will not feare to call drunkerds beasts, and no men; and much wurffe then beasts, for beasts neuer exceed in¹⁵ such kind of excesse or superfluitie, but alway *modum adhibent appetitui*,¹⁶ they measure their appetites by the rule of necessitie; *which, would God wee would doo.*

Spud. Seeing it is so great an offence before God, I pray you shew me some testimonies of the holy Scripture against it; for whatsoeuer is euil, *the* woord of God, I doubt not, reproueth the same.

Philo. It seemeth you haue not read *the* holy scripture very much, for if you had, you should haue found it not only spoke against, but also throwen down euen to hel: for proof whereof, of infinit places I

¹—¹ thereof E, F.

²—² castyng B, F.

³ sea F.

⁴ besides E, F.

⁵ he *not in* E, F.

⁶ beeing not able F.

⁷ euibrate *added in* B, E; tremble F.

⁸ quauer F.

⁹—⁹ *not in* E, F.

¹⁰ also *added in* E, F.

¹² vtterly E, F.

† leaf 63, back. Drunkardes worse then Beasts. B.

¹⁴ and *not in* B.

¹⁵ in any B, E, F.

¹⁶ appetitui F; appetitum A, *with m altered by the pen to i.*

wil recite a few. The Prophet *Eſaias* thundereth out againſt it, ſaying, *ve qui conſurgitis mane ad ebrietatem ſectandam*: '1Wo be to them that ryſe earlie to followe drunkenneſſe, wallowing therein from morning to night, vntill they be ſet on fire with wyne & ſtrong drinke. Therefore gapeth hell, & openeth her mouth wyde, that the glory, multitude, and welth of them that delight therin, may go downe into it,' ſaith the Prophet. The prophet *Hofeas* ſaith, *fornicatio, vinum et muſtum auferunt*² *animum*. Whordome, wyne, ³& ſtrong drinke, infatuat the heart of man.

Eſais 5.
 [7 ſign. I 5 A.]

Testimonies
 againſt drunk-
 enneſſe out of
 the word of
 God.
 Hoſeas c. 4.
 [3 leaf 64. B.*]

The Prophet *Joel* biddeth all Drunkards awake,⁴ ſaying, 'weepe and howle, you winebibbers, for the wickedneſſe of deſtruction that ſhall fall vpon you.'

Joel 1.5

The Prophet *Habacuck* ſoundeth a moſt dreadfull alarme not only to all Drunkards, but alſo to all that make them drunken, ſaying, 'wo be to him that geueth his Neighbour drinke till he be drunke, that thou mayſt ſee his priuities.' *Salomon* ſaith, 'wyne maketh a Man to be ſcornfull, and ſtrong drinke⁶ maketh a Man vnquiet: who ſo taketh pleaſure in it, ſhall not be wiſe.' In an other place, 'keep not companie with wynebibbers and riotous Perſons, for ſuch as be Drunkards ſhall come to beggerie.' In the xxij⁷ of his Prouerbes he ſaith: 'To whome is woo? To whome is ſorow? to whome is ſtrife? to whome is murmuring? to whome are wounds without cauſe? and to whome are red eyes? Euen to them that⁸ ſtarie longe at the wyne, to them that go and ſeek mixt wyne.' And, againe: 'Looke not thou vpon the wyne when it is red, and when it ſheweth his colour in the⁹ cup, or gooth downe pleaſantlie, for in the end it will bite like a ſerpent, and hurt like a Cockatrice, or Baſilicock, which ſlay¹⁰ or kill men with the poiſon of their fighte.' Again, 'it is not for Kings to drinke wyne, nor for Princes to drinke ſtrong drinke.' Our Sauour Chriſt, ¹¹in the goſpell of *S. Luke*, biddeth vs take heed that we 'be not ouercome with fuffeting and drunknes and cares of this lyfe, leaſt the day of the Lorde come vpon vs vnawares.'

Habacuck 2.

Prouerb c. 20.
 [Solomon againſt
 drunkenneſſe.]

Prouerb 23.

[8 I 5, back]

[Solomon againſt
 drunkenneſſe.]

Prouerb 31.
 [12 leaf 64, back.
 B.†]

Luc. 21.

*Paule*¹³ to the *Ephesians*, biddeth beware that we 'be not drunk'¹⁴ Ephe. 5.15

² auferent F.

* leaf 64. Testimonies againſt Drunkards. B.

⁴ wayle E, F.

⁵ Joel 2 E.

⁶ wine F.

⁷ twenty and three F.

⁹ any B.

¹⁰ ſlea F.

† leaf 64, back. Drunkenneſſe forbidden. B.

¹³ S. Paule B, E, F.

¹⁴ drunken F.

¹⁵ not in E, F.

[St Paul against drunkenness.]

with wine, wherein is exceffe, but to be filled with *the* spirit.' The same apofle, in an other place, faith, *that* 'neither whoremonger, adulterer, Drunkard, glutton, ryotous perfon, nor fuch like, fhall euer enter into *the* kingdome of Heauen.' By thefe few places, out of many, you may fee the inormitie¹ of this vice, which is fo much ²euery where² frequented.

Spud. Let me intreate you to fhew me fome examples withall, whereby I may fee ³what euill it hath done in all ages.³

Gene. 19.

[7 sign. 1 6. A.]

⁴*Philo.* Drunknes⁵ caufed *Lot* to commit ⁶moft shamefull⁶ inceft with his owne two Daughters, who got them both with Child, ⁷he not perceuing it, neither when they lay downe, nor when they rofe vp. See how drunkenneffe aflotteth a man, depriuing him of all fence, reafon, and vnderftanding.

Examples
against drunk-
ennesse.

Drunkenneffe caufed *Noah* to lye with his priuities bare in his Tabernacle, in fuche beaftlie forte as his wicked Sonne *Cham* iested and scoffed at the fame.

[8 leaf 65. B. f.]

[Luc. 16. F.]

Luc 16.

Thorow drunkenneffe, *Holophernes*, that ⁸great and inuincible Monarche of the *Affyrians*, was ouercome by a Woman, hauing his head cut from his fhoulders with a fauchone. Thorow drunkenneffe, King *Herode* was brought to fuche ydiocie and foolifhe dotage, that he caufed the head of good *Ihon Baptift* to be cut of, to fatisfie the request of a dauncing strumpet. That riche *Epulo*, of whom ⁹*Luke* maketh mention, was for his drunkenneffe and ryotous exceffe, condemned to the fire of Hel for euer; with many moe examples, which for fhortnes I omit. Now, feeing than that drunkenneffe is both offenfue to God, and bringeth fuch euills in this lyfe prefent, let vs, in the name of God, auoyde it as a moft wicked thing and prenicious euill. For euery Drunkard is fo farre efranged from himfelfe, that as one in an extafie of mind,¹⁰ or rather in a playne Phrenfie, he maye not be faid to be *fui animi compos*, or ¹¹a man of founde wit, but rather a ¹²very Bedlem, or muche worfe, no Christian, but an Antichriftian; no

Luc. 16.

[¹² I 6, back]
How farre
Drunkards are
estranged from
themfelves.

¹ vnlawfulnes F.

^{2—3} not in F.

^{3—3} the effectes thereof, and what punishment hath been shewed vpon the offenders herein in all ages. B, E, F; (but F has therein.)

⁴ heading in F :—Punishment of Drunkardes.

⁵ Drunkenesse B, E, F.

^{6—6} not in F.

† leaf 65. Examples against Drunkenesse. B.

⁹ Sainct added in B, E, F.

¹⁰ of mind not in F.

¹¹ or not in B, E, F.

member of Chrift Iefus, but an impe of Sathan and a lymme of the Deuill. Wherefore, in the name of God, let vs auoyd al exceffe, imbrace temperancie and fobrietie, & receiue fo much ¹meats and drinks¹ as may fatiffie nature, not the infaciat appetits of our flefhly² defires; Knowing that, except the Lord bleffe our meats and drinks within our bo³dyes, and giue them power & ftrength to nourifh and feede the fame, and our bodyes their naturall powers, euery member to doo his office and dutie, our meates fhall lye in our ftomacks, fincking, fmelling, and rotting, like filthie carion in a⁴ lothfom finck.⁵ So farre of ought we to be from abufing the good creaturs of God by ryot, drunkenefle, or exceffe, that we ought neuer to take⁶ morfell of bread, nor fope of drinke, without humble thanks⁷ to the Lord for the fame.⁸ For we neuer read that our Sauour Chrift euer eat or dranke, but he gaue thanks (or, as we call it, faid grace) both before the receipt therof and after. This needed⁹ he not to haue done in refpect of himfelfe, but for our erudition¹⁰ & learning, according to this faying, *omnis Chrifti actio noftra eft instructio*: Euery action of our Sauour Chrift is our example and inftruccion, to follow as neere as¹¹ we are able.¹² And thus much of drunkenefle, which god graunt may euery wher be auoided.¹²

[¹³Or if all that hath been faied hetherto,¹⁴ bee not fufficient to withdrawe vs from this beafly vice of dronkenefle: yet lette vs fette before our eyes this moft fearefull iudgement of God, executed vpon a forte of dronkardes, the ftorie whereof is this. The eight day of February 1578 in the countrey of Swaben, there were dwellyng eight menne Citezens, and Citezens, fonnes, very riotoufly and prodigally inclined,¹⁵ the names of whom, for the better credite of the ftorie, ¹⁶I haue fett doune, viz. Adam Giebens, George Kepell, John Keifell, Peter Herfdorfe, Jhon Waganaer, Simon Henrickes, Herman Fron, Jacob Hermans,¹⁸ all whiche would needes goe to the Tauerne, vppon the Sabboth daie in the mornyng verie earely, in contempt of

What if God
blesse not our
meats. [meat F
[³ leaf 65, back.
B *]

Geuing of
thanks befor
meat &
after.

[A terrible
example of
Swabian
drunkards.]

[A most dread-
full example of
Gods iudgements
shewed vpon
certeine
Dronkardes
abusing the good
creatures of
God. E, F.]
[¹⁶ leaf 66. B.†]

¹ not in B, E, F.

² greedy F.

* leaf 65, back. Examples of thanksguyng. B.

⁴ all E, F.

⁵ stinke F. ⁶ a added in F. ⁷ thanks geuing E; thanks giuing F.

⁸ before added in F.

⁹ need B, E, F.

¹⁰ example F.

¹¹ are (sic) F.

¹²⁻¹² not in B, E, F.

¹³ From here to l. 23, p. 114, added in B, E, F. ¹⁴ heretofore F. ¹⁵ giuen F.

† leaf 66; no head-line B. E, F have The proprietie of a good hoste.

¹⁸ Harmans F.

[*This page not in A.*]

[The propertie of a good Hoste. E, F.]

[A caueat for cursers and banners. E, F.]

[⁴ leaf 66, back. B.†]

[The desperate securitie of Dronkerdes. E, F.]

[The deuilles rewarde to his darlings the Dronkardes. E, F.]

[the Lorde and his Sabbath. And commyng to the house of one Anthonie Hage, an honest, godlie man, who kepte¹ a Tauerne in the same Toune, called for burnt Wine, Sacke, Malmesie,² Hipocras, and what not. The hoste tolde them, that thei should haue none of all these, before the diuine seruice and the³ sermon tyme were paste, and counselled them to goe heare the sacred wordes of God preached. But thei (saue Adam Gibbins, who aduised them to heare the Sermon, for feare of Gods wrathe) denied, sayiing: That thei lothed that kind of exercise. The good hoste, neither giuyng them any Wine hymself, nor sufferiing any other, went to the Sermon, as duetie did binde hym, who beyng gone, thei fell to curfying, bannyng, and swearyng, wifhyng that he might breake his necke, or euer he came againe from the Sermon; and bruffyng forthe into these intemperate speeches, "the Deuill breake our neckes, if wee departe hence this daie, either quicke or dedde, till wee haue had some wine!" Straight waie, the Deuill appered vnto them, in the likeneffe of a yong manne, bryngyng in his hande, a Flagon of wine, and demaundyng of them, why⁴ thei caroused not, he dranke vnto them, sayiing: "Good fellowes, bee merie, for ye shall haue wine inough, for you seeme lustie laddes, and I hope you will paie me well," who inconfiderately answered, that thei would paie hym, or els thei would guage their neckes, yea their bodies and soules, rather then to faile. Thus thei continued swillyng, gullyng, and caroufying so long, as till one could not⁵ see an other. At the last the deuill their hoste, tolde them, that thei must needes paie the shotte, wherewith their hartes waxed cold. But the Deuill comfortyng them, saied: "Bee of good cheare, for now muste you drinke boilyng Lead, Pitche, and Brimstone with me in the pit of helle for euermore": Herevpon⁶ immediatly he made their eyes like flames of fire, and in bredth as broad as Saucers. Then beganne thei to call for mercie, but it was to late. And ere thei could call againe for mercie and grace, the Deuill preuented them, and⁷ brake their neckes a fonder, and threwe moste horrible flames of fire, flashing⁸ out of their mouthes. And thus ended these seven dronkardes, their miserable daies, whose Iudgement I leaue to the Lorde. The other Adam Gibbins, who

¹ keep F.

² Malsie F.

³ the *not in* F.

† leaf 66, back. *No head-line.* B.

⁵ scarcely *in* E, F.

⁶ Heeeupon (*sic*) F.

⁷ and *not in* E, F.

⁸ flashing *not in* F.

[councelled them before, to go to¹ heare the Sermon, hauyng some sparkes of faith in hym, was preferued from death, by the greate mercie of God, and greatly repented his former life, yeldyng praise vnto God for his deliuerance. Thus haue I in *sempiternam rei memoriam*, faithfully recorded the Storie of these eight dronkardes, and of their fearfull ende, taken out of the³ Dutche coppie printed at Amsterdam, and at Straesburche,⁴ for a cauate to all Dronkardes, Gluttons, and Riotous persones throughout the whole worlde, that thei offende not the Lorde in the like kinde of offence.

[*This page not in A.*]
[The mercy of god in saving of Adam Gibiens. F.]

[² leaf 67. B.*]

An other like example of Gods Diuine Justice, shewed vpon twoo blasphemous Dronkardes in Almaine, in the Toun of Nekerthofewe, chaunced the fourth daie of July 1580, the truth whereof is as followeth. These twoo Dronken verlettes, traueilyng by the waie, came into an Inne, and called for bread and wine: The Hoste with speede brought them verie good; but thei dislikyng the Wine, for the newnesse thereof, commaunded better Wine to bee brought; so in fine thei had bothe newe, and old, good store. Thus sate thei swillyng, and carousyng one to an other, till thei were bothe as dronke as Rattes.⁵ Then one of them powryng forthe wine, caroused to his fellowe, the other pledgyng hym, asked to whom he should drinke: quoth this verlet "drinke to GOD": he hearyng that, poured forthe wyne also,⁶ and dranke to God. This dooen, he asked his companion of whiche wine God should pledge hym, of the newe, or of the old. He answered "of whether thou wilt." Then he, takyng the newe wine in his hande, filled the Cuppe therewith, and reachyng forthe his arme, as high as he⁷ could, as though God should haue pledged hym in deede, saied these wordes: "God, I would faine knowe, what wine thou louest best: this newe wine is good enough, and too good for thee; if thou haddest⁸ sent better, thou shouldest haue had better; but suche as it is, take it, pledge me quickly, and carouse it of euery sope, as I haue doen to thee, if not, thou doest me wrong." Hauyng thus stretched forthe his arme with the Cup of wine, and withall hauyng vttered forthe these wordes, the Lorde proceedeth in Judgemente againste

[An example of Godes wrathe and seuerie justice executed vpon 2 Dronkardes in Almaine. E, F.]

[A cauate to blasphemers, and contemners of the maiestie of God. E, F.]

[⁷ leaf 67, back. B †]

[Beholde the blasphemie of this deuil, and feare. E, F.]

¹ to not in F.

* leaf 67. No head-line. B. E, F have An example of God's wrath.

³ a in E, F.

⁴ Straesburcht F.

⁵ Swine F.

⁶ also not in E, F.

† leaf 67, back. No head-line. B.

⁸ hadst F.

[*This page, to L. 23, not in A.*]

[The Lord strikes the blasphemous drunkard.]

[Oh fearefull iudgement of God, yet most iust punishmente. E, F.]

[5 leaf 68. B.†]

[7 sign I 7. A.]

[England,]
Ailgna a famous Yland. ¹⁰

[hym: caufyng his arme to ftande ftedefaft and vnmoueable, fo as he was not able to pull it to hym, nor to ftere his bodie out of the place. And in this agonie he remained,¹ his countenance not changed, but roulyng his eyes to and fro, fearfull to beholde. And as for breathe, there was none perceiued to come forth of hym, nor yet to fpeake one worde he was² able: and yet for all that, seemed to every one to be a liue. After this the people affaied to remoue hym from that place, but³ could not by any ftrength. In the ende thei tyed Horfes to hym, to drawe hym thence, but thei could not once ftere hym. Then thei affaied to burne the houle, and hym withall, but no fire would once take holde of the houle: wherefore, when thei fawe all their waies and deuifes to be frustrate, perfwadyng themfelues, that God had made hym a fpectacle to all dronkards, thei furceaied⁴ their attemptes,⁴ and wifhed the wil of the⁵ Lorde to bee doen. And in this place, and in the fame pitifull cafe you haue heard, standeth this blasphemous villain to this daie, vnremoueable till it please the Lorde, in the bowels of his mercie, to releafe hym. Whofe bleffyd will bee fulfilled for euer. The other Dronken beaft his companion, thei hanged vppon a Gibbette, before the dore of the fame houle, as he well deferuèd! Thus hath the Lorde in all ages, and at all tymes, punished this horrible vice of Dronkenneffe, which God graunte every true Christian⁶ maie auoide, for feare of Gods vengeance. *Added in B, E, F.*]

⁷ *Spud.* ⁸ Shew mee I pray,⁹ the ftate of that Cuntrey a litle further: is it a welthie Countrey with-in it-felfe, or otherwyfe poore and bare?

Philo. It is a moft famous Yland, a¹¹ fertile Cuntrey, & ¹² abound-ing with all maner of ftore, both ¹³ of riches, treafure, & ¹⁴ all things els whatfoeuer; but as ¹⁵ it is a¹⁵ welthie and riche Countrey,¹⁶ fo are the inhabitaunts, from the higheft to the loweft, from the prielt to the populare¹⁷ forte, euen all in generall, wonderfully inclyned to couet-

¹ a long time after B, E, F. ² was not F. ³ but they F.

⁴—⁴ their enterprises any further F. † leaf 68. *No head-line.* B.

⁶ man *added in E, F.*

⁸ *In B, E, and F this begins a fresh chapter, headed:—Couetousnesse in Ailgna.*

⁹ pray you B, E, F.

¹⁰ *This side-note not in B, E, F.*

¹¹ and E; and a F.

¹² & *not in E, F.*

¹³ as well F.

¹⁴ as of F.

¹⁵—¹⁵ the countrey is E, F.

¹⁶ Countrey *not in E, F.*

¹⁷ inferiour F.

oufnes and ambition; which thing whileft they follow, they can neuer be fatisfied, for, *crefcit amor nummi, quantum ipfa pecunia crefcit*: The loue of mony doth by fo much the more increafe, by how much more the monie it ¹felſe doth increafe; and the nature of a couetous man is ſuch that *tam deefit quod habet, quam quod non habet*: as well that thing which he hath, as *that* which he hath not, is wanting vnto him. A² couetouſe man may³ wel be compared to Hell, which euer gapeth and yawneth for more, and is neuer content with inough: For right as Hell euer hunteth after more, ſo a couetous man, drowned in the ⁴quagmire or plaſh of auarice and ⁴ambition, hauing his *ſummam*⁵ *voluptatem* repofed in momentaine⁶ riches, is neuer content with inough, but ſtill thirſteth for more, much like to a man ſicke of the ague, who, the more he drinketh, the more he thurſt⁷teth; ⁸the more he thurſteth, the more he drinketh⁸; the⁹ more he drinketh, the more his diſeaſe increaſeth. Therefore I hould it true which is writ, *burſa auari os eſt diaboli*; the powch of a rich couetous Man is the mouth of the deuill, which euer is open to receiue, but alway ſhut to giue.

[Englishmen covetous.]

The nature of a couetous man.
[¹ leaf 63, back. B.*]

The insatiable desire of a couetouse man.

[⁷ I 7, back]

The purse of a rich Man.

Spud. But they will eaſily wipe away this blot,¹⁰ namely in ſaying,¹⁰ are we not bound to prouyde for our ſelues,¹¹ our wyues, our children, & famelie? Doth not the Apoſtle hold him for an infidell and¹² a dene-ger of the faith, who prouydeth not for his Wyfe and Family? ¹³Is it not good to lay vp ſomthing againſt a ſtormie day? wherfore they wil rather deeme themſelues good huſbands,¹³ than couetous or ambitious perſons.¹⁴

¹⁵*Philo.* Euery Chriſten Man is bound,¹⁶ in conſcience before God, to prouide for their¹⁷ houſhould & Family, but yet ſo as his immoderate care ſurpaſſe not the bands,¹⁸ nor yet¹⁹ tranſcend ²⁰the limits, of true Godlynes. His chiefeſt truſt & care is to reſt onely in the Lord, who

[¹⁵ leaf 69. B.†]

How farre euery Man is bound to prouyde for his Familie.

* leaf 68, back. The nature of a couetous man. B.

² Therefore may a E, F.

³ may not in E, F.

⁴—⁴ quauemire of auarice and plaſhe of B, E, F; *after* and F *adds* plunged in the.

⁵ ſummum F.

⁶ momentary F.

⁸—⁸ not in E, F.

⁹ and the E, F. ¹⁰—¹⁰ for B, E, F. ¹¹ (ſaie thei) *added in* B, E, F. ¹² or F.

¹³—¹³ And therefore herein we ſhew ourſelues rather good houſbandes, care-ful, and obedient Chriſtians, B, E, F.

¹⁴ This I haue heard them pretend for themſelues *added in* B, E, F; E *has* This exception haue I; F *has* haue I, and alleadge *for* pretend.

† leaf 69. Moderate care allowable. B.

¹⁶ bound indeed B, E.

¹⁷ his B, E, F. ¹⁸ boundes F. ¹⁹ yet *not in* B, E, F. ²⁰ not the B, E.

Immoderate
care for riches
reproved.

[³ sign. I 8. A.]

Land-Lords
racke their
tenantes.
[⁸ leaf 69, back.
B.†]

Inclosing of
commons
from the
Poore.

[¹² I 8. back]

[Take heed you
Rich, who poll
and pill the
Poor !]

giueth liberally to euery one *that* asketh of him in verity & truth, & reprocheth no man; & withall he is to vse such ordinarie meanes as God hath appointed ¹to *the* performaunce¹ of *the* same. But so farre from couetousnes, & from immoderate care, wold *the* Lord haue vs,² *that* we ought not this day to 'care for to morow, for (faith he) sufficient to *the* day is the trauail of the same. After all these ³things (with a distrustfull & inordinat care) do the heathen seek, who know not God,' faith our Sauour christ; 'but be you not like to *them*.' And yet I say, as we are not to distrust the prouidence of God, or despaire for any thing, so are we not to presume, nor yet to tempt the Lord our God, but to vse such ⁴secundary⁵ and instrumental⁴ meanes as he hath commaunded and appointed, to *that* end & purpose to get our owne lyuing & maintenance withall. But this people, leauing these Godly meanes, do all runne headlong to couetousnes & ambition, attempting all waies, & assaying al meanes, possible to ⁶exaggerat & ⁶heap vp riches, ⁶*that*⁷ thick clay of damnation, to themselves for euer.⁶ So (likwife) Land⁸lords make marchandise of their pore tenants, racking their rents, raising their fines & incommes, & setting *them* so straitely⁹ vpon *the* tenter hookes, as no man can lyue on them. Besides *that*, as though this pillage & pollage were not rapacious enough, they take in and inclose commons, moores, heaths, and other common pastures, wher-out the poore commonaltie were wont to haue all their forrage¹⁰ and feeding for their cattell, & (which is more) corne for them selues to lyue vpon: all which are now in most places taken from them by these greedye Puttockes, to the great impouerishing and vtter beggering of¹¹ whole townes and parishes, whose tragicall cries and incessant ¹²clamors haue long since pearced the Skyes, and presented them-selues before the Maiesty of God, saying,¹³ how long, Lord, how long wilt thou deferre to reuenge this villanie of ¹⁴thy poore Saincts and vnworthie¹⁵ members vpon the earth? Take heed, therefore, you riche men, that poll and pill the poore, for the bloud of as manye as miscarie any maner of way thorow your iniurious exactions, finister¹⁶ oppres-

¹—¹ for the getting F.

⁵ causes *added in* E.

² to be *added in* F.

⁶—⁶ *not in* F.

⁴—⁴ ordinary F.

⁷ the B, E.

† leaf 69, back. Inclosures in Ailgna. B.

⁹ straight B, E, F.

¹⁰ prouision F.

¹¹ of many B, E, F.

¹³ crying B, E, F.

¹⁴ doen to B, E, F.

¹⁵ seele E; silly F.

¹⁶ biting F.

fions, and indirec[t] dealings, fhall be ¹powred vpon your heads¹ at the great daye of the Lord. Curfed is he (faith our Sauour Chrift) that offendeth one of thefe litle ones: it were better that a millstone were hanged about his neck, & he caft into *the* middeft of the fea. Chrift ²fo entierely loueth his poore members vpon earth, that he imputeth the contumely which is done to anie one of them, to be done to himfelfe, and will reuenge it as done to himfelfe. wherfor God giue them grace to lay open their inclofures againe, to let fall their rents, fines, incommes, and other impositions, wherby God is offended, their³ poore Brethren begged, &, I feare mee, *the* whole realme will be brought to vtter ruine & decay, if this mifchiefe be not met withall, and incountred with verie shortlie. For thefe inclofures be the caufes why rich men eat vp poore men, as beafts doo eat graffe: Thefe, I fay, are the⁴ Caterpillers and deuouring locufes that maffacre the⁵ poore, & eat vp *the* whole realme to *the* deftruccion of the fame: *The Lord remooue⁶ them!*

Iniurie to
Chrift his
members is
iniury to
Chrift.
[² leaf 70. B.*]

Inclofures

[⁵ sign. K r. A.]

Vpon the other fide, the Lawyers, they⁷ goe ruffling⁷ in their filks, veluets, and chaines of Gold: they build gorgeous howfes,⁸ fumptuous edefices,⁸ and flatly turrets: they keep a port like mightie potentates; they haue⁹ bands and retinewes of men attendant vpon them daylie; they purchafe caftels & towers, Lands and Lordships, and what not? And all vpon the polling and pilling of the poore commons.

Lawyers
ruffling † in [fo
A.] poore Mens
riches. [† ruffle F.]

They haue fo good confciences that all is fifh that comes to the net; thei refufe nothing that is offred; and what they do for it in preferring their Poore clients caufe,¹⁰ the Lorde kno¹¹weth, and one day they fhall finde it. If you haue *argent*, or rather *rubrum vnguentum*, I dare not fay Gold, but red oyntment to greafe them in the fifth withall, than your fute fhall want no furtherance; but if this¹² be wanting, than farewel clyent; he may go fhooe the goofe for any good fucceffe he is like to haue of his matter: without this, fheriffes & Officers wil returne writs with a *tarde venit*, or with a *non eft inuentus*, fmally to the poore mans profit. ¹³So long as any of this ointment is dropping,

[¹¹ leaf 70, back.
B †]
Oyntment to
greese lawiers
in the fifth
withall.

^{1—1} required at your hands F.

* leaf 70. Inclofures vndoe the Poore. B. E *also has* Lawyers ruffling in.

³ the B, E, F.

⁴ the *not in* F.

⁶ amende B, E, F.

^{7—7} ruffle it out B, E, F.

^{8—8} *not in* F.

⁹ there bandes E; (their F.)

¹⁰ causes B, E, F.

† leaf 70, back. Powlyng Lawyers, in Ailgna. B.

¹² this liquor B, E, F.

¹³ But so B, E, F.

they wil beare him in hand his matter is good and iust; & all to keep him in vre, till all be gon; and than will they tell him his matter is naught: and if one aske *them* ¹ why they tould not their clients fo in *the* beginning? they will answere, I knew not fo much at the first, *the* fault is in himselfe; he tould me *the* best, but not the worst; he shewed mee not this euidence & that euidence, this president & *that* president,² turning al the fault vpon *the* fuggester; wheras *the* whole fault indeed is in himselfe, as his own conscience can beare him witnesse. In presence of their clients they will be fo earnest one with another, as one (that knew not their slaughtes wold thinke they would go together by the eares³); this is⁴ to draw on their clients withal; but immediately after, their clients being⁵ gon, they laugh in their sleeues to see how pretily they⁶ fetch in such som⁷mes of money; and *that*, vnder the pretence of equitie and iustice. But though thei can for a time (*prestigiatorum instar*⁸), like cunning deceiuers, cast a mist before *the* blind world, yet the Lord, who seeth (⁹ suborned by none⁹) *the* secrets of all harts, shall make them manifest to al the world, and reward them according to their doings. The¹⁰ marchant men, by their marting, chaffering and changing, by their counterfeit balances & vntrue waightes, and by their surprising of their wares, heap vp infinit treasures. ¹¹The Artificer¹¹ & Occuypers, euen all in generall, will not sell their wares for no¹² reasonablen price, but will¹³ sweare & teare pittifully, *that* such a thing cost *them* fo much, & such a thing fo much, wher¹⁴ as they sweare as false as the lyuing Lord is true. But one day let them be sure *that* the Lord (who faith 'thou shalt not sweare at all, nor deceiue thy Brother in bargaining') will reuenge this villanie done to his Maieftie.

¹⁵ Into such a¹⁵ ruinous estat hath couetousnes now brought that Land, that in plentie of all things there is great¹⁶ scarcitie and dearth of all things. So that that which might haue been bought heretofor, within this twentie or fourtie Yeers, for twentie shillings, is now

² this Writing and that Writing *added in* F.

³ earers (*sic*) F.

⁴ instead of a shoyng horne *added in* E, F.

⁵ bee B, E, F.

⁶ they can E, F.

† leaf 71. What maketh thynges deare. B.

⁸ more *for* instar B, E, F.

⁹⁻⁹ *not in* F.

¹⁰ Vpon the other side, *for* the F.

¹¹⁻¹¹ Artificers B, E, F.

¹² any F.

¹³ will *not in* E, F.

¹⁵⁻¹⁵ Yea, into such F.

¹⁶ great *not in* F.

[² K x, back]
The pretended
excuse of
Lawers when
their clients
haue loost
their plects.

The slaughtie
practises of
lawers.

[7 leaf 71. B.†]

The fraudulent
dealing of
marchant
Men.

Artificers.

[¹⁴ sign. K 2. A.]

Great dearth
in plentie of
all things.

worth twentie nobles, or xx pound.¹ That which thaz was worth
 twentie pound is now ²worth a C. pound, and more: Wherby the
 rich Men haue so balaunced their chests with Gold and siluer, as they
 cracke againe. And to such excesse is this couetousnes growne, as
 euery one *that* hath money will not stick to take his neighbors house
 ouer his head, long before his yeers be expired: Wherthorow³ many a
 poore man, with his wyfe, children, & whole famelie, are forced to
 begge their bread all ⁴their dayes⁴ after. Another forte, who flow in
 welth, if a poore man haue eyther house or Land, they will neuer rest
 vntill they haue purchaséd it, giuing him not the thirde parte of that
 it is worth. Besides all this, so desperately giuen are many, that for
 the acquiring⁵ of siluer and Gold, they will not s[t]icke to imbrew
 their hands, and both⁶ their armes, in *the* blood of their ⁷owne Parents
 and Freends most vnnaturally. Other some will not make any con-
 science to sweare and forswear themselues ⁸for euer,⁸ to lye, dissemble,
 and deceiue the deereft frends they haue in the world. Therefore the
 heathen Poet, Virgill, said very well, *O sacra auri fames, quid non mor-
 talia pectora cogis*: Oh cursed desire of gold, what mischief is it but
 thou forcest Man to attempt it for *the* loue of thee! This immoderat
 thirst of Gold & monie bringeth an infinit number to shamefull end;
⁹some as homicides⁹ for murthering and ¹⁰killing; some ¹¹as latrones,¹¹
 for robbing & ¹²stealing: some for one thing, some for another; ¹³So
 that surely I think ¹⁴*maior est numerus Hominum, quos dira auaritiæ
 pestis atforspsit, quam quos gladius vel ensis perforauit*: ¹⁵the number
 of those¹⁵ whom the pestilence of auarice hath swallowed vp, ¹⁶is
 greater¹⁶ than the number of those whom the sword hath deströid.
 The Lord affwage the heat¹⁷ hereof with *the* oyle of his grace,¹⁸ if
 it be his good pleasure and wil!

Spud. If I might be so bold, I wold request you to shew me, out
 of the word of god, where this so detestable a vice is reprobud.

¹ pounds F. * leaf 71, back. Greedie couetousnesse in Ailgna. B.
³ Whereby E; Wherby F. ^{4—4} the dayes of their liues F. ⁵ getting F.
⁶ bathe B, E, F. ^{8—8} not in F.
^{9—9} as we see daily, some are hanged F. ¹⁰ some for *instead of* and F.
^{11—11} not in F. ¹² some for *instead of* & F.
† leaf 72. Testimonies against Couetousnes. B.
^{14—14} the number of men is greater B, E, F; F *has to be for* is.
^{15—15} not in B, E, F. ^{16—16} not in B, E, F. ¹⁷ raging heate F.
¹⁸ gracious mercy *for* grace F.

[² leaf 71, back.
 B.*]

Taking of
 howses ouer
 Mens heads.

The desperat
 desire of Men
 to get money.

[⁷ K 2, back]

Many brought
 to rufull end
 thorow
 meanes of Gold
 and siluer.
 [¹³ leaf 72. B.†]

Math. 6.
Testimonies
out of the
word of God
against coue-
tousnes.

[² sign. K 3. A.]

Luc. 6.
Math. ix.³

[Bible bits
against covet-
ousnes.]

[⁵ leaf 72, back.
B.†]

1 Timo. vi.

Psalm 39.

Prouerb 1.
Proue. xxvii.

[⁹ K 3, back]

Mat. 5.
Luc. 6.

Philo. Our Sauour Christ Iesus, the ¹ Arch-doctor¹ of all truth, in his Euangely, the sixt of *Mathew*, saith, 'Be not carefull for to morow day, for the morow shall care for it selfe.'

Againe, 'be not carfull for Apparell, what ²you shall put on, nor for meat what you shall eat, but seeke you the Kingdome of Heauen, & the righteousnes therof, and all these things shal be giuen vnto you.' He charged his *Disciples* to be so farre from couetousnes, as not to cary two coates with them in their iorneyes, nor yet any money in their purses. He tould his *Disciples* another time, sryuing which of them should be *the* greatest, that he who wold be the greatest, must condescend⁴ to be seruant of all. When the people wold haue aduanced him to haue beene King, he refused it, and hid him self. He telleth vs, we 'cannot serue two Maisters, God & Mammon': he biddeth vs 'not to set our minds vppon couetousnes'; inferring that 'wher ⁵our riches be⁶, there will our harts be also. He saith, 'it is harder for a rich Man (that is, for a Man whose trust is in⁷ riches,) to enter into the Kingdome of God, than for a Camell to go thorow the eye of a needle.' The Apostle biddeth vs, 'if we haue meat & ⁸drinke and clothing, to be content, for they that will be rich (saith he) fall into diuerse temptations and snares of the Deuill, which drowne Men in perdition.' *Dauid* saith, 'Man disquieteth him selfe in vaine heaping vp riches, & cannot tell who shall possesse them.' *Salom[on]* compareth a couetous man to him *that* murdereth & sheadeth innocent blood. Againe, 'Hell and destruction are neuer ful, so the eyes of Men can neuer be ⁹satisfied.' The Apostle *S. Paule* saith, 'neither Whormongers, Adulterers, nor couetous persons, nor Extortioners shal euer enter into the Kingdom of Heauen.' And saith further, *that* 'the loue of monie is *the* root of al euil.' Christ biddeth vs 'be ¹⁰liberal & lend to them that haue need, not looking for any restitution again; & neuer to turn our face away from any poore man, & than *the* face of the Lord shall not be turned away from vs.' By these few places it is manifest how farre from al couetousnes *the* lord wold haue al christians¹¹ to be.

¹—¹ teacher F.

³ E has Math. 9; F has no figure.

⁴ humble F.

† leaf 72, back, Punishment of Couetousnesse. B.

⁶ is B, F.

⁷ in his F.

⁸ & not in F.

¹⁰ to be F.

¹¹ his children F.

Spud. Be their any examples in¹ scriptures ²to³ shew forth the punishmentes of the same, inflicted vpon the Offenders therein?²

[* leaf 73. B.*]

Philo. The Scripture is full of such fearful examples of the iust iudgements of God powred⁵ vpon them that haue offended herein; Wherof I will recite three or four, for the satisfiing of your Godly⁶ mind. *Adam* was cast out of Paradice for coueting that fruit which was inhibited him to eat. *Giese*,⁷ the Seruant of *Elizeus the Prophet*, was smitten with an incurable leprosie, for *that* he, to satisfie his couetous desire, exacted gold, siluer, &⁸ riche garments, of *Naaman, the K. of Siria* his seruant. *Balaam* was reprov'd of his affe for his couetousnes in going to curse the Children of *Israel* at the request of *K. Balac*, who promised him abundance of gold & siluer so to doo. *Achal*, the K., for couetousnes to haue pore *Naboth* his viniard, slew him,⁹ and dyed after himselfe, with all his progeny, a shameful death. The Sonnes of *Samuel* were, for their infaciable couetousnes, deteined¹⁰ from euer inioying their Fathers kingdome. *Iudas*, for couetousnes of mony, fould the Sauour of the world, and betrayed him to the *Iewes*, but afterward dyed a miserable death, his bellye bursting, & his bowels gushing out. *Ananias and Saphira* his wife, for couetousnes in concealing part of the price of their¹¹ lands from the apostles, were both slain, & died a fearful death. *Achan* was stoned to death, by the lord his commandement, for his couetousnes in stealing¹² gold, siluer, & Iewels at the sacking of *Iericho*, & al his goods were burned presently. Thus you see how for couetousnes of mony, in all ages, Men haue made shipwrack of their consciences, and in the end, by the iust iudgement of God, haue dyed fearful deaths; whose iudgments I leaue to the Lord.

The punishment of couetousnes shewed by examples.

4 Reg. 5.

Num. 22.

[Bible examples of punishmentes for covetousness]

[? sign. K. 4. A.]

Sa. viii.

Act. v.

[ix leaf 73, back B.†]

[God's iudgements on covetous men.]

Spud. Seeing that couetousnes is so wicked a sin, & so offensive both to God & Man, & pernicious to the soule, I marueile what moueth Men to followe the same¹³ as they doo.

Ph. Two things¹⁴ moue men to affect mony so¹⁵ much as they

¹ in the holie E, F. (holie F.)

²—² of the Iustice of God, inflicted vpon them that haue offended herein F.

³ that E.

* leaf 73. Plagues for Couetousnesse. B.

⁵ executed F.

⁶ Godly *not in* F.

⁷ Gehesie F.

⁸ and other F.

¹⁰ restrained F.

† leaf 73, back. Vaine titles of [maister and E] worship in Ailgna. B.

¹² for F.

¹³ so much *added in* F.

¹⁴ in my iudgement, *added in* B, E, F; (F *adds* doe.)

¹⁵ so so A.

What make
Men to affect
money.

[p K 4, back]

Euery Begger
almost is call-
ed Maister at
euery word.

[¹² leaf 74. B.†]

[Tituilliers, that
is, flattering
fellows. E, F.]

Refusing of
vaine Titles.
[not in E, F.]

[¹² sign. K 5. A.]

do : *the* one, for¹ feare leaft they shold fal into pouertie & beggery, (oh, ridiculous² infidelitie!) *the* other,³ to be aduanced & promoted to high dignities & honors vpon earth. And thei see *the* world is fuch, *that* he who hath moni enough shalbe *rabbied* & maistered at euery word, and withal saluted with⁴ ⁵the vaine title of⁶ ‘worshipfull,’ ⁷and ‘right worshipfull,’⁷ though notwithstanding he be a dunghill Gentleman, or a Gentleman of the first head, as they vse to terme them. And to such outrage⁸ is it growne, that now adayes euery Butcher, Shooemaker, Tailer, Cobler,⁹ Hufband-man, ¹⁰and other¹⁰; yea, euery Tinker, pedler, ¹¹and fwinherd, euery Artificer and other, *gregarii ordinis*, of the vilest sorte of Men that be, must be called by *the* vain name of ‘Maisters’ at euery word. But it is certen that no wyse Man will intitle them with any of these names, ‘worshipfull’ and ‘maister,’ (for they are names and titles of dignitie, proper to *the* Godly wyfe, for some speciall vertue inherent¹², either els ¹³in respect of¹³ their birth, or calling, due vnto them) but fuch Tituilliers, flattering Parasits, and glosing *Gnatœs* as flatter them, expecting some pleasure or benefit at their hands; which thing, if they were not blowen vp with the bellowes of pride, and puffed vp with the wind of vainglori, they might easily perceiue. For certen it is they do but mocke and flatter¹⁴ them with these titles, knowing that¹⁵ they deserue nothing¹⁶ lesse. ¹⁷Wherefore, like good¹⁸ Recusants ¹⁹of that thing which is euill¹⁹,¹⁷ they should refuse those vainglorious Names, remembring the words of our sauour Christ, saying,²⁰ ‘be not called Maister,’ in token there is but one onely true Maister and Lord in Heauen; ²¹which only true Maister & Lord, *God graunt all other may followe, bothe in life and name, vntil they come to*²² *perfect men in Iesus Christ.*

Spud. The people beeing so set vpon couetousnes, as I gather by your speeches they be, is it possible that they wil lend money without

¹ a *for* for F.

² distrustfull B, E, F.

³ other for desire B, E, F; (F *has a for* for)

⁴ by *for* with E, F.

⁶ Gentleman and *added in* F.

⁷—⁷ *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ extreme madnesse B, E, F.

⁹ cobler and B, E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ *not in* B, E, F.

† leaf 74. Vsurie in Ailgna. B.

¹² in them *added in* F.

¹³—¹³ for B, E, F.

¹⁴ floute E, F.

¹⁵ that *not in* E, F.

¹⁶ no F.

¹⁷—¹⁷ And therefore as wise men and fearing God F.

¹⁸ wyse E.

¹⁹—¹⁹ *not in* B, E, F.

²⁰ saying *not in* F.

²² to be E, F.

vfurie, or without fome hoftage, guage, or pawn? ¹for vfurie followeth couetouf²nes, as the fhadowe dooth the bodie.

[² leaf 74, back. B.*]

Great Vfurie in Ailgna.

Philo.

It is as impoffible for any to borrowe money there³ (for the moft part), without vfurie⁴ & loane, or with-out fome good hoftage, guage,⁵ or pledge, as it is for a dead man to fpeak with audible voice.

Vsury.

Spud. I haue heard fay that the pofitiue and ftatute lawes there doo permit them to take vfurye, limittin⁶g them how much to⁷ take for euery pound.

The pofitiue Lawes.

Philo. Although the ciuile⁸ lawes (for the auoiding of further inconueniences) doo permit certain fommes of money to be giuen⁹ ouerplus, beyond or¹⁰ aboue the principall, for the loane of mony lent, yet are the vfurers no more¹¹ difcharged from the gilt of vfurie before God therby, then the adulterous *Iewes* were from whordome, becaufe *Moyfes* gaue them a permiſſiue law, for euery man¹² to put away¹³ their wiues¹³ that would, for¹⁴ euery light trifle.¹⁴ And yet the¹⁵ lawes there giue no libertie to commit vfurie; but feeing how much¹⁶ it rageth, left it ſhould exceed, rage further, and ouer-flowe the banks of all reaſon and godlynes,—As couetouſnes is a raging ſea and a bottomleſſe pit, and¹⁷ neuer ſati[ſ]fied nor contented,—they haue limited them¹⁸ with¹⁸in certain meeres and banks²⁰ (to bridle the inſatiable defires of couetous men), beyond the which it is not lawful for any to go. but this permiſſion of the lawes argueth not that it is lawful to take vfury, no more (I fay) then the permiſſion of *Moyſes* argued that whordome & adulterie is²¹ lawfull & good, becaufe *Moyſes* permitted them to put away their wiues for the auoiding of greater euil²²: for, as chriſt ſaid to the *Iewes*, ‘from the beginning it was not ſo,’ ſo fay I to theſe vfurers, from the beginning it was not ſo, nor yet ought²³ ſo to be.²³

[¹¹ K 5, back]

The lawes of Ailgna permit no vsurie.

[¹⁹ leaf 75. B.†]

¹ I thinke not, *added in* B, E, F.

* leaf 74, back. Lawes allowe no Vsurie. B. ³ in England F.

⁴ interest *added in* E, F. ⁵ pawne *added in* F. ⁶ appointing F.

⁷ they shall E, F. ⁸ Statute F. ⁹ & taken *added in* F.

¹⁰ and E, F. ¹² one F. ^{13—13} his wife E, F.

^{14—14} any light offence E, F. ¹⁵ positive lawes E, F. ¹⁶ farre F.

¹⁷ and *not in* E, F. ¹⁸ it E, F. † leaf 75. Vsurie vnlawfull. B.

²⁰ boundes F. ²¹ was then E, F. ²² euils F. ^{23—23} to be ſo F.

Spud. If no intereff were permitted, then¹ no man would lend, & then how should *the* poor doo? wherefore the lawes, *that* permit some small ouer-plus therin, doo very wel.²

Philo. ³ *Non faciendum est malum, vt inde veniat bonum*: we must not doo euil, that good may come of it. yet the lawes, in permitting
^[4 sign. K 6. A] ⁴ certain reasonable gain to be receiued for the loane of money lent, lest otherwise the poore should quaile⁵ (for without some commoditie the rich would not lend,) haue not doone much amiffe; but if they had quite cut it of, and not yeelded at all to any such permission, they had doon better. But heerin the intent of the lawe is to be perpended,⁷ which was to impale within the Forrest, or park, of reasonable and conscionable gain, men who cared not how much they could extorte out of poore-mens hands for ⁸the loane of their money lent, and not to authorise any man to commit vsurie, as though it were lawful because it is permitted.

Therefore those that say that the lawes there doo allow of vsury, & licence men to commit it freely, doo flander *the* lawes, & are woorthy of reprehension; for though the lawes say, 'thou shalt not take aboue ij.s. in *the* pound, x.li. in a hundred,' ⁹ and so so¹⁰ foorth,⁹ Dooth this prooue *that* it is lawful to take so much, or rather *that* thou shalt not take more then *that*? If I ¹¹ say to a man,¹¹ 'thou shalt not giue him aboue one or two blowes,'¹² dooth this prooue *that* I licence him to giue him one or two blowes, or rather that he shal not giue him any at al, or if he doo,¹³ he shal not exceed or passe *the* bands¹⁴ of reſonable meſure? ſo this law dooth but mitigate *the* penalty, for it ſaith *that* the party *that* taketh but¹⁵ x.li, for *the* vſe of an C.li, loſeth but *the* x.li, not his principal.

¹⁶ *Spud.* Then I perceiue, if Vſurie be not lawful by the lawes of the Realm, then is it not lawful by the lawes of God.

¹ then *not in* E, F.

² in my opinion *added in* E, F; (F *has mine for* my)

³ The Apostle teacheth vs *added in* B; The Apostle sayth, E, F.

⁵ vtterly be distressed F. ⁶ not *added in* B, E, F. ⁷ considered F.

† leaf 75, back. Vſurie vnlawfull by Gods lawe. B.

^{9—9} &c. F.

¹⁰ so *for* so so B, E.

^{11—11} see a man will needes fight with another, a (*sic*) I hauing authority ouer him, say vnto him F.

¹² at the most *added in* F.

¹⁴ bounds F.

¹³ that *added in* E, F.

¹⁵ aboue B, E, F.

The lawes permit some ouerplus, but commaund it [not].⁶

[⁸ leaf 75, back. B.†]

Forbidding to outrage in mischief § is not † permission to comit mischief [§ mischief A. † no F.]

[¹⁶ K 6, back]

Philo. You may be fure of that ; For our Sauour Chrifte willeth vs to be fo far from couetoufnes and vfury, as he faith, “ giue to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow turn not thy face away.” Againe,¹ “ Lend of thy goods to them who are not able to pay thee again, and thy reward fhall be great in heauen.” ²If wee muft lend our goods, then, to them who are not able to pay vs again, no, not fo much as the bare thing lent, where is the intereft, the vfurie, the gaine, and ouer-plus which we fith for fo much? Therefore our Sauour Chrifte faith, *beatius eft dare, potius³ quam accipere* : It is more bleffed to giue, then to receiue. In the 22. of *Exodus*, *Deut.* 24, 23, *Leuit.* 25, *Nehe.* 5, *Eze.* 22, 18, & many other places, we are forbidden to vfe any kinde of vfury, or intereft, or to receiue again any ouer-pluss besides the principall, either in money, corne, wine, oyle, beafts, cattel, meat, drink, cloth, or any thing els what foeuer. *David* asketh a queftion of the Lord, faying, *Lord, who fhall dwell in thy Tabernacle, and⁴ who fhall reft in thy holy hil?* wherto he⁶ giueth the folution him felf,⁸ faying, ‘euen he that leadeth an incorrupt life, & hath not giuen his mony vnto vfurie,⁹ nor taken reward againft the innocent: who fo dooth thefe things fhall neuer fall.’ In the 15 of *Deut.* the Lord willeth vs not to craue again the thing we haue lent to our neighbor, for it is the Lords free yeer. If it be not lawfull (then) to afke again *that* which is lent (for it is not the law of good confcience for thee to exact it, if thou be abler to beare¹⁰ it then the other¹¹ to pay it,) much leffe is it lawfull¹² to demaund any vfury or ouer-plus. And for this caufe the Lord faith, ‘let there be no begger amongft you, nor poore perfon¹³ amongft the Tribes of *Ifrael*.’ Thus, you fee, the woord of God abandonneth vfurie euen to hel; and all writers, bothe diuine and prophane, yea, the very heathen people, moued onely by the inftinct of nature and rules of reafon, haue alwaies abhord it. Therefore *Cato*, being demaunded what vfurie was, afked againe, ‘what it was to kill a man?’ making vfurie equiualent with murther: And good reafon, for he that killeth a¹⁴ man, riddeth

Math. 5, 5.
Luc. 6.

The word of
God againft
vfurie
[² leaf 76. B.*]

⁴ Exodus 20.
Deut. 24, 23.
Leuit. 25.
Nehe. 5.
Ezech. 22, 18.*

Pfalme 15.⁷

[⁹ sign. K 7. A.]

When it is not
lawfull to afke
again our
goods lent.

[¹³ leaf 76, back.
B.†]

Hethen men
againft vsury
and intereft.
[intetest A.]

¹ And againe F. * leaf 76. The word of God againft Vsurie. B.

³ potius not in F. ⁴—⁴ not in F. ⁵ or B, E, F.

⁶ or rather the holy Ghost in him added in F. ⁷ Psalm 25 in A; 16 in F.

⁸ him-self not in F. ¹⁰ forbear F. ¹¹ other is E, F.

¹² for thee added in F.

† leaf 76, back. Vsurie equall with Murther. B.

¹⁴ a a (sic) A.

him out of his paines at once; but he that taketh vsury, is long in butchering his pacient, suffering¹ him by little & little to languish, and sucking out his hart² blood, neuer leaueth him so long as he feeleth any³ vitall blood (that is lucre and gaine) comming forth of³ him. The Vsurer killeth not one but many, bothe Husband, Wife, Children, seruants, famelie, and all, not sparing any. ⁴And if the poore man haue not wherewith to pay, as wel the interest as the principall, when soeuer this greedy cormorant dooth demaund it, then sute shalbe⁵ commenced against him; out go butter-flies and writs, as thick as haile; so the poore man is apprehended and brought *coram nobis*, ⁶and beeing once conuented, iudgement condemnatorie and⁶ diffinitive sentence proceedeth against him, compelling him to pay, aswel the vsury & the⁷ loane of the money, as the money lent. But if he haue not to satisfie aswel the one as th' other, ⁸then to *Bocardo* goeth he as round as a ball, where he shalbe sure to lye vntil he rotte, one peece from an other, without satisfaction bee made. Oh, cursed Caitiue! no man, but a deuil; no Christian, but a cruel *Tartarian* and mercilesse *Turck*! darest thou look vp toward heauen, or canst thou hope to be saued by the death of Christe, that sufferest thine owne flesh and blood, thine owne bretheren & sisters in the Lord, and, which is more, the flesh and blood of Christ Iesus, vessels of saluation, coheirs with him of his superiall⁹ kingdom, adoptiue sonnes of his grace, & finally saints in heauen, to lye and rot in prison for want of payment of a little droffe, which at the day of dome shall beare witness against thee, gnaw thy flesh like a canker, and condemn thee for euer? The very stones of the prison¹⁰ walles shall rise vp against thee, and condemne thee for thy crueltie. Is this loue? Is this charitie? is this to doo to others as thou wouldest wish others to¹¹ doe to thee? or rather, as thou wouldest wish the Lord to doe vnto thee? Art thou a good member of the bodie, which not onely cuttest of thy selfe from the vine, as a rotten branch and void lop, but also hewest off other members from the same true vine, Christe Iesus? No, no;

vsury equall
with murder.

[⁴ K 7, back]

Sute commenced
against him
that is not
able to pay
aswel the
Vsury as the
Principall.
[⁸ leaf 77. B.†]

To prison with
him that cannot
pay the
vsury.

No mercy in
imprisoning of
poor-men for
vsury.

[¹⁰ sign. K 3. A.]

No crueltie to
be shewed, but
mercy and
compassion
ought to be
extended.

¹ causing F.

² vitall F.

³ life in him or any more gaines comming from F.

⁵ is B, E, F.

⁶ then presently E, F.

⁷ the *not in* F.

† leaf 77. Imprisoning for debt cruell. B.

⁹ supernall B, E, F.

¹¹ to *not in* F.

thou art a member of the Deuil, a limme of Sathan, and a Childe of perdition.

Wee ought not to handle our bretheren¹ in such sorte for any worldly matter whatfoeuer. Wee ²ought to shew mercie and not crueltie to our bretheren, to remit trespasses and offences, rather then to exact punishment; referring all reuenge to him who saith, *Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam*: Vengeance is mine, and I wil rewarde (saith the LORD).

[² leaf 77, back. B.*]

Beleeue mee, it greueth mee to heare (walking³ in the streets) the pitiful cryes, and miserable complaints of poore prisoners in durance for debt, and like so to continue all their life, destitute of libertie, meat, drink (though of the meanest sorte), and clothing to their backs, lying in filthie strawe, and ⁴lothsome dung,⁴ wurffe then anie Dogge, voide of all charitable consolation and brotherly comfort ⁵in this World, wishing and thyrsfing after death to set them at libertie, and loose them from their shackles, giues, and yron bands.

The petieful crying of Prisoners in prison for dept.

[⁵ K 8, back]

Notwithstanding, some⁶ mercilesse tygers are growen to such barbarous crueltie that they blush not to say, "tush! he shall either paye mee the whole, or els⁷ lye there till his heels rot from his buttocks; and before I will release him, I will make dice of his bones." But take heed, thou Deuill (for I dare not call thee a Man⁸), lest the Lord say to thee, as he said⁹ to that wicked Seruant (who hauing great sommes forgiuen him, wold not forgiue his Brother his small debte, but, catching him by the throte, said, 'pay that thou owest'), bind him hands and feet, and cast him into vtter Darknes, wher shall ¹⁰be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

A tygerlicke tyrannicall saying.

Math xviii. Marc xi.

[¹⁰ leaf 78. B.+]

An Vfurer is worse than a Thief, for the one stealeth but for need, the other for coueitousnes and excesse¹¹: the one stealeth but in the night commonly; the other daylie and houely, night and daye, at all times indifferently.

An Vsurer worse than a Thief. [not in E]

An Vfurer is worse than a Iew, for they, to this daye, will not take anye vsurie of their Brethren, according to the lawe of God.

They are worse than *Iudas*, for he betraied Christ but once, made

An Vsurer worse than a Iew. [¹ worse B, E, F.]
An Vsurer worse than Iudas. [² worse B, E.]

¹ brethen (*sic*) F.

* leaf 77, back. The tyranny of Vsurers. B.

³ as I walk F.

⁴—⁴ stinking litter F.

⁶ these B, E, F.

⁷ he shal added in F.

⁸ Christian B, E, F.

⁹ did F.

+ leaf 78. Vsurers worse then the Deuill. B.

¹¹ lucre F.

128 Scriueners, Instruments of vsurie. The Anatomie

restitution, and repented ¹for it¹ (though his repentance sprang not of faith, but of despaire), but these Vsurers betray Christ in his members daylie and hourly, ²without any remorse or restitution at all.

[² sign. L 1. A.]

Vsurers wurse then Hel.

An Vsurer wurse then Death.

An vsurer wurse then the Deuill.

The sayings of Godly Fathers and Writers against vsury. [⁴ leaf 78, back. B. f]

Vsurers punished⁶ with sundry tor- tures⁶

Scriuiners the Diuels agents to set forward Vserie.

[⁷ L 1, back]

They are wurffe then hel it self, for it punisheth but only the wicked and reprobate, but the Vsurer maketh no difference of any, but punisheth all alike. They are crueller then death, for it destroyeth but the body and goeth no further, but the vsurer destroyeth both body & soule for euer. And, to be breef, the Vsurer is wurffe then the Deuill himself, for the Deuill plagueth but onely those that are in his hands, or els those whome God permitteth him; the Vsurer plagueth not onely those that are within his iurisdiction alreedy, but euen all other, without permission³ of any. Therefore, saith *Ambrose*, if any man commit vsurie, it is extortion, rauin, & pillage, ⁴and he ought to dye. *Alphonfus* called vsury nothing els then a life of death. *Lycurgus* banished all kind of vsury out of his lands. *Cato* did the same. *Ageffilaus*, Generall of the *Lacedemonians*, burned the Vsurers bookes in the open market places. *Claudius Vaspattianus*, and after him *Alexander Seuerus* made sharpe lawes against vsury, and vtterly extirped the same.⁵ *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, and generally, all writers, bothe holy and prophane, haue sharply inueighed against this deuouring canker of vsury; & yet cannot we, that fain would be called christians, auoid it. And if it be true that I heare ⁷say, there be no men so great doers in this noble facultie and famous science as the Scriueners be: For it is sayd (and I feare me too true) that there are some to whome is committed ⁸a hundred or two of poundes,⁸ of ⁹some more, of ⁹some lesse, they puttinge in good sureties to the owners for the repayment¹⁰ of the same againe, with certaine allowance for the loane thereof; then come there poore men to them, ¹¹desiring them¹¹ to lende them fuche a som of money, and they wil recompence them at their owne desires, who making refusall at the firste, as though they had it not (to acuate¹² the minds of the poore petitioners withall¹³), at last they lend them how much they desire,

¹ not in E, F.

³ compassion B, E, F.

[†] leaf 78, back. Scriueners instruments of Vserie. B.

⁵ out of their dominions added in F.

⁶ sundry wayes F.

⁸ an hundred poundes or two F.

⁹ to in B, E, F.

¹⁰ payment F.

¹¹ with request F.

¹² whette F.

¹³ you must vnderstande added in B, E, F.

receiuing of the poore men what intereft &¹ affurance they luft² themfelues, and³ binding them, their lands, ⁴Goodes, and all, with [4 leaf 79. B.*] forfeiture thereof if they fayle of payment : where note, by the way, the Scriuener is the Inftrument wherby the Diuell worketh ⁵the frame⁶ of this ⁷wicked woorke of Vfurie, hee beeing rewarded⁷ ⁸with a good fleece for his labour. For firfte, he hath a certaine allowance of the Archdiuel⁸ who owes the money, for helping him to fuch⁹ vent for his coyne : Secondly, he hath a greate deale¹⁰ more vfurie to himfelfe, of him who boroweth the money, ¹¹than he alloweth the owner of the mony¹¹ : And, thirdly, he hath not the leaft part for making the writings betwene them. ¹²And thus the poore man is fo implicate¹³ [12 sign. L 2. A.] and wrapped in on euerie fide, as it is impoffible for him euer¹⁴ to get out of the briers¹⁵ without loffe of all that euer hee hath, to the very fkin. Thus the riche are enriched,¹⁶ the poore beggered, and Chrift Iefus difhonored euerie way, God be mercifull vnto us ! ¹⁷*De his hactenus*¹⁷.

The Scriuiners
fleece or put-
taunce for his
paynes.

[¹⁸Greate Swearyng in Ailgna.

[This chapter
not in A.]

Spud.

What is the ¹⁹qualitie,²⁰ and ¹⁹naturall difpofition²¹ of this people ? Are thei not a verie godlie, religious, and faithfull kind of people : For the faiyng is, that the woorde of God, and good Religion, florisheth in that lande, better then in the greateft parte of the worlde befides. And I am fullie perfwaded, that where the woorde of God is truly prached and his Sacramentes duely miniftered (all whiche thei ²²haue) there muft all thynges needes prosper, and goe forwarde ; wherefore I defire to knowe your iudgement, whether all thefe thinges be fo, or not.

[Gods word
florisheth in
England, but the
people are
wicked still. E,
F.]
[²² leaf 79, back.
B.†]

¹ and also E, F.² list B, E, F.³ both E, F.

* leaf 79. Great swearyng in Ailgna. B.

⁵—⁵ this laudable worke, rewarding his Vassall F.⁶ effecte E.⁷—⁷ laudable woorke, rewarding his vassall, B, E.⁸ master deuil F.⁹ such not in B, E, F.¹⁰ deale not in F.¹¹—¹¹ not in B, E, F.¹³ intangled F.¹⁴ hardly F.¹⁵ againe added in F.¹⁶ inriched (*sic*) F.¹⁷—¹⁷ not in B, E, F.¹⁸ This chapter, not in A, is added in B, E, & F.¹⁹—¹⁹ not in F.²⁰ Inclination, added in E.²¹ dispositiſtion (*sic*) F.

† leaf 79, back. Hipocriſie vnder the cloke of Chriſtianity. B. E has : The diſpoſition of Engliſhmen.

[This page not
in A.]

[The naturall
disposition of
Englishmen.
E, F.]

[Great wicked-
nesse committed
vnder the cloke
of the gospell.
E, F.]

[5 leaf 80. B.†]

[Papistes suf-
fered in England
with too much
lenitie. E, F.]

[Papists liuing
in prison lyke
Princes. E, F.]

[Philo. The worde of God is truly and sincerely preached there, and his Sacramentes duely¹ and purely administred, as in any place in all the worlde²; no man can deny it; and all thynges are pretelie³ reformed, accordyng to the prescripte of Gods worde, sauynge that a fewe remnantes of superstition doe remaine behinde vnremoued, which I hope in tyme will bee weeded out, by the ficke of Gods worde. And as concernyng the nature, propertie, and disposition of the people, thei bee desirous of newfangles, praisynge thynges paste, contemnyng thynges present, and couetyng after thynges to come. Ambitious, proude, light, and vnstable, ready to bee caried awaie with euery blasse of Winde. And whereas you aske me, whether thei bee religious: I answere. If Religion consist in wordes onely, then are thei verie religious; but otherwise, plaine irreligious. Thei heare the worde of God fereously, night & daie (a blessed exercise doubtlesse) flockyng after sermons from place to place, euerie hower almoste: thei receiue the Sacramentes duely, and thei behaue themselues⁴ in all thynges verie orderly, to the worlde. But a greate sorte plaie the Hipocrites herein egregiously, and vnder this cloke of Christianitie, and profession of the Gospell, thei commit all kinde of De⁵uillrie, purchasynge to themselues the greater damnation, in that thei make the worde of God, a vizard⁶ to couer their abominations withall. And as for Sectes, Schismes,⁷ and fundrie factions, thei want none amongst them. But especially Papistes, and professors of Papisme, are suffred with too much lenitie amongst them. These sedicious Vipers, and pithonically Hidraes, either lurke secretly in corners, seducyng her Maiesties Subiectes, and withdrawyng their hartes from their soueraignes obedience, or els walk openly, obseruyng an outward *decorum*, and an order as others doe; and then maie no man saie 'blacke is their eye,' but thei are good Protestants. And if the worst fall, that thei be espied, & found rancke Traitours (as all Papistes bee) yet shall thei be but committed to Prison, where thei liue like yong Princes, fed with all delicate meates, clothed in sumptuous attyre, and flowynge⁸ gold and siluer. And no maruell, for euery one is suffered to come to

¹ sincerely F.

² besides *added in* E, F.

³ well *added in* E, F.

⁴ themselued (*sic*) F.

† leaf 80. The libertie of Papists in Ailgna. B.

⁶ or cloak *added in* F.

⁷ Errors, *added in* E.

⁸ abundance of *added in* F.

[them that will, and to bring them what¹ thei lift. Thei haue their libertie at all tymes, to walke abroade, to sporte, and pastyme themselves, to plaie at Cardes, Dice, Tables, Bowles, and what thei will : so that it were better for them to be in prifon then forth. Alas, shall we suffer these sworne enemies of Gods glorie, of Christes Gospell, and holy Religion, to haue this freedome amongest vs? This maketh them obstinate, and incorrigible²: this hardeneth their³ hartes; and this⁴ maketh many a Papist moe then would be, if due correction⁵ were executed.⁶ But to returne againe to my former discourse. They are also inconstant, arrogant, vainglorious, hautie mynded, and aboue all thynges inclined to swearyng, in so much, as if thei speake but three or fower wordes, yet must thei needes be interlaced with a bloudie othe or two, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the hearers.

[This page not in A.]

[Exercises of Papists in Prisons in England. E, F.]

[³ leaf 80, back. B.*]

[Great swearing in England. E, F.]

Spud. Why fir? Is it so greate a matter to sweare? Doeth not the worde of God saie, thou shalt honour me, and sweare by my name, & those that sweare by me shall bee commended? These places and⁷ the like, me thinke, dooe sufficiently proue, that it is lawfull to sweare at all tymes, doe thei not so?

Philo. Nothyng lesse: For you must vnderstand that there be two maner of swearing⁸: the one Godly, the other vngodly: the one lawfull, and the other damnable. The Godly swearyng, or lawfull othe, is when we be called by the Magistrates, and those that be of authoritie, in any doubtfull matter, to depose a truthe; and is to be doen in this order. When any matter of controuersie happeneth betwixt man and man, vpon any occasion whatsoever, and the truthe thereof can not by any meanes possible be sifted out, otherwise then by an othe: then thou, beyng called by the lawful Magistrate, and commaunded vpon thy allegiance to confesse what thou knowest, ⁹thou maiest, and oughtest to depose the truthe, by the inuocation and obtestation of the name of God. And in this doying, thou honourest God. But beware that those things which thou swearest be true, or els thou makest God a lier (whose name thou callest to witnesse)

[Two kinds of swearing.]

[When, and how it is lawful to sweare. E, F.]

[⁹ leaf 81. B.†]

¹ what maintenance F.

² vnreclaimable F.

* leaf 80, back. How a man ought to sweare. B.

⁴ this *not in* E.

⁵ punishment F.

⁶ vpon them *added in* F.

⁷ with E, F.

⁸ or othes *added in* E, F, and p. 140, 142, 144.

† leaf 81. Swearyng forbidden by God. B.

[*This page not in A.*]

[The daunger of a false othe. E, F.]

[A wicked kind of swearing. E, F.]

[thou desirest hym to powre his wrath vpon thee, thou periurest thyself, and purchasest eternall damnation. The other vngodly and damnable kinde of swearyng, is, when wee take in vaine abuse, and blasphemie, the sacred name of God in our ordenarie talke, for euery light trifle. This kinde of swearyng is neuer at any tyme vppon no occation to be vsed; but the counsell of our Sauour Christ is herein to be obeyed, who saith: "Sweare not at all, neither by heauen, for it is his Seate: neither by the earth, for it is his Footestoole: neither by Ierusalem, for it is the Citie of the great King: neither shalt thou sweare by an heire of thy¹ head, because thou canst not make one heire white or blacke: But let your communication be yea, yea: nay, nay," that is: yea in harte, and yea in mouthe: nay in harte, and nay in mouthe: "for whatsoeuer is more then this cometh of euill." That is, of the Deuill, saith our Sauour Christ.

Spud. I perceiue by your reasons, that swearyng is a thyng more daungerous then it is taken to bee: and therefore not to bee suffered in a Christian Commonwealth.

[² leaf 8r, back. B.†]

[Sundry kinds of othes, with their effectes. E, F.]

Philo. A true othe is daungerous, a false othe² is damnable, and no othe is sure. To sweare before a lawfull Iudge, or otherwise priuately, for the appeasing of controuerfies, callyng the name of God to witnesse in truthe and veritie, is an honour, and a true seruice doen to the Lorde: for in these causes the Apostle biddeth that an oth may make an ende of all controuerfies and troubles. But the other kinde of swearyng in priuate and familiar talke, is most damnable; and therefore saith Salomon: "A man that is giuen to muche swearyng shall bee filled with iniquitie, and the plague of God shall neuer goe from his house." And yet notwithstanding this, it is vsed and taken there for a vertue. So that he that can lashe out the bloudest othes, is coumpted the brauest fellowe: For (saie thei) it is a signe of a coragious harte, of a valiaunt stomacke, & of a generoseous, heroically, and puissant mynde. And who, either for feare of Gods Iudgements will not, or for want of practice cannot, rappe out othes at euery word, he is counted a Dastard, a Cowarde, an Asse, a Pesant, a Clowne, a Patche, an effeminate person, and what not that is euill. By continuall vse whereof, it is growne to this perfection, that at euery other worde, you shal heare either woundes, bloud, sides, harte,

[Swearing taken for a vertue in England E, F.]

¹ thine F. † leaf 8r, back. The horrible vice of swering in Ailg. B.

[nailes, foote, or some other parte of Chriftes bleffed bodie,¹ yea, fometymes no parte thereof fhallbe left vntorne of thefe bloudie Villaines. And to fweare by God at euery worde, by the World, by S. Jhon,² by S. Marie, S. Anne, by Bread and Salte, by the Fire, or by any other Creature, thei thinke it nothyng blame worthie. But I giue all bloudie Swearers (who crucifie the Lorde of life afrefh, as the Apofte faieth, as muche as is in their power, and are as giltye of his Death, Paffion, and Bloud-fheddyng, as euer was *Iudas* that betrayed hym, or the curfed *Iewes* that crucified hym) to vnderftande, that to fweare by God at euery woorde, is the greateft othe that can bee. For in fwearing by God, thou fwearest by God the Father, by God the Sonne, and by God the holie Ghofte, and by all the whole diuine Nature, Power, dietie,³ and effence. When thou fwearest by Gods harte, thou fwearest by his myfticall wifedome. When thou fwearest by his bloud, thou fwearest by his life. When thou fwearest by his feete, thou fwearest by his humanitie. When thou fwearest by his armes, thou fwearest by his power. When thou fwearest by his finger, or tung, thou fwearest by the holie Spirite. When thou fwearest by his nofethrells, thou fwearest by his inspirations. When thou fwearest by his eyes, thou fwearest by his prouidence. Therefore, learne this, and beware of swearing, you bloudie Butchers, leaft God destroye you in his wrathe. And if you fweare by the Worlde, by S. Ihon, Marie, Anne, Bread, Salt, Fire, or any other Creature that euer God made, whatfoeuer it be, little or muche, it is horrible Idolatrie, and damnable ⁴in it felf. For if it were lawfull to fweare at euery⁵ woorde for euery trifles, yet it were better to fweare by GOD in a true matter, then by any Creature whatfoeuer. Because, that, that⁶ a man sweareth by, he maketh (as it were) his God of it, calling hym⁷ to witnesse, that, that thyng which he speaketh is true. All which thinges duely confidered, I am fully perfwaded, that it were better for one to kill a man (not that Murther is lawful, God forbid!) then to fweare an othe. And yet swearing is of fuche small moment in Ailgna, as I heare fay (and I feare me too true), there are many that

[This page not in A.]

[² leaf 82. B.*]
[Not lawfull to swear by any creature. E, F.]

[How dangerous it is to swear by anything. E, F.]

[To swear by any creature is idolatrie. E.]

[⁴ leaf 82, back. B.†]

[False swearers ⁸ in England for money. E, F.]

¹ sworn by, *added in E, F.*

* leaf 82. Horrible swearing in Ailgna. B.

³ Deity F. † leaf 82, back. False Swearers for money in Ailg. B.

⁶ each E, F.

⁶ which *in E, F.*

⁷ it E, F.

⁸—⁸ for money in England F.

[*This page not
in A.*]

[Swearers are
very Devils.]

[A lawe for
swearers. E, F.]
[⁶ leaf 83. B.†]

[Punishment
due for
swearers. E, F.]

[for money will not sticke to sweare any thing, though neuer so false, and are wel enough knowne, and discerned from others by the name of Jurers: thei maie be called Libertines, or Atheistes, naie, plaine ¹denegers of ¹the faith, and very Deuilles incarnate. Was ²there euer any Deuilles that would abdicate ³themselues to eternall damnation for money, as these villaines dooe sell their bodies and soules to eternall destruction for filthy drosse and muck of the world? Shall wee suffer this villanie to bee doen to our God, and not ⁴punish it? God graunt there maie some Lawe be enacted for the suppression of the same. For now no man by any lawe in force may rebuke any ⁵man for swearyng, though he teare the Lordes bodie, and blaspheme bothe Heauen and Earth neuer so much. The Magistrates can not compell them to keepe silence, for if thei doe, ⁶thei will be readie to laie their Daggers vppon ⁷their faces. So that by this impunitie, this horrible vice of swearing is suffered still to remaine without al controlement, to the great dishonour of God, and nourishyng of vice.

Spud. What kinde of punishment would you haue appointed for these notorious bloody swearers.

Philo. I would wishe (if it pleased God) that it were made death: For wee reade in the Lawe of God, that whosoever blasphemed the Lord, was presently stoned to deathe, without all remorse, which law iudiciall standeth in force to the worldes ende. And ought not we to be as zealous for the glorie of God, as the people were then? Or if this bee iudged too seuerely, I would wishe they might haue a peece of their tongues cut of, or loose some ioynt: If that bee too extreeme, to be seared in the fore head or cheeke with a hot Iron, ingrauen with some pretie ⁸pozie, that thei might be knowne and auoyded. Or if this be too strict, that thei might bee banished their natieue Countrie, committed to perpetuall prison, or els to bee whipped, or at least, forfaitte for euery othe, a certaine somme of money, and to bee committed to Warde, till the money be paid. If any of these Godly Institutions were executed seuerely, I doubt not, but all cursed swearing would vanish away like ⁹smoke. Then should God be ¹⁰glorified,

¹—¹ reprobates concerning F.

² Were F.

³ and abandone *added in E, F.*

⁴ not to E, F.

⁵ *a in E, F.*

† leaf 83. Punishment of Swearers. B.

⁷ on E, F.

⁸ pretie *not in F.*

⁹ like a F.

¹⁰ to be F.

[and our Consciences made¹ cleane against the ²greate³ fearfull daie of the Lorde appeare.

[*This page not in A.*
[² leaf 83, back. E.*]

Spud. If swearing and blaspheming of God's name be so hainous a sinne, it is likely, that God hath plagued the vsers therof with some notable punishment,⁴ whereof I praeie you shew me some examples.

Philo. I could shewe most straunge and fearfull iudgementes of God, executed vpon these cursed kinde of Swearers in all ages: but for breuite sake, one or two shall suffice. There was a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire⁵ in Ailgna, (whose tragically discourse I my self penned about two yeares agoe,⁶ referring you to the said booke for the further declaration therof) who was alwaies a filthie Swearer: His common othe was by 'God's blood.' The Lorde will- yng his conuerfion, chastised him with sicknesse many times to leaue the same, and moued others euer to admonish him of his wickednesse: but all chastifementes and louyng corrections of the Lorde, al frendly admonitions, and exhortations⁷ of others, he vtterly contemned, stil per- feuering in his bloudie kinde of swearing. Then the Lord, seing that nothing would preuaile to winne him, arested hym with his Sergeant Death: Who, with speede laied holde on hym, and cast hym vpon his Death bed, where he languished a great while, in extreeme miserie, not forgettyng to spewe out his olde vomite of Swearing. At the last, the people perceiuing his ende to approach, ⁸caused the Bell to toll. Who, hearyng the Bell toll for him, rushed vp in his bed very vehemently, sayng: "Gods blood, he shall not haue me yet:" with that, his blood gushed out, some at his toes endes, some at his fingers endes, some at his wristles, some at his nose and mouth, some at one ioint of his body, some at an other, neuer ceasing till all the blood of⁹ his bodie was stremed forthe: and thus ended this bloudie Swearer his mortall¹⁰ life, whose Iudgement I leaue to the Lord.

[God's iudgements on Swearers.]

[Lincolnshire in England.]

[A most fearefull example of God's wrath shewed vpon a filthy cursed swearer. E, F.] [⁷ gods *in* F.]

[Death, the Lords executioner. B, F.]

[⁸ leaf 84. B.†]

[A most dreadfull end of a swearer. E, F.]

There was also an other, whom I knewe my self for a dozen or fixteene yeres together, dwellyng in Erichffeshshire,¹¹ in a Towne

¹ kepte E; kept F.

* leaf 83, back. Examples against swearing. B.

³ and *added in* E, F.

⁴ in all ages *added in* F.

⁵ Lincolnshire F.

⁶ in verse *added in* F.

⁷ exhortation F.

† leaf 84. Two Swearers in Ailgna. B. E *has*: A most dreadfull end of a swearer.

⁹ in F.

¹⁰ cursed F.

¹¹ Cheshire E, F.

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[*This page, to l*
21, *not in A.*]
[Congleton in
Cheshire.]

[The fearefull
death of another
swearer. E, F.]

[⁴ leaf 84, back.
B †]
[London.]
[The example
of a woman for-
swearing her
selfe. E, F.]

called Notelgnoc,¹ whose vsuall and common oth was euer to sweare, by Gods Armes: But in the ende, his arme being hurte by a knife, could neuer be healed by no kinde of meanes, but still wranckled² and feftered from daie to daie, and at the last so rotted, as it fell awaie by peecemeale, and he himself through anguish and paine thereof dyed shortly after. Thus the Lord God plagued both the one and the other, in the same thinges wherein thei had offended, that the punishment might be like to the offence. For as the one offended through swearyng by his bloud, so the Lorde punished hym with bloud. And as the other offended in swearyng by his armes, so the Lorde plagued hym in his arme also. As he punished³ the riche Glutton in Hell by the tongue, for that he had offended in the same by tastyng of delicate⁴ meates. There was also a woman in the Citie of Munidnol⁵ in Ailgna, who, commyng into a shoppe to buye certaine Marchaundize, forfwere her self; and the excrementes whiche naturally should evacuate⁶ downwarde, came forthe at her mouth, and she dyed miserable. With infinite⁷ like exampled⁸ of God's wrath and heauie iudgementes, executed vpon this wicked broode of Swearers, whiche if I had tyme and leasure, I could rehearse. But contentyng my self to haue saied thus muche, I will proceede to other matters no lesse needefull to be handled.]

Spud. Hauing (by the grace of Chrifte) hytherto spoken of fundrie Abuses of that countrie, let vs proceed a little further. howe doe they sanctifie⁹ and keepe the Sabaoth day? In godly Christian exercises, or els in prophane pastimes and pleasures?

The Maner of sanctifying the Sabaoth in Ailgna.

Philo.

THE Sabaoth day, of some is well sanctified,¹⁰ namely in hearing the¹¹ Word of GOD read, preached, and interpreted in priuat and publique Prayers, in singeing of Godly Psalmes, in celebrating the sacra-

¹ Congleton F. ² ranckled F. ³ punished (*sic*) F.
† leaf 84, back. The vse of the Sabaoth in Ailgna. B.

⁵ London F. ⁶ haue discended F. ⁷ the added in E, F.

⁸ examples in F. ⁹ sanctisie A.

¹⁰ sanctified A; obserued E; obserued, as F. ¹¹ the blessed B, E, F.

ments, & in collecting for *the poore & indigent*; ¹ which are the true vſes and ends wherto the Sabaoth was ordained. But other ſome ſpend ²the Sabaoth day (for the moſt part) in frequenting of baudie Stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of miſ-rule (for ſo they call a certaine kinde of play which they vſe), ³May-games, Church-ales, feaſts, and wakeeffes: in pyping, dauncing, dicing, carding, bowling, tenniſſe playing; in Beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and ſuch like; In keeping of Faires and markets on the ſabaoth; In keeping⁴ Courts and Leets; In foot-ball playing, and ſuch other deuiliſh paſtimes; ⁵reading of laciuious and wanton bookes, and an infinit number of ſuch like practiſes and prophane exerciſes vſed vpon that day, wherby the Lord God is diſhonoured, his Sabaoth violated, his woord neglected, his ſacraments contemned, and his People meruelouſly corrupted and caryed away from true vertue and godlyneſs. ⁶*Lord, remooue theſe exerciſes from thy Sabaoth!* ⁷

[² L 2, back. A.]

[² leaf 85. B.†]

Prophane
exerciſes vpon
the Sabaoth
day
[Fairs, football-
playing and
other profanities
on the Sabbath-
day.]

Spud. You wil be deemed too too *Stoicall*, if you ſhould refrain men from theſe exerciſes vpon the Sabaoth; for they ſuppoſe that that day⁷ was ordained and conſecrate to that end and purpoſe, only to vſe what kinde of exerciſes they think good themſelues: & was it not ſo?

Phi. After that the Lord our God had created the world, and all things therein contained, in ⁸ſix dayes, in the ſeuenth day he reſted from all his woorks (that is, from creating them, not from ⁹gouerning them) and therefore hee commaunded *that* the ſeuenth day ſhould be kept holy in all ages to the end of the world: then, after that in effect 2000 yeeres, he iterated this Commandement, when he gaue the law in mount *Horeb* to *Moyſes*, & in him to all¹⁰ the Children of *Iſrael*, ſaying, remember (forget it not) that thou keep holy the ſeuenth day, &c. If we muſt keep it holy, then muſt we not ſpend it in ſuch vain exerciſes as pleaſe ourſelues, but in ſuch godly exerciſes as he in his holy woord hath commaunded. And (in my iudgement) the Lord our God ordained the ſeuenth day to be kept holy for foure cauſes

[⁸ L 3. A.]

When the
Sabaoth was
ordained.
[⁹ leaf 85, back.
B.†]

* leaf 85. The prophanation of the Saboth. B. ³ in *added in E.*

⁴ keepyng of B, E, F. ⁵ in *added in B, E, F.*

⁶—⁶ *not in B, E, F.*

⁷ is a day of liberty, and *added in F.*

† leaf 85, back. The Inſtitution of the Sabaoth. B. (Sadaoth. A.)

¹⁰ call E, F.

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Wherefore the
Sabaoth was
instituted.

especiallly. Firſt, to put vs in minde of his wonderful woorkmanſhip & creation of the world and¹ creatures beſides. Secondly, *that* his woord (the Church aſſembling together) might be preached, interpreted, & expounded; his ſacraments miniſtred ſincerly, according to the preſcript of his woord, & that ſuffrages² & praier, bothe priuat & publique, might be offered to his excellent Maieſtie. Thirdly, for that euery chriſtian man might reſoſe himſelf from corporall labour, to the end they might *the* better ſuſtain the trauailes of the week to enſue³; and alſo to *the* end *that* all beaſts & cattel, which the Lord hath made for mans uſe, as helps & ⁴adiuments⁵ vnto him in his daylie affaires & buſineſſe, might reſt and reſreſh them ſelues, the better to ⁶go thorow in their traueiles afterward. For, as the hethen Man knew very wel, *ſine alterna requie non eſt durabile quicquam*: Without ſome reſt or reſoſe, there is not any thing durable, or able to continue long. Fourthly, to thend it might be a typical figure or ſignitor⁷ to point⁸ (as it were) with the finger, and to cypher⁹ foorth¹⁰ and ſhadowe¹⁰ vnto vs that bleſſed reſt & thryſe happie ioye which the faithfull ſhall poſſeſſe after the day of iudgement in the Kingdome of Heauen. Wherefore, ſeeing the Sabaoth was intituted for theſe cauſes,¹¹ it is manifeſt that it was not appointed for the maintenance of wicked and vngodly paſtymes, and vaine pleaſures of the fleſh; which God abhorreth, and all good men from their hartes do loth and deteſte.

[⁴ L 3, back. A.]

[⁶ leaf 86. B.†]

[The 4th cauſe
for the Sabbath.]

Puniſhment
for violating
the ſabaoth.

The Man, of whome we read in the law, for gathering of a few ſmall ſtickes vpon the Sabaoth, was ſtoned to death by the commaundement of God from¹² the Theator of Heauen.

Violaters of
the ſaboth.

Than, if he were ſtoned for gathering a few ſticks vpon the Sabaoth day, which in ſome caſes might be¹³ for neceſſities ſake, and¹⁴ did it but once, what ſhall they be, who all the Sabaoth dayes of their lyfe giue themſelues to nothing els but to wallow in all kind of wickedneſſe and ſinne, to the great contempt both¹⁵ of *the* Lord and his Sabaoth? And though they haue played the lazie lurdens al the

[¹⁵ L 4. A.]

¹ and all other his B, E, F.

² orisons added in E, F.

³ following (*for* to enſue) E, F.

⁵ ſupportes F.

† leaf 86. Violaters of the Sabaoth puniſhed. B.

⁷ vnto vs added in F.

⁸ poynt out F.

⁹ diſcipher F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ not in B, E, F.

¹¹ and to theſe endes added in B, E, F.

¹² ſoundyng from B, E, F.

¹³ lawfull added in F.

¹⁴ and yet E, F.

weke before, yet that day of fet purpofe they wil toile ¹ and labour, in contempt of the Lord and his Sabaoth. But let them be fure, as he that gathered ftickes vpon the Sabaoth was ftoned for his contempt of the fame, fo fhall they be ftoned, yea, grinded to peeces, for their contempt of the Lord in his Sabaoth.

[¹ leaf 86, back. B.*]

The *Iewes* are verie ftriēt in keeping their Sabaoths; in fo muche as they will not drefle their meats and drinks vppon the fame day, but fet it on the tables *the* day befor. They go not about ij. miles vpon *the* fabaoth day; they ³ fuffer not the body of any ⁴ Malefactor to hang vppon the gallowes vppon the Sabaoth day, with legions of fuch like fuperfticions. [⁵ And whiche is moft ftraunge, if any of them fall into any daunger, thei will not fuffer any to labour for their deliuerie vpon that daie, for violatyng their Sabbaoth. So it chaunced that a certaine Iewe beyng in Ailgna,⁶ by greate⁷ cafualtie fell into a Priuie vppon one of their Sabbaoth daies, and the people endeououryng to helpe him forthe, he forbad them to labour about hym vpon the Sabbaoth daie, chofing rather to dye in that filthie ftincking place, (as by the other morning he was dead indeed) then to breake or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth.⁸] Wherin, as I do acknowledge, they are but too fcrupelous,⁹ and ouershoot the marke, fo we are therein plaine contemptuous and negligent, fhooting fhort of the marke altogether. Yet I am not fo ftrait laced, that ⁹ I would haue no kinde of worke done vppon that daye, if prefent neceffitie of the thing require it (for Chriſte hath taught vs the Sabaoth was made for Man, not Man for the Sabaoth,) but not for euery light triffe, which may as well be done other dayes as vpon that day. And although *the* day it ſelf, in reſpect of *the* very¹⁰ nature and originall¹¹ thereof, be no better than another ¹² day, for there is no difference of dayes, except we¹³ become temporizers, all¹⁴ beeing alike good; yet becauſe the Lord our God hath commaunded it to be ſanctified & kept holy to him ſelf, let vs (like obedient & obſequious Children) ſubmit our ſelues to ſo loouing a Father; for els we ſpit againſt heauen, we ſtriae againſt the ſtream,

The Iewes
very precise in
keeping²
sabaoth.

[The English
Jew who died
in a privy, rather
than be pulled
out on the
Sabbath.]

[⁹ leaf 87. B.†]

No work to be
done vpon the
sabaoth ex-
cept neceſſite
inforce it.

[¹² L 4, back. A.]

* leaf 86, back. Strict obſervation of the Sabaoth. B.

² keepyng of B, E; keeping the F.

³ the F.

⁴ any felone or B, E, F.

⁵⁻⁵ added in B, E, F.

⁶ England E, F.

⁷ greate *not in* F.

⁸ ſuperſtitious F.

† leaf 87. The true vſe of the Sabaoth. B.

¹⁰ very *not in* E, F.

¹¹ originall *not in* F.

¹³ we wil B, E, F.

¹⁴ all times B, E, F.

and we contemn him in his ordinances. But (perchance) you will aske me, whither the true vse of the Sabaoth consist in outward abstaining from bodily labour and trauaile? I answere, no: the true vse of the Sabaoth (for Chrifians are not bound onely to the Cemonie of the day,) consisteth, as I haue said, in hearing the woord of God truly preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil, in receiuing the sacraments (as seales of his grace towards vs), rightly administred, in vsing publique and priuate prayer, in thanksgiuing to God for all his benefits, in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations, in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes,¹ and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man. And yet, notwithstanding, wee must abstain from the one to attend vpon the other: that is, wee must refrain² all bodily labours, to the end that wee may the better be resiant at³ these spirituall exercises vpon the Sabaoth day.

Wherin the true vse of the Sabaoth consisteth.

[¹ leaf 87, back. B.*]

[⁴ L 5. A

⁴This is the true vse and end of the Lord his Saboth, who graunt that we may rest in him for euer!

Spud. Hauing shewed the true vse of the Saboth, let vs go forward to speke of those Abuses particularlye, wherby the Saboth of the Lord is prophaned. And first to begin with stage plays and enterluds: What is your opinion of them? Are they not good examples to youth to fray them from sinne?

[The abuses whereby the Sabbath is profaned.]

Of⁵ Stage-plays, and Enterluds, with their wickednes.

Philo.

ALL Stage-plays, Enterluds, and Commedies are either of diuine or prophane matter: If they be of diuine matter, than are they most intollerable, or rather Sacrilegious; for that the blessed word of God is to be handled reuerently, grauely, and sagely, with veneration to the glorious Maiestie of God, which shineth therein, and not scoffingly, flowtngly, & iybngly, as it is vpon stages in Playes & Enterluds, without any reuerence,⁶ worship, or veneration⁷ to⁸ the same. ⁹the word of

[Plays on religious subjects are sacrilegious.]

[⁶ leaf 88. B.†]

* leaf 87, back. Stage plaies and Enterludes. B. ² refrain from B, E.

³ aboute B, E, F.

⁵ Of *not in* E, F.

† leaf 88. Warnynges to Players. B.

⁷ honour F.

⁸ at all doen to B, E, F.

⁹ For it is most certaine *added in* B, E, F.

our Saluation, the price of Christ his blood, & the merits of his passion, were not giuen to ¹be derided and iested at, ²as they be in these filthie playes and enterluds on stages & scaffold,² or to be mixt and interlaced with bawdry,³ wanton shewes, & vncomely gestures, as is vsed (euery Man knoweth) in these playes and enterludes.⁴ In the first of *Ihon* we are taught that the word is God, and God is the word: Wherefore, who so euer abuseth this word of our God on stages in playes and enterluds, abuseth the Maiesty of God in the same, maketh a mocking stock of him, & purchaseth to himselve eternal damnation. And no marueil; for the sacred word of God, and God himselve, is neuer to be thought of, or once⁵ named, but with great feare, reuerence, and obedience to the same. All the holy companie of Heauen, Angels, Archangels, Cherubins, Seraphins, and all other⁶ powers whatsoever, yea, the Deuills themselues (as⁷ *Iames* saith) doo tremble & quake at the naming of God, and at the presence of his wrath: and doo these Mockers and Flowters of his Maiesty, these dissembling *Hipocrites*, and flattering *Gnatoes*, think to escape vnpunished? beware, therefore, you masking Players, you painted sepulchres, you doble dealing ambodexters, be warned betymes, and, lik good computistes, cast your accompts ⁹before, what wil be the reward thereof in the end, leaft God destroy you in his wrath: abuse God no more, corrupt his ¹⁰people no longer with your dregges, and intermingle not his blessed word with such prophane vanities. For at no¹¹ hand it is not lawfull to mixt scurrilitie with diuinitie, nor diuinitie with scurrilitie.

[¹ L 5, back. A.]
The deriding
of the word of
God in stage
playes.

Reuerence to
the maiestie of
God due.

A warning⁸ to
Players.

[⁹ l af 88, back.
B.†]

[¹⁰ L 6. A.]

Not lawfull to
intermixt
diuynitie with
scurrilitie.

Theopompus mingled *Moyfes* law with his writings, and therefore the LORD stroke him madd. *Theodictes* began the same practise, but the Lorde stroke him blind for it; With many others, who, attempting¹² the like deuyfes, were al ouerthrowne, and died miserably: beids, what is their iudgement in the other World, the Lord onely knoweth. Vpon the other side, if their playes be of prophane matters, than tend they to the dishonor of God, and norishing of vice, both which

What if playes
be of prophane
matter.

²—² not in B, E, F.

³ scurrility added in F.

⁴ vpon stages and scaffoldes made for that purpose, added in B, E, F.

⁵ to be added in F.

⁶ other Ceraphicall B, E, F.

⁷ as Saint B, E, F.

⁸ warning A.

† leaf 88, back. Plaies and Enterludes vnlawfull. B.

¹¹ any F.

¹² attempting A.

are damnable. So that whither they be the one or the other, they are quite contrarie to the Word of grace, and sucked out of the Deuills teates to nourish vs in ydolatrie, hethenrie, and sinne. And therefore they, caryng the note, or¹ brand, of ²God his² curse vppon their backs, which way soeuer they goe, are to be hissed out of all Christian Kingdomes, if they wil haue Chrift to dwell amongst them.

Spud. Are you able to shewe, that euer any good Men, from the beginning, haue resisted³ Playes and Enterluds?

[⁴ leaf 89. B.*]

[⁵ L 6, back. A.]

The word of
God, al Writ-
ers, counsels
and Fathers
haue writ⁷
against playes
and enterluds.

⁴*Philo.* Not onely the word of God doth ouerthrow them, addiudg-
ing them & the main⁵tainers⁶ of them to Hell, but also all holie
counsels, and sinodes, both generall, nationall, and prouinciall, to-
gether with all Writers, both diuine and prophane, euer since *the*
beginning, haue disallowed them, and writ (almost) whole volumes
against them.

The learned Father *Tertullian*, in his booke *de Speculo*, faith that
playes were consecrat to that false ydoll *Bacchus*, for that he is said to
haue found out and inuented strong drinke.

Wherefore
playes were
ordeined.

Augustinus, de ciuit. Dei, faith that plaies were ordeined by the
Deuill, and consecrat to heathen Gods, to draw vs from Christianitie to
ydolatrie, and gentilisme. And in an other place, *Pecunias Histrioni-
bus dare vitium est innane, non virtus*: To giue money to Players is a
greeuous sin.⁹

Chrysostome calleth those playes *festa Sathani*, feasts of the Deuill.
Lactantius, an ancient learned Father, faith, *Histrionum impudissimi
gestus, nihil aliud nisi Libidinem mouent*: The shamelesse gestures of
Plaiers serue to nothing so much as to moue the flesh to lust and vn-
clemnesse. And therefore in the .30. Counsell of *Carthage* & ¹⁰*Synode*
of *Laodicea*, it was decreed that no Chriſten Man or Woman should
reforte to playes and enterludes, where is nothing but blasphemie,
¹¹fcurrilitie, and whordome maintained. *Scipio*, seeing the *Romaines*
bente ¹²to erect Theaters & places for plaies, dehorted them from it

Concilium 3.
Cartha. Cap.
II. Synode
Laodicea,
Cap. 54.

[¹¹ leaf 89, back.
B.†]

[¹² L 7. A.]

¹ and E, F.

²—² Gods F.

³ disliked F.

* leaf 89. Stage playes condemned. B.

⁶ practisers E, F.

⁷ haue writ *not in* E, F.

⁸ immane B, E, F.

⁹ and no vertue *added in* B, E, F.

¹⁰ in the *added in* B, E, F.

† leaf 89, back. The effectes of Playes. B.

with the¹ most prudent reasons and forcible arguments. *Valerius Maximus* saith, playes were neuer brought vp *sine regni rubore*, without shame to the Cuntrey. *Arist.* debarreth youth accessse to Playes & Enterluds, leaft they, seeking to quench the thirst of *Venus*, doo quench it with a potle of fire. *Augustus* banished *Ouid* for making Bookes of loue, Enterluds, and such other amorous trumperie.

Writers* both
diuine and
profane
against playes
and Enterluds.

Constantius ordeined that no Player shold be admitted to the table of the Lord. Than, seeing that Playes were first³ inuented by the Deuil, practised by the heathen gentiles, and dedicat⁴ to their false ydols, Goddes and Goddessees, as the howse, stage, and apparell to *Venus*, the musicke to *Appollo*, the penning to *Minerua* and the Muses, the action and pronuntiation to *Mercurie* and the rest, it is more than manifest that they are no fit exercyses for a⁵ Christen⁶ Man to follow. But if there were no euill in them saue this, namely, that the arguments of tragedies is⁷ anger, wrath, immunitie, crueltie, iniurie, incest, murther, & such like, the Persons or Actors are Goddes, Goddessees, Furies, Fyends, Haggies, Kings, Quee⁸nes, or Potentates. Of Commedies the matter and ground is loue, bawdrie, cofenage, flattery, whordome, adulterie; the Per⁹sons, or agents, whores, queanes, bawdes, scullions, Knaues, Curtezans, lecherous old men, amorous yong men, with such like of infinit varietie. If, I say, there were nothing els but this, it were sufficient to withdraw a good christian from the vsing of them; For so often as they goe to those howses where Players frequent, thei go to *Venus* pallace, & fathans synagogue, to worship deuils, & betray Christ Iesus.

The ends of
playes and
Enterluds.

The argu-
ments of
tragedies.

[⁸ leaf 90. B.†]

The ground of
Commedies.

[⁹ L 7, back. A.]

Theaters and
curtaines § Ve-
nus pallaces.

Spud. But, notwithstanding, I haue hard¹⁰ some hold opinion that they be as good as sermons, and that many a good Example may be learned out of them.

Philo. Oh blasphemie intollerable! Are filthie playes & bawdy

No playes
comparable to
the word of
God.

¹ the *not in* B, E, F.

² Waiters F.

³ first *not in* E, F.

⁴ dedicated F.

⁵ a *not in* B, E, F.

⁶ men B, E, F.

⁷ is *not in* E.

† leaf 90. Theaters, Venus Pallaces. B.

¹⁰ heard F.

§ 'The Theatre' (where Shakspeare probably first acted) was built by James Burbage in 1576 in the then fields near the site of the present Standard Theatre in Shoreditch, and was pulld down in 1598, and rebuilt as 'The Globe' on Bank-side, Southwark, in 1599. 'The Curtain' theatre was close by The Theatre, near Curtain Court, now Gloucester St. Shoreditch, and was built by 1577.—F. J. F.

enterluds comparable to the word of God, *the* foode of life, and life it selfe? It is all one, as if they had said, bawdrie, hethenrie, paganrie, fcurrilitie, and diuelrie it self, is equall with the word of God; Or that the Deuill is equipolent¹ with the Lord.

The Lord our God hath ordeined his blessed word, and made it the ordenarie mean of our Saluation; the Deuill hath inferred the other, as the ordenarie meane of our destruction; and will they yet compare the one with *the* other? If he be accursed *that* calleth light darknes, & darknes light, truth falsehood, & falshood ²truth, sweet fowre, and fowr sweete, than, *a fortiori*, is he accursed that faith that playes & enterluds be equiualent with Sermons. Besides this, there is no mischief which these plaies⁴ maintain not. For do they not norish ydlenes? and *otia dant vitia*, ydlenes ⁵is the Mother of⁵ vice. Doo they not draw the people from hering the word of God, from godly Lectures and sermons? for you shall haue them flocke thither, thick & threefould, when *the* church of God shalbe bare & emptie; And those *that* will neuer come at sermons wil flow thither apace. The reason is, for that the number of Christ his elect is but few, and the number of the reprobate is many; the way *that* leadeth to life is narrow, and few tread *that* path; *the* way that leadeth to death is broad, & many find it. This sheweth they are not of God, who refuse to here his word (for he that is of God hereth God his word, faith our Sauour Christ) but of the deuill, whose exerceyses they go to visite. Do they not maintaine bawdrie, insinuat folery, & renue *the* remembrance of hethen ydolatrie? Do they not induce whordom & vnclennes? nay, are they not rather plaine deuourers of maydenly virginities and chastities? For prooffe wherof, but marke the flocking and running to Theaters & curtens, daylie and hourelly, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to see Playes and Enterludes; where such wanton gestures, such ⁸bawdie speeches, such laughing and fleering, such kissing and buffing, such clipping and culling, Suche winckinge and glancinge of wanton eyes, ⁹and the like, is vsed, as is wonderfull to behold. Than, these goodly pageants being done,¹⁰ euery mate forts to his

He is cursed that saith playes and enterluds are comparable to sermons.

[² leaf 90, back. B.*]

[³ L & A.]

Wherefore so many flock to see playes and enterluds.

The fruits of theathers⁶ & playes.

The Godly⁷ demeanours vsed at playes & enterluds.

[⁸ leaf 91. B.+]

[⁹ L & back. A.]

¹ equiualent F.

* leaf 90, back. The fruites of Playes. B.

⁴ Playes B, E, F.

⁵—⁵ doth minister F.

⁶ Theaters F.

⁷ goodly F.

† leaf 91. What to be learned at Playes. B.

¹⁰ ended E, F.

mate, euery one brings another homeward of their way verie freendly, and in their secreet conclaues (couertly) they play *the Sodomics*, or worfe. And theſe be the fruits of Playes and Enterluds for the moſt part. And wheras you ſay there are good Examples to be learned in them, Trulie ſo there are: if you will learne falſhood; if you will learn coſenage; if you will learn to deceiue; if you will learn to play the Hipocrit, to cogge, lye,¹ and falſifie; if you will learn to leſt, laugh, and fleer, to grin, to nodd, and mow; if you will learn to playe the vice, to ſwear, teare, and blaſpheme² both Heauen and Earth: If you will learn to become a bawde, vncleane, and to deuerginat Mayds, to deflour honeſt Wyues: if you will learne to murder, ſlaie,³ kill, picke, ſteal, robbe, and roue: If you will learn to rebel againſt Princes, to commit treaſons,⁴ to confume⁵ treaſurs, to practiſe ydlenes, to ſing and talke of bawdie loue and venery: if you will learne to deride, ſcoffe, mock, & flowt, to flatter & ſmooth: If you will learn to play the whore-maiſter, the glutton, Drunkard, or inceſtuouſ perſon: if you will learn to become proude, haw⁶tie, & arrogant; and, finally, if you will learne to contemne⁷ God and al his lawes, to care⁸ neither for heauen nor hel, and to commit al kinde of finne and miſcheef, you need to goe to no other ſchoole, for all theſe good Examples may you ſee painted before your eyes in enterludes and playes: wherefore that man who giueth money for the maintenance of them muſt needs incurre the⁹ damage¹⁰ of¹¹ *premunire*, that is,⁹ eternall damnation, except they¹² repent. For the Apoſtle biddeth vs beware, leaſt wee communicat with other mens finnes; & this their dooing is not only to communicat with other mens finnes, &¹³ maintain euil to the diſtruſtion of them ſelues & many others, but alſo a maintaining¹⁴ of a great forte of idle lubbers, and¹⁵ buzzing dronets, to¹⁵ fuck vp and deuoure the good honie, wherupon the poor bees ſhould liue.

Therefore I beſeech all players¹⁶ & Founders¹⁶ of plaies and enterludes, in the bowels of Ieſus Chriſte, as they tender the ſaluation of their

The goodly
examples
Playes and
Enterluds.

[² blaſpheme A.]

What things
are to be
learned at
playes

Theaters
Schooles or
Seminaries of
pseudo chris-
tianitie.

[⁶ leaf 91, back.
B.f.]

[⁸ M x. A.]

A dyuine
premunire.

What it is to
communicate
with other
mens finnes.

An exhorta-
tion to players.

¹ to lye B, E, F. ³ flay F. ⁴ Treason F. ⁵ consume A.

† leaf 91, back. Theaters, schooles of mischeefe. B.

⁷ contemne A.

^{9—9} ineuitable sentence of F.

¹⁰ daunger B, E.

¹¹ of a B; of the deuine E.

¹² he E, F.

¹³ and to B, E, F.

¹⁴ supporting B, E, F.

^{15—15} laizie Lurdens, who F, buzzing dronets who E.

^{16—16} founders and maintainers B, E, F.

foules, and others, to leaue of that curfed kind of life, and giue them felues to fuch honeft exercifes and godly miferies as God hath commaunded them in his woord to get their liuings withall: for who wil call him a wifeman, that plaieith the part of a foole and a vice? who can call him a Chriftian, who playeth *the* part of a deuil, the fworne enemy of Chrift? who can call him a iuft man, that playeth the ¹part of a difsembling hypocrite? And, to be breef, ²who can call him a ftraight deling man, who playeth a Cofoners trick³? And fo of all *the* reft. Away therfore with this fo infamous an art! for goe they neuer fo braue, yet are they counted and taken but for beggers. And is it not true? liue they not vpon begging of euery one that comes? Are⁴ they not taken by the lawes of the Realm for roagues and vacabounds? I fpeak of fuch as trauaile the Cuntries with playes & enterludes, making an occupation of it, and ought fo to be punifhed, if they had their deferts. But hoping that they will be warned now at the laft, I wil fay no more of them, befeeching them to confider what a fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of God, & to prouoke his wrath and heauie difpleafure againft them felues and others; *which the Lord of his mercie turn from vs!*

Spud. Of what forte be the other kinde of playes, which you call Lords of Mis-rule? for mee thinke the very name it felf ⁵caryeth a tafte of⁵ fome notorious⁶ euil.

Lords of Mis-rule in Ailgna.

Philo.

THE name, indeed, is odious both, to God and good men, & fuch as the very heathen people would haue blufhed at once to ⁷haue named amongft them. And if the name importeth fome euil,⁸ then, what may *the* thing⁹ it felf be, iudge you? But becaufe you defire to know the manner of them, I wil fhowe you as I haue feen them

The ignomy
due to Players.
[² leaf 92. B *]
[² M 1, back. A.]

Players liue
vpon begging.

Players count-
ed Rogues by
the lawes of
the Realm.

Lords of
Mis-rule in
Ailgna.
[⁷ M 2. A.]

[⁹ leaf 92, back.
B. f.]

* leaf 92. Lordes of Misrule in Ailgna. B.

³ part F.

⁴ And are F.

⁵—⁵ importeth B, E, F.

⁶ notorious *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ as you say *added in* F.

† leaf 92, back. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.

practised my self. First, all the wilde-heds of the Parish, conuenting¹ together, chuse them a Graund²-Captain (of all³ mischeefe) whome they innoble with the title of 'my Lord of Mis-rule', and him they crowne with great solemnitie, and adopt for their king. This king anointed chufeth forth twentie, fortie, threescore or a hundred lustie Guttes, like to him self, to waighte vppon his lordly Maiestie, and to garde his noble person. Then, euerie one of these his men, he inuesteth with his liueries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour; And as though that were not (baudie) gaudie enough, I should say, they bedecke them selues with scarfs, ribons & laces hanged all ouer *with* golde rings, precious stones, & other iewels: this doon, they tie about either leg xx. or xl. bels, with rich handkercheifs⁴ in their hands, and sometimes laid a crosse ouer their shoulders & necks, borrowed for the most parte of their pretie Mopies & loouing Besses⁵, for buffing them in *the* dark. Thus al things set in order, then haue they their Hobby-horses,⁶ dragons & other Antiques, together with their baudie Pipers and thundering Drummers to strike⁷ vp the deuils daunce withall. then, marche these⁸ heathen company towards the Church⁹ and Church-yard, their pipers pipeing, their drummers thundring, their stumps dauncing, their bels iynghing, their handkercheifs swinging¹⁰ about their heds like madmen, their hobbie horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the route¹¹: & in this sorte they go to the Church¹² (I say) & into the Church,¹² (though the Minister be at praier or preaching), dancing & swinging [t]heir handkercheifs¹³ ouer their heds in the Church, like deuils incarnate, *with* such a confuse¹⁴ noise, *that* no man can hear his own voice. Then, the foolish people they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, & mount vpon fourmes and pewes to see these goodly pageants solem[ni]zed in this sort. Then, after this, about the Church they goe againe and again, & so forth into *the* church-yard, where they haue commonly their Sommer-haules, their bowers, arbors, & banqueting houses set vp, wherein they feast, banquet & daunce al that day & (peraduenture) all the¹⁵ night too. And thus these terrestriall furies spend the Sabaoth day.

The manner
how Lords of
Mis-rule are
used to be
played.

The monstrous
attyring of
my Lord of
Misrules Men.

The rablement
of the deuils
guard.

[7 M 2, back. A.]
[9 leaf 93. B.†]

The behauiour
of the Deuills
band in the
temple of God.

Receptacles in
the Cemeteries
or church
yards for the
deuils agents.

¹ flocking F.

² Ground E.

³ all *not in* F.

⁴ handkerchiefe F.

⁵ Bessies F.

⁶ their *added in* F.

⁸ this F.

† leaf 93. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.

¹⁰ fluttering F.

¹¹ throng B, E, F.

^{12—12} *not in* B, E, F.

¹³ handkechiefes F.

¹⁴ confused B, E, F.

¹⁵ that F.

My Lord of
mis-rules
cognizances.

[5 M 3. A.]
[6 leaf 93, back
B.*]

Wearing my
Lord of mis-
rules badges.

Sacrifice
brought to
this filthie
Ydol, my L.
of mis-rule.

¹They haue also certain papers, wherein is painted some babberie or other of Imagery woork, & these they call 'my Lord of mis-rules badges²': these they giue to euery one that wil giue³ money for them to maintaine them in⁴ their hethenrie, diuelrie, whordome, drunken-⁵nes, pride, and ⁶what not.⁷ And who will not be⁸ buxom to them, and giue them⁹ money for these¹⁰ their deuill[i]h¹⁰ cognizances, they are¹¹ mocked & flouted at¹² ¹³not a little.¹³ ¹⁴And so affoted¹⁵ are some, that they not only giue them monie to maintain their abhomination withall, but also weare their badges & cognizances in their hats or caps openly. But let them take heede; for these are¹⁶ badges, seales, brands, & cognizances of the deuill, whereby he knoweth his Seruants and Clyents¹⁷ from the Children of God; And so long as they weare them, *Sub vexillo diaboli militant contra Dominum et legem suam*: they fight vnder the banner and stander of the deuill against Christ Iesus, and all his lawes. Another forte of fantastickall fooles bring to these hel-hounds (the Lord of mis-rule and his complices) some bread, some good-ale, some new-cheese, some olde,¹⁸ some custards,¹⁹ & fine cakes¹⁹; some one thing, some another; but if they knew that as often as they bring any thing²⁰ to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer sacrifice to the deuill and sathanas, they would repent and withdraw their hands; *which God graunt they may!*

Spud. This is a horrible prophanation of the sabaoth (the Lord knoweth), & more peffilent then peffilence it self. but what? be there any ²¹abuses in their May-games like vnto these?

[²¹ leaf 94. B.†]

[²³ M 3, back. A.]

²² ²³*Philo.* As many as in the other. The order of them is thus:

¹ Then for the further innobling of this honorable Lurdane (Lorde I should saie) *added in* B, E, F. ² or Cognizances *added in* F.

³ giue them F.

⁴ in this B, E, F.

* leaf 93, back. The Lord of Misrules cognizance. B.

⁷ els *added in* F.

⁸ shewe hym self B, E, F.

⁹ them *not in* F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ the deuilles B, E, F.

¹¹ shall be B, E, F.

¹² at *not in* F.

¹³—¹³ shamefully B, E, F.

¹⁴ Yea, and many times carried vpon a Cowlstaffe, and diued ouer head and eares in water, or otherwise most horrible abused *added in* F. ¹⁵ assotted F.

¹⁶ are the B, E, F.

¹⁷ vassals F.

¹⁸ olde cheese B, E, F.

¹⁹—¹⁹ some cakes, some flaunes, some Tartes, some Creame, some meate B, E, F (*but F begins with some Cracknels.*) ²⁰ thing *not in* B, E, F.

† leaf 94. The order of Maie games. B.

²² B, E, F *make a fresh chapter here, with the heading*:—The maner of Maie-games in England.

Against *May*¹, *Whitsonday*, or² other time, ³all the yung men and maides, olde men and wiues, run gadding ouer night to the woods, groues,³ hils, & mountains,⁴ where they spend all the night in pleasant pastimes; & in the morning they return, bringing *with* them birch⁵ & branches of trees, to deck their assemblies withall. and no meruaile, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord ouer their pastimes and sports, namely, Sathan, prince of hel. But the⁶ cheifest iewel they bring from thence is their⁷ May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They haue twentie or fortie yoke of Oxen, euery Oxe hauing a sweet nose-gay of flouers placed⁹ on the tip of his hornes; and these Oxen drawe home this May-pole (this stinking Ydol, rather) which is couered all ouer with floures and hearbs, ¹⁰bound round about with strings from the top to the bottome, and sometime¹¹ painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women and children, following it with great deuotion. And thus beeing reared vp with handkercheefs and flags houering¹² on the top, they fraw the ground rounde¹³ about, binde green boughes about it, set vp sommer haules, bowers, and arbors hard by it; And then fall they to¹⁴ daunce about it, like¹⁵ as the ¹⁶heathen people did at the dedication of the¹⁷ Idols, wherof this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing it self. I haue heard it credibly reported (and that *viua voce*) by men of great grauitie¹⁸ and reputation, that of fortie, threescore, or a hundred maides going to the wood ouer night, there haue scarcely the third part of them returned home againe vndeified. These be the frutes which these curfed pastimes bring forth. ¹⁹Neither the²⁰ *Iewes*, the²¹ *Turcks*,

The order of
their May-
games.

[* side-note here
in B.]

* A great Lord
present in May³
games as
superintendent
therof.

[¹⁰ leaf 94, back.
B.†]

The manner
of bringing
home their
May-poles.

[¹⁶ M 4. A.]

May-poles a
pattern of the
hethen Ydols.

The frute of
May-games.

¹ day *added in F.*

² or some B, E, F.

^{3—3} of the yeare, euery Parishe, Towne, and Village assemble themselves together, bothe men, women, and children, olde and yong, euen all indifferently: and either goyng all together, or deuidyng themselves into companies, they goe some to the Woodes and Groues, some to the B, E, F.

⁴ some to one place, some to another, *added in B, E, F.*

⁵ bowes *added in B, E, F.*

⁶ their B, E, F.

⁷ the F.

⁸ May *not in F.*

⁹ tyed E, F.

† leaf 94, back. The fruites of Maie games. B.

¹¹ sometimes F.

¹² streaming B, E, F.

¹³ round *not in B, E.*

¹⁴ banquet and feast, to leape and *added in B, E, F.*

¹⁵ like *not in B, E, F.*

¹⁷ their B, E, F.

¹⁸ credite *added in F.*

¹⁹ Assuredly I thinke *added in B, E, F.*

²⁰ the *not in B, E, F.*

²¹ nor B, E, F.

Sarafins, nor *Pagans*, nor any other nations,¹ how wicked or barbarous foeuer, haue euer vsed fuch deuilish exercifes as thefe; nay, they would haue been afhamed once to haue named them, much leffe haue² vsed them. Yet wee, that would be Chriftians, think them not amiſſe. *The Lord forgiue vs, and remooue them³ from vs!*

Spud. What is the manner of their church ales, which you ſay
[⁴ leaf 95. B.*] they uſe; for they ſeem vn⁴couth and fraunge to mine eares?

The Manner of Church-ales in Ailgna.

[⁵ M 4, back. A.]

The manner
of Church-ales
in Ailg[na].

⁵ *Philoponus.*

THE manner of them is thus: In certaine Townes where drunken *Bachus* beares all⁶ the ſway, againſt a⁷ *Chriſtmas*, an⁸ *Eaſter*, *Whitſonday*, or ſome other time, the Church-wardens (for ſo they call them) of euery pariſh, with the conſent of the whole Pariſh, prouide half a ſcore or twenty quarters of mault, wherof ſome they buy of the Church-ſtock, and ſome is giuen them of the Pariſhioners them ſelues, euery one conſerring ſomewhat, according to his abilitie; which mault, beeing made into very ſtrong ale or beere, it⁹ is ſet to ſale, either in the Church, or¹⁰ ſome other place assigned to that purpoſe.

The filthieſt
beaſt, the
godlyeſt man.

Then, when the¹¹ *Nippitatum*, this Huf-cap (as they call it) and this *neſtar* of lyfe, is ſet abroche, wel is he that can get the ſooneſt to it, and ſpend the moſt at it; for he that fitteth the cloſeſt to it, and ſpends the moſte at it, he is counted the godlieſt man of all the reſt¹²; but who either¹³ cannot,¹⁴ for pinching pouertie,¹⁴ or otherwiſe,¹⁵ wil not ſtick to it, he is counted one deſtitute bothe of vertue and godlynes. In ſo much as you ſhall haue many poor men make hard ſhift for money to ſpend ther¹⁶at,¹⁷ for it¹⁸ beeing put into this *Corban*, they are perſwaded it is meritorious, & a good ſeruite to God. In this kinde of

[¹⁶ leaf 95, back.
B.†]

¹ people B, E, F.

² to haue B, E.

³ them farre F.

* leaf 95. Church-ales in Ailgna. B.

⁶ all *not in* B; all the *not in* E, F.

⁷ a *not in* B, E, F.

⁸ and B, E, F.

⁹ it *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁰ or in F.

¹¹ this B, E, F.

¹² and moſt in Gods fauour, becauſe it is ſpent vpon his Church forſoath *added in* B, E, F.

¹³ either for want B, E, F.

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁵ for feare of Gods wrath *added in* E, F.

† leaf 95, back. Churchale money beſtowed. B.

¹⁷ and good reaſon *added in* B, E, F.

¹⁸ it *not in* B, E, F.

practife they continue fix weeks, a quarter of a yeer, yea, half a yeer together, fwil¹ling and gulling, night and day, till they be as drunke [¹ M 5. A.] as Apes,² and as ³blockiſh as beaſts.³

Spud. Seeing they haue ſo good vtterance, it ſhould ſeeme they haue good gaines. But, I pray you, how doe they beftowe that money which is got therby?

Philo. Oh! well, I warent you, if all be true which they ſay: For they repaire their Churches and Chappels with it; they buy bookes for ſeruice, cuppes for the celebration of the Sacrament, ſurpleſſes for Sir Ihon, and ſuch other neceſſaries; And they maintaine other extraordinarie charges in the⁴ pariſhes beſydes. Theſe be their ⁵ex-ceptions, theſe be their⁵ excuſes, and theſe be their pretended⁶ allega-tions, wherby they blind the world, and conueigh themſelues away in uiſibly in a clowd. But if they daunce thus in a net, no doubt they will be eſpied.

How the
money is ſpent
which is got by
Churchales.

For if it wer ſo *that* they beftowed it as they ſay, do they think that the Lord will haue his howſe build⁷ with drunkenneſſe, gluttony, and ſuch like abomination? Muſt we do euill that good may come of it? muſt we build this houſe of lyme and ſtone with the defola⁸tion and vtter ouerthrow of his ſpirituall howſe, ⁹clenſed and waſhed in⁹ the preciouſe blood of our Sauour Ieſus Chriſt? But who ſeeth not that they beſtow this money vpon nothing leſſe than in building and repaying of Churches ¹⁰and Oratories? For in moſt places lye they not like ſwyn coates? their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall¹¹ downe, the¹² rooſe all bare, and what not out of order? Who ſeeth not the booke of God, rent, ragged, and all betorn,¹³ couered in duſt, ſo as this *Epitaphe* may be writ with ones finger vppon it, *ecce nunc in puluere dormio*? (Alas!) behold I ſleep in duſt and oblyuion, not once ſcarſe looked vppon, much leſſe red vpon,¹⁴ and the¹⁵ leaſt of all preached vppon. And, on the other ſide, who ſeeth not (for ¹⁶this I ſpeak but ¹⁷in way of *parentheſis*¹⁷) in the meane

Will the Lord
haue his houſe
build with
maintenance
of euill?

[⁸ leaf 96. B.†]

[¹⁰ M 5, back.
A.]

The decay of
Churches,
which are lacer-
at, rent, and
torn.

Sumptuousneſs
of their owne
mansionſ

² Rattes B, E; Swine F.

^{3—3} mad as March Hares F.

⁴ their B, E, F.

^{5—5} golden reaſons, theſe bee their faire B, E, F.

⁶ pretended B, E.

⁷ builded F.

† leaf 96. The decay of Churches in Ailgna. B. ^{9—9} purchaſed with F.

¹¹ fallen B.

¹² their B, E, F.

¹³ yea added in F.

¹⁴ on B, E, F.

¹⁵ the *not* in F.

¹⁶ for *not* in B, E. F.

^{17—17} to a friend, I pray you ſay nothing F.

tyme, their owne howfes and manſion places are curiouſly build, and ſumpteouſly adorned: which plainly argueth that they rather beſtow this drunken got-money vpon prophane uſes and their own priuat affaires, than vpon the howſe of prayer, or the temple of God. And yet this their doing is wel liked of, and no man may ſay ¹black is their eye¹: For why? Thei do all things well, and according to good order, as they² ſay; And when time commeth, like good accountp-antes, they make their accountpes as pleaſe themſelues.

[² the A.][³ leaf 96, back. B.*]

Sp. Were it not better, & more conſonant ³to the truth, that euery one contributed⁴ ſomewhat, according to his abilitie, to the maintenance of ⁵templaries & ⁶oratories,⁵ than thus to maintaine them by drunken churchales, as you ſay thei do?

[⁷ M 6. A.]

Churches⁸ are to be maintained by mutuall contribution of euery one after his power.¹⁰

⁷*Philo.* It weare muche better. And ſo we read, the Fathers of the old Teſtament, euery one after his abilitie, did impart ſome-what to the building⁹ and reſtauration⁹ of the Tabernacle which *Moyſes* erected to the Lord; So as in the end there was ſuch aboundance of all things, as the Artificers, conſulting with *Moyſes*, were glad to requeſt the People to ſtay their liberalitie, for they had more than they knew what to do withall. Theſe People made no drunken Churchales to build their edefice¹¹ withal, notwithstanding their importable charges and intollerable coſtes. But as their zeal was feruent, and very commendable in bringing to the Church, ſo our zeal is more than froſen & blame-worthie in detracting from the Church, and beſtowing it vpon whordom, drunkenneſſe, gluttony, pride, and ſuch like abhominations: *God amend it!*

Our zeal waxen cold and froſen in reſpect of the zeal of the former world.

Spud. How do they ſolemnize their feaſtes and wakeſſes there; and what order do they obſerue in them?

The maner of keeping of Wakeſſes, and feaſts in Ailgna.

[¹² leaf 97 B.†]¹² *Philoponus.*

THIS is their order therein: euery towne, pariſhe, and Village, ſome at one tyme of the Yeere, ſome at another (but ¹³ſo that euery

[¹³ M 6, back. A.]^{1—1} Domine, cur ita facis? F.

* leaf 96, back. Keepyng of Wakesses in Ailgna. B.

⁴ contribute B.^{5—6} Temples and Churches F.⁶ or B, E.⁸ Churges A. ^{9—9} and instauration E; not in F. ¹⁰ this side-note not in F.¹¹ house of Prayer F.

† leaf 97. Keepyng of Wakes in Ailgna. B.

¹towne, parish, & village¹ keep² his proper day assigned and appropriat to it self, (which they call their Wak day) vie³ to make great preparation and ordenaunce⁴ for good cheer. To the which all their Freends and kyns-folks, farre and neer, are invited, wher is such gluttony, such drunkenneffe, such saturitie⁵ and impletion vied, as the like was neuer seen: In so muche as the poore men that beare *the* charges of these feasts and wakeffes, are the poorer, and keep the Worser howses a long tyme⁶ after. And no marueil, for manie spend more at one of these wakeffes than in all the whole yeer besides. This makes many a one to thrippe & pinch, to runne into debte and daunger, and finallie brings many a one to vtter ruine and decay.

Saturitie in
feasts and
wakeffes.

The great
charges of
Wakeffes.

Spud. Wold you not haue one freend to visite another at certen tymes of the yeer?

Philo. I disallowe it not, but much commend it. But why at one determinat⁷ day more than at another (except busines vrged it); why should one and *the* same day continue for euer, or be distinct from other dayes by the name of a wake day? why should there be more excessse of meats and drinks at that day than at another⁸? why should they abstaine from bodely labor⁹.ij. or three dayes after, peraduenture the whole week, spending it in drunkenneffe, whordome, gluttony, and other filthie Sodo¹⁰miticall exercyses.

Against wakes
& feasts

[⁹ leaf 97, back.
B.†]

[¹⁰ M 7]

Spud. Seeing you allowe of one Freend to visite another, would you not haue them to congratulat their comming with some good cheer?

Philo. Yes, truely; but I allowe not of such excessse of ryot & superfluitie as is there vsed. I thinke it conuenient for one Freend to visite another (at sometimes) as oportunitie & occasion shall¹¹ offer it selfe¹¹; but wherfore shuld the whole towne, parish, village, and cuntrey keepe one and the same day, and make such gluttonous feasts as they doo? And therefore,¹² to conclude,¹² they are to no end, except it be to draw a great¹³ frequencie of whores, drabbes,¹⁴ theiues, and verlets together, to maintaine whordome, bawdrie, gluttony, drunken-

Wherto
wakeffes and
feasts do very
aply tend.

¹—¹ one B, E, F. ² keeps F. ³ vseth F. ⁴ prouision E, F.

⁵ fulnesse F. ⁶ yeare F. ⁷ prefixed F. ⁸ any other E, F.

† leaf 97, back. The fruites of Wakeffes. B.

¹¹—¹¹ bee offered F. ¹²—¹² in my opinion B, E, F.

¹³ a great *not in* E, F; frequencie of *not in* F. ¹⁴ drabbes *not in* B, E, F.

neffe, thieffe, murther, swearing, and all kind of mischiefe and abhominacion; For these be the ends wherto these feastes and wakeffes doo tende.¹

Spud. From whence sprang these feasts and wakeffes first of all; can you tell?

Philo. I cannot tell, except from the Paganes and heathen People, who, when they were assembled together, and had offered Sacrifices to their wodden² Goddes, and blockish ydols, made feasts and banquets together before them, in honour and reuerence of them, so⁴ appointed the same yearly to be obserued in⁵ memoriall of the same⁶ for euer. But whence⁷ sooner they had their exordium,⁸ certes it is the deuill was the Father of them, to⁹ drown vs in perdition, and destruction of body and soule: which God forefend¹⁰!

Sp. As I remember, you spoke¹¹ of dauncing before, inferring *that* the sabaoth is¹² greatly prophaned therby: whereof, I pray you, shew mee your iudgement.

*The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing, vsed¹³
in Ailgna.*

Philoponus.

DAuncing, as it is vsed (or rather abused) in these daies, is an introduction to¹⁴ whordom, a preparatiue to wantonnes, a prouocatiue to vnclanees, & an introite¹⁵ to al kind of lewdenes, rather than a pleasant exercyse to the mind, or a holfome practife for the body¹⁶: yet¹⁷, notwithstanding, in Ailg[na] both men, wemen, & children, are so skilful in this laudable science, as they maye be thought nothing inferiour to *Cynædus*, the¹⁸ prostitut ribauld, nor yet to *Sardanapalus*, that effeminate varlet. Yea, they are not ashamed to erect scholes of dauncing,

From whence these annuall feasts and stationarie wakeffes had their beginning.
[³ leaf 98. B †]
[7 M 7, back]

Scholes of dauncing erected.

¹ as farre as euer I could iudge *added in* B, E, F, *but* E, F, *have learne for* iudge: F *then adds* :—& the best fruits that they bring forth.

² false F.

† leaf 98. Dauncyng in Ailgna. B.

⁴ and so B, E, F.

⁵ in a F.

⁶ them for the same B, E, F.

⁸ original F.

⁹ seeking thereby to F.

¹⁰ remoue farre from vs F.

¹¹ spake B, E, F.

¹² was B, E, F.

¹³ not in F.

¹⁴ all kind of *added in* F.

¹⁵ entrance F.

¹⁶ (as some list to cal it) *added in* B, E; (as some would haue it). And F.

¹⁷ And yet, E.

¹⁸ that B, E, F.

thinking it an ornament to their children to be expert in this noble science of heathen diuelrie: and yet this people¹ glory of their christianitie & integritie of ²life. Indeed, *verbo tenus Christiani boni vocitentur*, But *vita et moribus Ethnicis et paganis peiores*³ *reperientur*⁴: From ⁵the mouth outward they may be said to be good Christians, but in life & maners farre worser than the heathen or *Paganes*. Wherof if they repent not & amend, it shalbe easier for that⁶ Land of *Sodoma* and *Gomorrah*, at the day of iudgement, then for them.

[² leaf 98, back. B.*]

[⁵ sign. M 8. A.]

Spud. I haue heard it said, *that* dauncing is both a recreation for the minde, & also an exercyse for the body, very holsome; and not only that, but also a meane wherby loue is acquired.

Ph. I will not much denie but being vsed in a meane, in tyme and place conueniente, it is a certen solace⁷ to the minds of such as take pleasure in such vanities; but it is no good reason to say, some men take pleasur in a thing, *ergo*, it is good, but the contrarie⁸ is true rather⁸: For this is⁹ (*lasis*¹⁰ *veritatis*) a ground of¹¹ truth,⁹ *that* whatsoeuer a carnall man, with vncircumcised heart, either desireth or taketh pleasure in, is most abhominable & wicked before god. As, on the other side, what the spirituall man regenerat, & borne anew in Christ, by the direction of God his spirit, desireth or taketh delight in, is good, and according to the will of God: And seeing mans nature is too procliue¹² of it selfe to sinne, it hath no need of allurements & allections¹³ to¹⁴ sin (as dauncing is) but rather of restraints & inhibitions¹⁵ from the same, which are not there to be found. For what clipping, what culling, what kissing and buffing, what¹⁶ smouching & flabbering one of another, what filthie groping and vncleane handling is not practised euery wher in these dauncings? yea, the very deed and action it selfe, which I will not name for offending chaste eares, shall be purtrayed and shewed¹⁷ forth in their bawdye gestures of one to another. All which, whither they blow vp *Venus* cole or not, who is so blind

Dauncing a pleasure to them that delight in vanities.

What allurements to sin be in dauncing.
[¹⁴ leaf 99. B.†]

[¹⁶ M 8, back. A.]

¹ forsooth added in F.

* leaf 98, back. Dauncyng, an allurements to sinne. B.

³ deteriores F. ⁴ inueniantur B, inuenientur E. ⁶ the B, E, F.

⁷ or recreation added in B, E, F. ⁸⁻⁸ is rather true B, E, F.

⁹⁻⁹ a maxime F. ¹⁰ basis et fundamentum B, E.

¹¹ or foundation of B, E; E has and for or. ¹² prone F.

¹³ enticementes F. † leaf 99. Dauncyng, a corrosiue. B.

¹⁵ to stay him added in F.

¹⁷ shadowed F.

156 Dancing vnholsome for the body. The Anatomie

Dauncing no recreation, but a corrosiue to a good Christian.

The onely thing wherin a good christian doth delight.

[⁴ leaf 99, back. B.†]

[⁶ sign. N 1. A.]

Dancing no holson exercise for the Bodie.

What looue dancing procureth.

that seeth not? wherefore, let them not think that it is any recreation (which word is abusiuely vsed to expresse the ioyes or delightes of *the* mind, which signifieth a making againe of that which before was made,) to the mind of a good Christian, but rather a corrosiue¹ most sharp and nipping. For seeing that it is euill in it self, it is not a thing wherin a Christian Mans heart may take any² comfort. The onely³ *summum bonum*, wherin a true Christians heart is recreated and comforted, is the meditation of *the* passion of Iesus Christ, the effusion of his blood, the remission of sins, and the contemplation of the ineffable ioyes and beatituds after this life, prepared for the faithfull in the blood of Iesus Christ. This is the only thing wherin a Christian man ought to reioyse and take delight in, all other pleasures & delights of this lyfe set a parte as amarulent⁴ and bitter, bringing forth fruit to eternall destruction, but the other to eternall lyfe. And wheras they conclude it⁵ is a hole⁶some exercise for the bodie, the contrary is mooste true; for I haue knowen diuers, by⁷ the immoderate vse therof, haue in short time become decrepit and lame, so remaining to their dying day. Some haue broke their legs with skipping, leaping, turning, and vawting, and some haue come by one hurt, some by another, but neuer any came from thence without some parte of his minde broken and lame; such a wholsome exercise it is! But, say they, it induceth looue: so I say also; but what looue? Truly, a lustful looue, a venereous looue, a concupiscencious, baudie, & beastiall looue, such as proceedeth from the stinking pump and lothsome sink of carnall affection and fleshly appetite, and not such as distilleth from the bowels of the hart ingenerat by the spirit of God.

Wherefore I exhort them, in the bowels of Iesus Christ, to eschue not only from euil, but also from all apperance of euil, as the Apostle willeth them, proceeding from one vertue to another; vntil they growe to⁸ perfect men in Christe Iesus, knowing that we must giue accounts at *the* day of⁹ iudgment of euery minut and iote of time,¹⁰ from the day¹¹ of our birth to the time¹² of our death: for there is nothing more precious then time, which is giuen vs to glorifie God in¹³

¹ corrosiue F.

² any pleasure or F.

³ enely A.

† leaf 99, back. Dauncyng vnholosome for the body. B.

⁵ that it E, F.

⁷ that by B, E, F.

⁸ to bee F.

⁹ of of F.

¹⁰ that is lent us in this life *added in* E, F.

¹¹ first day B, E, F.

¹² last houre B, E, F.

¹³ by B; in, by E, F.

good-woorks, and not to spend in luxurious exercises ¹after our owne fantasies and delights.

Spud. But I haue heard them affirme that dauncing is prouable³ by the woord of God; for (say they) did not the women come foorth of all the Cities of *Israel* to meet king *Saule*? and⁴ *Dauid*, returning from the slaughter of *Goliath*, with psalteries, flutes, tabrets, Cymbals, and other musicall Instruments, dauncing & leaping before them? Did not the *Israelites*, hauing passed ouer the red sea, bring foorth their Instruments, and danced for ioy of their deliuerance?

* We must render accounts for time heer lent vs.

[1 leaf 100. B.*]
[2 N 1, back]

[Bible examples of dancing.]

1 Sa. 18.

Exo. 15.

Exo. 32.

Againe, did they not daunce before the golden Calf, which they had made in *Horeb* or *Sinai*? Did not king *Dauid* daunce before the Ark of the Lord? Did not the Daughter of *Iephtah* daunce with tabret and harp at the return of her Father from the Feeld? Did not the women of the *Israelits* dance comming to visit good *Iudith*? Did not the Damiel dance before King *Herod*? Did not *Christ* blame the people for their not dancing when he said, wee haue pyped vnto you, but you haue not daunced?

2 Sa. 6.

Iudic. 11.

Iudic. 15.

Mat. 14.

Luc. 7.

Saith not *Salomon*, 'there is a time to weep, and a time to laughe, a time to mourne, and a time to daunce?'

Eccle. 3.

And dooth not the Prophet *Dauid*, in many places of his Psalmes, commend and commaund dauncing, and playing vpon Instruments of Musick?

⁵Wherfore (for thus⁶ they conclude) seeing these holy Fathers (wherof some were guided by the instinction⁷ of ⁸God his⁸ Spirit) haue not only taught it in doctrine, but also expressed it by¹⁰ their Examples of life, who may open his mouth once to speake against it?

[5 sign. N 2. A.]

[9 leaf 100, back. B.†]

Philo. The Fathers, as they were men, had their errors, and erred as men, for *Hominis est errare, decipi et lali*: it is naturall for man to erre, to be deceiued & to slide from the trueth. Therfore the Apostle faith, follow mee, in all things as I follow Christ; but to the intent that they, who perpend¹¹ the Examples of the Fathers and ¹²Scripture falsly¹² wrested to maintaine their deuillish dauncings-withall, may see their owne impietie & grosse¹³ ignorance discovered, I wil compendi-

No man without errors both in lyfe and doctrine.

* leaf 100. Testimonies in the behalf of dancing. B.

³ probable E, F.

⁴ and also king E, F.

⁶ this E, F.

⁷ instinct F.

⁸⁻⁸ Gods F.

† leaf 100, back. None withoute errors. B.

¹⁰ in B, E, F.

¹¹ pretende E, F.

¹²⁻¹² Scriptures fasly (*sic*) F.

¹³ not in F.

158 Euil examples not to be followed. The Anato[mie]

oufly fet down the true fence and meaning of euery place, as they haue cyted them perticulerly. For the first, wheras they say that the Women came foorth in daunces with timbrels and Infruments of Ioy to meet *Dauid* and *Saule*, I aske them for what cause they did so? Was it for wantonnes, or for very ioye of hart for their Victorie gotten ouer¹ the *Philistines*, their sworne Enemies? Was it in prayfe of God, or to stirre vp filthie lust in them selues, or for nicenes onely, as our daunces bee? ²Did men and women daunce together, as is now vsed to be doon? or rather was it not doon amongst women only? for so faith the text, the women came foorth, &c. But admit it were neither so, nor so, wil they conclude a generall rule of a particuler example? it is no good reason to say, such and ³such did so, therefore it is good, or we may doo so; but all things are to be poyfed in the balance of holy scripture, and therby to be allowed or disallowed, according to the meaning of the holy Ghost, who is only to be heard and obeyed in his woord.

The *Ifraelitish* women, hearing of the fame of *Dauid*, and how he had killed their deadly enemy *Goliath*, came foorth to meet him, playing vpon instruments, dancing, & singing songs of ioye and thanks-giuing to the Lord,⁴ who had giuen them victorie, and deliuered them from the deadly hostilitie of him who sought their distruction euery way. Now, what maketh this for our leud, wanton, nice and vbiquitarie dauncings,—for so I may call them because they be vsed euery where,—let the godly iudge. who seeth not rather that this example (let *Cerberus* ⁵the dog of hel alatrare what he⁵ list to the contrary) clean ouerthroweth them. Theirs was a godly kind of dancing in praise of God; ours, a lustful, baudie kinde of deamenour⁶ in praise of our selues: theirs, to shew their inward ioy of minde for the blessings⁷ of ⁸God bestowed vpon them; ours, to shew our actiuitie, agilitie and curious nicitie, and to procure lustful looue and such like wickednes infinit. But to their second allegation: the Children (say they⁹) of *Ifrael* danced, being deliuered out of the feruitude of *Pharo*, and hauing pas¹⁰sed ouer the red sea. I graunt

1 Sa. 18.

The first
pillare of
dauncing
ouerthrowen.

[² N 2, back. A.]

No good con-
sequent to say
others did so,
ergo it is
good, or wee
may doo the
like.

[³ leaf 101. B.*]

The difference
betweene
the dances of our
Forefathers
and ours.

[⁸ sign. N 3. A.]

Their second
Pillar shaken.

[¹⁰ leaf 101,
back. B.†]

¹ against F.

* leaf 101. Euil examples not to be followed. B.

⁴ their God added in F.

⁵—⁵ and all other hel-houndes barke what thei B, E, F.

⁶ dauncing F.

⁷ blessing F.

⁹ they say F.

† leaf 101, back. The Israelites Daunces. B.

they did fo, and good caufe they had fo to doo; For were they not emancipate¹ and fet free from three great calamities and ²extreame miſeries²? Firſt, from the ſeruile bondage of *Egipt*; from the ſwoord of *Pharo*, who purſued the rereward of their hoſte; and from the danger³ of the red ſea, their enemies beeing ouer-whelmed in the fame.

[Why the
Ifraelites
danced.]

For theſe great and ineſtimable benefits and bleſſings, receiued at the hands of God, they played vpon Inſtruments of muſick, leaped, daunced, and fung⁴ godly ſongs vnto *the* Lord, ſhewing by theſe outward geſtures *the* inward ioy of their harts and mindes. Now, what conduceth this for⁵ the allowance of our luxurious dauncings? Is it not directly againſt them? They danced for ioy in thanks⁶ to god, wee for vainglorie: they for looue to God, wee for looue of our felues: they to ſhew the interior ioy of the minde for ⁷God his bleſſing heaped⁷ vpon them; we to ſhew our concinitie, dexteritie and vain curioſitie in the ſame; they to ſtir vp and to⁸ make them felues the apter to praiſe God; we to ſtir vp carnall appetites ⁹and fleſhlie motions: they to ſhewe their humilitie before God; and we to ſhew our pride both before God and *the* world. But how ſo euer it be, ſure I am, their dauncing was not like oures, conſiſting in meaſures, capers, quauers, & I cannot tel what, for thei had no ſuch leaſure in *E*¹⁰gipt¹¹ to learne ſuch vaine curioſity in that luſtfull¹² bawdie ſchoole, for making of brick and tyles. And notwithstanding it is ambiguous whether this¹³ may be called a dauncing or not, at leſt not like oures, but rather a certain kind of modeſt leaping, ſkipping or moouing of the body to expreſſe the ioye of *the* mind in prayſe of God; as the Man did, who, being healed by the power of our Sauour Chriſte, walked in the Temple, leapping, ſkipping & praizing God.

How the
Ifraelites
danced.

[⁹ N 3, back. A.]

[¹⁰ leaf 102. B.†]
[¹¹ *Egipt* A.]
The dauncing
of our Forfa-
thers mai not
be called a
dauncing, but
rather a Godly
triumphing &
reioycing in
heart for ioy.

We neuer read that they euer daunced but at¹⁴ ſome wonderfull¹⁵ portent or ſtraunge iudgment¹⁵ of God¹⁶; and therefore made¹⁷ not a common praſtiſe of it, or a daylie occupation, as it were; much leſſe

¹ deliuered F. ^{2—2} extram (*sic*) miſeries at once F. ³ daungers E, F.

⁴ ſang F.

⁵ to E, F.

⁶ thanks-geuing E, F.

^{7—7} Gods bleſſings beſtowed F.

⁸ to *not in* B, E, F.

† leaf 102. A conſutation of dauncing. B.

¹² luſtfull *not in* B, E, F.

¹³ they E, F.

¹⁴ when E, F.

^{15—15} great bleſſing F.

¹⁶ was ſhewed *added in* E; was beſtowed vpon them F. ¹⁷ they made F.

Their 3. Reason
examined.

fet vp schools of it, and frequenting¹ nothing els night and² day, Sabaoth day and³ other, as we do. But to their⁴ third Reason: The *Israelits* daunced before the Calf in *Horeb*. And what than? They made a Golden Calf and adored it: maye we therfore do the like? They committed ydolatrie there; therfore is ydolatrie good because they committed it?

[5 sign. N 4. A.]

⁵ *Adam* difob[e]yed God, and obeyed the deuil: is obedience therfore to the deuil good, because hee did so?

Therfore wee must not take heede what man hath doon heertofore, but what God hath commaunded in his woord to be doon, and that followe, euen to the death. But, to be short, as it is a friuious thing⁶

[7 leaf 102, back. B.*]

to say, because they committed ⁷ Idolatrie, therfore may wee doo the like, so it is no lesse ridiculous to say, because they daunced, therfore wee may doo the same; for as it is not lawful to commit Idolatrie because they did so, so is it not lawfull to daunce because they daunced.

So that if this place inferre⁸ any thing for dauncing, it inferreth that wee must neuer daunce but before a golden Calf, as they did: but, I think, by this time they are ashamed of their dances. therfore of this place I need to say no more, giuing them to note that this their dauncing, in respect of the end therof, was farre dissonant⁹ from ours; for they daunced in honour of their Idol, wee clean contrary, though neither the one nor the other be at any hand tollerable.¹⁰

Their. 4. Reason.

Their fourth reason: Did not *Dauid* daunce before the Ark? say they. very true; and this place (as the rest before) refelleth their customarie dauncings of men and women together moste excellentlie;

[11 N 4, back. A.]

For¹¹ *Dauid* danced him selfe alone, without either woman or muscical Instrument to effeminate the minde. And this dauncing of *Dauid* was no vsuall thing, nor frequented euery day, but that one time, and that in prayse of God for the deliuerie¹² of the Ark of God his testament out of the hands of the Infidels and hethen people: the ioy of this holy Prophet was so vehement for this great blessing of God (such

[14 leaf 103. B †]

a feruent zeale he bore¹³ to ¹⁴the trueth), that it¹⁵ burst forth into

¹ frequented E, F.

² nor F.

³ nor F.

⁴ the B, E.

⁶ reason E, F.

* leaf 102, back. Dauncyng reprobued. B.

⁸ conferre E, F.

⁹ different F.

¹⁰ lawfull F.

¹² deliuerance B, E, F.

¹³ did beare F.

† leaf 103. Why *Dauid* daunced. B.

¹⁵ he B, E, F.

¹ exterior action,¹ *the* more to induce others to prayse God alio. Would God we would dance, as *David* daunced, heer for the deliuerie of his alsauiing woord out of the hands of that *Italian Philijin* & archenemy of all trueth, the Pope of *Roome*! for in this respect I would make one² to daunce, to leap, to skip, to triumph, and reioyce as *David* did before the Ark. By this, I trust, any indifferent man seeth, that by this place they gain as much for the maintenance of their leude³ dancings and bawdie chorusses, as they did by citing⁴ the former places; that is, iust nothing at all, which they may put in their eies and see neuer the wurffe.

Why *David* daunced before the Ark.

Their fift reason: Did not *Ieptath* his daughter meet her Father, when he came from war, dancing before him, and playing vppon Instruments of Ioy⁵? *Ieptath*, going forth to warre against the *Amonites*, promised the ⁶ Lord (making a rathe vowe) that if it would please his Maiestie to giue him victorie ouer his Ennemies, he wold sacrifice the first lyuing thing that shuld meet him from his house. It pleased God that his sole daughter and heire, hearing of her Fathers prosperous return (as the maner of the Cuntrey was), ran forth to meete her Father, playing vppon instruments in praise of God, and dauncing before him for ioye. Now, what prooueth this for their daunces? Truly, it ouerthroweth them,⁷ if it be well considered: for first we read that she did this but once, we daylie: She in prayse of God, we in prayses of our selues: she for ioy of her Fathers good successe, we to stere vp filthie and vncleane motions: She with a virginall grauitie, we with a babish⁸ leuitie: she in comly maner, we in bawdie gesture. And, moreouer, this sheweth that women are to daunce by themselves (if they wil needs daunce), and men by themselves; for so importeth the Text, making no mention of any other her colleagues or Companions dancing with her.

Their fift Reason examined.

[⁶ sign. N 5. A.]

[⁷ leaf 103, back. B.†]

Wherefore & how the Daughters of Iephthah daunced.

[Each sex must dance by itself.]

Their⁹ .vi. Reason: Did not *the Israelitish* wemen daunce before *Iudith*, comming to visit her? I graunt they did so: the storie is thus:

Ther .6. Reason.

[*Iudith*, Ca. 15, B, E.]

Holofernes, opposing himselfe against the *Israelits*, the chosen

¹—¹ outward shew of the same F.

² my selfe added in E, F.

³ lasciuious added in F.

⁴ citing not in E, F.

⁵ musicke F.

† leaf 103, back. Jephtha his daughters daunce. B.

⁸ wanton E, F.

⁹ The E, F.

[² N 5, back. A.] people of God, and intending to ouerthrowe them, and to blot out
¹ their remembrance for euer from vnder heauen, assembled a huge power, and besieged them on euery side.

Judith cutteth of the head of holofernes.
 The *Israelits*, seeing themselues *circumvalled*,² and in great daunger on each side, suborned good *Iudith*, a vert[u]ous, Godlye Woman (for without some stratagem or pollicie wrought, it was vnpossible for them in the eyes of *the* world to haue escaped) to repaire to *Holofernes*, &, by some meanes or other, to work his destruction: who, guided by the hand of God, attempted the thing & brought it happily to passe. For she cut of his head with his owne fauchine,³

[⁴ leaf 104. B.*] wrap⁴ping his body in the canopie wherein he lay, sleepingly⁵ posselt as he was with *the* spirit of drunkenesse: this done, the Women of *Israell* came together, and went to visit this worthie Woman, and to congratulat her prosperous succeffe with instruments of musick, singing of Godly songs, and dauncing for ioye in honor and praye to God for this great victorie obtained. Now, who seeth not that these women sang, daunced, and played vpon instrumentes in prayse of God, & not for any other lewdnes or wantonnes, as commonly the world doth now adaies? This also ouerthroweth the dauncinges of Men and Women together in one companie; for though there was an infinite number of People by, yet the Text saith, there daunced

The vnlawfullnes of dauncing of men and women together.

[⁶ sign. N 6. A.] ⁶ none but onely Women, which plainly argueth the vnlawfulnesse of it in respect of Man.⁷ And this being but a particular fact, of a sort of imprudent⁸ Women, shall we draw it into example of lyfe, and thinke it lawfull or good because they did practise it?

A custome to daunce in prayse of God.
 It was a custome in those dayes, when God had ⁹powred foorth⁹ any notable blessing vpon his People, from his Heauenly Pallace,¹⁰ the People, in honour, praise, and thankesgiuing to God for them,¹¹ would play vpon their instruments, sing Godly Songs, daunce, leape, skip, and triumphe, shewing foorth the ioye of their mindes, with their thankfulnessse to God, by all exteriour gestures that they could deuise:

[¹² leaf 104, back. B.†] ¹² Which kinde of thankfull dauncing, or spirituall reioycing, wold

² about *added* in B, E; compassed about F.

³ Faulchone F.

* leaf 104. How dauncing is vnlawfull. B.

⁵ sleepeyng B, E, F.

⁷ men & women together E, F.

⁸ simple F.

⁹—⁹ bestowed F.

¹⁰ Consistorie B, E, F.

¹¹ it E, F.

† leaf 104, back. Dauncyng stirreth vp lust. B.

God we did¹ follow, leauing all other wanton dancing to their Father the Deuill!

Their .vij. Reason: Did not (quoth they) the Damofell daunce before Kinge *Herode*, when the head of *Iohn Baptift* was cut of? She daunced, indeed; And herein they maye fee the fruite of dauncing, what goodnesse it bringeth: For was not this the cause of the beheading of *Iohn the Baptift*? See whether dauncing styreth not vp lust, and inflameth the mind; For if *Herode* with seeing her daunce was so inflamed in her loue, and rauished in her ²behauour, that he promised her to giue her whatsoeuer she wold desire, though it were half of his Emperie³ or Kingdome, what wold he haue beene if he had daunced with her? and what are those that daunce with them hand in hand, cheek by cheek, with bussing and kissing, flabbering and smearing, most beaftly to behold? in so much as I haue heard many impudently say that they haue chofen their Wyues, and wyues their Husbands, by dauncing; Which plainly proueth the wickednesse of it.

Ther .7. Reason.

Dauncing
styrreth vp
lust.

[² N 6, back. A.]

Their .viij. reason: Did not Christ rebuke the People for not dauncing, saying, 'we haue pyped vnto you, but you haue not daunced'? They may as well conclude that Christ in this place was a Pyper, or a Minstrell, as that he alowed ⁴of dauncing, or reproued them for not exercysing the same. This is a Metaphoricall ⁵or Allegoricall⁵ kinde of speech, wherin our Sauour Christ goeth about to reprooue and checke the styfneckednes, the rebellion and pertinacious contumacy of the *Scribes* and *Phariseis*, who were neither moued to receiue the glad tydings of the Gospell by the austeritie of *Iohn the Baptiste*, who came preaching vnto them the doctrine of repentaunce in mourning fort, neither yet at the preaching of our Sauour him selfe, breaking vnto them the ⁶pure *Ambrosia*, the ⁶*Caelestial Manna*, the word of life, in ioy⁷full and gladfome maner.

Their .8. Reason.

Luc. 7.

[4 leaf 205. B.†]

The more
than obdurat
hardnes of the
Iewes.

[7 sign. N 7. A.]

Ihon the Baptift he piped vnto them, that is, he preached vnto them austeritie of life, to mourn for their finnes, to repent, to fast, pray, and such like. Our Sauour Christ he pyped (that is) preached vnto them the glad & comfortable tidyns of the Gospell, yet at neither of these ⁸kinde⁹ of concions⁸ they were any whit moued,

¹ would B, E, F. ³ Empire B, E, F. [†] leaf 105. The contumacy of the Iewes. B.
⁵—⁵ not in F. ⁶ that E, F. ⁸—⁸ kinds of preachings F. ⁹ kindes E.

either to imbrace Christ or his gospell: Wherefore he sharply rebuketh¹ them by a similitude of foolish Children, sitting in the market place and piping vnto them that wold not daunce. This is the true vndoubted fence of this place, which, whether it ouerthrow not all kinde of lewd dauncing (at lest maketh nothing for them) allowing a certain kind of spirituall dauncing,² and reioysing of the heart vnto God (that I may suspend my owne iudgement), let wyse men determine.

[² leaf 105, back. B.*]

Eccle. 3.
Their.9. Reason.

Their .ix. Reason: Saith not *Salomon*, 'there is a time to weep, & a time to laugh, a time to mourn, and a time to daunce'? This place is directly againt their vsuall kinde of dauncing; For saith not the Text, 'there is a time', meaning somtime, now and than, as the *Israelites* did in prayse to³ God, when anie notable thing happened vnto them, and not euery daye and howre, as we do, making an occupation of it, neuer leauing it, vntil it leaue vs. But what and if *Salomon* speaketh here⁴ of a certain kind of spiritual dauncing and reioysing of the heart in praise to⁵ God? This is easily gathered by the circumstances of the place, but specially by the sentence precedent; (vs. there is 'a time to mourn & a time to dance', &c.) that is, a time to mourn for our finnes, & a tyme to daunce or reioyse for the vnspcakable treasures purchased vnto vs by the death & passion of Iesus christ. How much this place maketh for defence of their nocturnall, diuturnall, wanton, lewde, and lasciuious dauncings (if it be censured in the imparciall ballance of true iudgement) all the world may see and⁶ iudge.

Salomon
meaneth a
certain kind of
a spirituall
dauncing or
reioysing of
the heart.

[⁴ N 7, back. A.]

Their vltimum
refugium.

And now, to draw to an end, I will come vnto their *ultimum refugium*: That is, Doth not *Dauid* both commend, and also commaunde, dauncing and playing vpon instruments in⁷ diuerse of his Psal.? In all those places the Prophet speaketh of a certain kind of spirituall dauncing and reioysing of the heart to⁸ the Lord, for his graces & benefits in mercie bestowed vpon vs. This is the true kinde of dauncing, which the word of God doth allow of in any place, and not that we should trippe like rammes,⁹ skip like goats,¹⁰ & leap like

[⁷ leaf 106. B.†]

¹ rebuked F.

* leaf 105, back. Salomons spirituall dauncyng. B.

³ of B, E, F.

⁶ of F.

⁶ and A.

† leaf 106. Why our feete were giuen vs. B.

⁸ in B, E, F.

⁹ Goates F.

¹⁰ Does F.

mad men: For to *the* end our feet were not giuen vs, but rather to represent *the* image of God in vs, to keep Companie with the Angels, & to glorifie our heuenly Father thorow good works.

Why our feet
were giuen vs.

Spud. Do you condemne al kinde of daun¹cing² as wicked and prophane?

[¹ sign. N 8. A.]

Ph. All lewde, wanton & lasciuious dauncing in publique assemblies & conuenticles, without respect either of sex, kind, time, place, Person, or any thing els, I,³ by the warrant of the word of God, do vtterly condemne: But that kind of dauncing which is vsed to praise and laud the name of God withall (as weare the daunces of the people of the former world) either priuatly or publiquely, is at no hand to be dysfallowed, but rather to be greatly commended. Or if it be vsed for mans comfort, recreation and Godly pleasure priuatly (euery sex distinct⁴ by themselues), whether with musick or otherwyfe, it cannot be but a very tollerable exerciſe, being vsed moderatly and in *the* feare of God. And ⁵thus, though I condemne all filthie, luxurious and vnclane dauncing, yet I condemne not al kind of dauncing generally; For certen it is, the exercyſe it self, in it own nature, ⁶qualitie & proprietie,⁶ though to some it is lawfull, to otherſome vnlawfull in dyuerſe respects, is both ancient & general, hauing been vsed euer in all ages, as wel of *the* Godly, as of *the* wicked, almost from the beginning. Wherefore, when I condemne the ſame in ſome, my meaning is in respects of the manifold abuses therof. And in my iudgement, as it is vsed now a dayes, an occupation being made of it, and a continuall exercyſe, ⁷without any difference or respect had either to time, Person, sex or place, in publique assemblies and ⁸frequencies⁸ of People, with ſuche beaſtly ſlabberings, buſſings⁹ & ſmouchings, and ¹⁰other filthie geſtures & miſdeameanors therein accuſtomed, it is as vnpoſſible to be vsed without doing of infinit hurt, as it is for a naked Man to lye in the middeſt of a hote burning¹¹ fire, and not to conſume.¹² But theſe abuses, with other *the* like (as there be legions moe in it) being cut of from the exercyſe it ſelfe, the thing¹³ remayneth ¹⁴very commendable¹⁴ in ſome respects. Or els, if our daunces

What daunc-
ing is con-
demned by the
word of God.

[⁵ leaf 106, back.
B.1]

[Dauncing how
lawful, how
vnlawfull, E, F.]

[7 N 8, back. A.]

[Dauncing
vnpoſſible to be
vsed without
hurt E, F.]

² then added in F.

³ I comes after God in F.

⁴ distinct F.

† leaf 106, back. What dauncyng is condemned. B.

⁶—⁶ and quality F.

⁸—⁸ great meetings F.

⁹ kissinges B, E, F.

¹⁰ with B, E, F.

¹¹ glowing F.

¹² burne B, E, F.

¹³ thing it self B, E, F.

¹⁴—¹⁴ more tollerable B, E, F.

tended, as I haue said, to the setting foorth of God his glorie (as the daunces vsed in ¹preter time¹ did) to draw others to pietie and sanctitie of life, and to ²praise and reioyce in ³God, to recreate *the* minde oppressed with some ⁴great toyle or labor, taken in true virtue and godlynes, I would not (being don in the feare of God, men by them selues, and Women by *them* selues, for els it is not possible to be without sinne) much gainstand it. But I see the contrarie is euery where vsed, to *the* great dishonor of God and corruption of good maners, which God amend.

Spud. And wherefore would you haue Men to daunce by them selues, and Women by them selues?

Philo. Because ⁵it is, without all doubt, a ⁶prouocation to lust and venery,⁵ and the fire of lust once conceiued (by some irruption or other) bursteth foorth into open action of whoredome and fornication. And therefore a certain godly Father said wel, *Omnis saltus in chorea, est saltus in profundum inferni*,⁸ Euery leap, or skip in dance, is a leap toward hel. Yet, notwithstanding, in *Ailgna* it is counted a vertue and an ornament to a ⁹man, yea, and the onely way to attaine to promotion & aduancement, as experience teacheth.

Spud. Notwithstanding, for my further instruction, I pray you shewe mee what Fathers and Councels haue iudged of it, and what they haue writ and decreed against it.

Philo. If I should ¹⁰goe foorth to ¹⁰shew all the inuectiues of Fathers, all the decrees of counsels, and all the places of holy Scripture against the same, I should neuer make an end: wher¹¹fore of many I wil selekt a few, hoping that they wil suffice any reasonable man. *Syrach* faith, frequent not the company of a woman that is a finger or a dauncer, neither heare her, least thou be intrapped in her craftines. *Christostome*, dylating vpon *Mathew*, faith, In euery dance the deuil daunceth by, for companie, though not visible to *the* eye, yet palpable¹² to *the* minde. *Theophilus*, writing vpon *Mark*, the sixt Chapter, faith, *Mira collusio saltat per puellam*¹³ *Diabolus*: This is¹⁴ a

¹—¹ former ages F.

² to the E, F.

³ rejoycing in B, E, F.

* leaf 107. Men & women to dance asunder. B.

⁵—⁵ otherwise it prouoketh lust, and stirreth vp concupiscence F.

⁷ This repeated side-note not in B, E, F. ⁸ *Cloaca* F. ⁹ a *not in* F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ *not in* F. † leaf 107, back. Testimonies against Dancing. B.

¹² sensible F.

¹³ *illam* E, F.

¹⁴ There is B.

[⁴ leaf 107. B.*]

Why men should daunce by themselves and women by themselves.

[⁶ sign O r. A.]

⁷ Why men should daunce by themselves and Women by them-selues.

[¹¹ leaf 107, back. B †]
Testimonies of Fathers, counsels and Writers against dauncing.

Eccle. 13.

Mat. 4.

wun¹derful deceit, for the deuill danceth amongft them for company. [¹ O 1, back. A.] *Auguftine*, writing vpon the 32. Pſalme, faith, it is better to digge all the Sabaoth day then to dance. *Erafmus*, in his Booke *de contemptu Mundi*, faith, Whofe minde is fo well difpofed, fo ſtable, or wel fetled, which theſe wanton dances, with ſwinging of armes, kicking of legs, playing vpon inſtruments, and ſuch like, would not² ouercome and corrupt? Wherefore, faith hee, as thou deſireſt thine owne credit and welfare, efchew theſe ſcabbed and ſcuruy companie of dauncers.

Augustine.

Erasmus.

Ludovicus Viues faith, amongft all pleaſures, dauncing and voluptuouſnes is the kingdome of *Venus*, and the empire of *Cupid*: wherefore, faith hee, it were better for thee to ſtay at ³home, and to break either a leg or an arme of thy body, then to break the legges and armes of thy⁴ minde & ſoule, as thou dooſt in filthie ſcuruy dauncings. And, as in all Feaſts and paſtimes, dauncing is the laſt, ſo it is the extreame of all other vice. And again, there were (faith he) from far cuntries, certain men brought into our parts of the world, who, when they ſaw men daunce, ran away meruelouſly affraid, crying out, and thinking them to haue been mad. And no meruaile, for who, ſeing them ⁵leap, ſkip,⁵ & trip like Goates ⁶& hindeſ,⁶ if hee neuer ſaw them⁷ before, would ⁸not think them either mad, or els poſſeſt with ſome furie? *Bullinger*, paraphraſting vpon *Mathew* 14, faith, After feaſting, ſwilling, and gulling, commeth dancing, the root of all filthynes and vncleannes.

Lodouicus viues.

[³ leaf 108. B.*]

Dauncers thought to be mad-men.

[⁸ ſign. O 2. A.]

Bullinger.

Maſter *Caluin*, writing vpon *Iob*, *Ser.* 8, *Cap.* 12, calleth dauncing the cheefe miſcheef of all miſcheefs, ſaying, there be ſuch vnchaſt geſtures in it as are nothing els but inticements to whordome.

Caluin.

Marlorate, vpon *Mathew*, faith, whoſoeuer hath any care either of honeſtie, ſobrietie, or grauitie, haue long ſince bad *adieu* to all filthie dauncing.

No man (faith a certaine heathen Writer) if hee be ſober, daunceth, except hee be mad.

⁹*Saluſtius*, commending *Sempronia*, that renowmed whore, for many goodly gifts, condemneth her for her ouer great ſkil in dauncing; concluding, that dauncing is the Inſtrument of lecherie.

Saluſt.
[⁹ leaf 108, back. B.†]² not be B.

* leaf 108. Dauncyng the cheeſt miſcheef. B.

⁴ the E, F.⁵—⁵ leap like Squirrilles, ſkippe like hindeſ B, E, F.⁶—⁶ as thei doe B, E, F.⁷ any B, E, F.

† leaf 108, back. Dauncyng a world of ſinne. B.

Cicero.

Cicero faith, a good man would not dance in open assemblies, though hee might by it get infinite treasure.

The Council of *Laodecea* decreed that it should not be lawful for any Christian to dance at mariages, or at any sollemne feast.

In an other Council it was enacted, that no man should daunce at any marriage, nor yet at any other time.

[¹ O 2, back. A.]

¹The Emperour *Iustinian* decreed, that for no respect in feasts or assemblies there should be any dauncing, for feare of corrupting the Beholders, and inticing men to sinne.

All Writers,
bothe holy and
prophane,
against
dauncing.

Dauncing a
World of sin.

Thus you may see, bothe Scripture, counsels, and Fathers, holy and prophane, heathen and other, euen all in generall, haue detested and abhorred this filthie dauncing, as the ²quauemire or plath² of all abomination, and therefore it is no exercise for any Christians to followe; for it stirreth vp the motions of *the* flesh, it induceth lust, it inferreth baudrie, affoordeth ribaldrie, maintaineth wantonnes, & ministreth oile to *the* stinking lamp of deceitful pride; and, *in summa*, nourisheth a world of wickednes and sinne.

[³ leaf 109. B.†]

³*Spud.* Now that the wickednes of it is so manifestly shewed, that no man can denie it, I pray you,⁴ who inuented this noble science, or from whence ⁵sprang it⁵?

Who inuented
dauncing, and
from whence it
sprang.

Philo. Heereof there be sundry and diuers opinions; for some holde an opinion (and very likely) that it sprang from the heathen idolatrous *Pagans* and Infidels, who, hauing offered vp their sacrifices, ⁶victimats,⁷ and holocaustes,⁶ to their false Gods, in reuerence of them, and for ioy of their so dooing vsed to daunce, leape, and skip before them.

[⁸ sign. O 3. A.]

And this may be prooued by the *Israelits* themselues, who, hauing seen and learned the same ⁸practise in *Egipt*, feared not to imitate the like in the wildernes of *Horeb*. some again suppose that *Pyrrhus*, one of *Sibils* Preifts, deuised it in *Creet*. Others holde that the Priests of⁹ *Mars*, who in *Roome* were had in great estimation for their dexteritie in dauncing, inuented it. Others think that one *Hiero*, a truculent¹⁰ and bloody Tirant in *Sicilia*, who, to set vp his tyrannie the more, inhibited the people to speake one to an other, for feare of

A Supposall
who inuented
dauncing.

²—³ quagmire or puddle F.

⁴ shewe me, added in B, E, F.

⁷ victimats not in B.

† leaf 109. Who inuented Dauncyng. B.

⁵—⁶ it sprang F. ⁶—⁶ and oblations F.

⁹ of of F.

¹⁰ Turculent F.

inurrections and commotions in his kingdome, was the occasion of the inuventing therof: for when the *Sicilians* sawe that they might not, vnder pain of death, one speak to another, they inuented dauncing to expresse the inward meaning and intentions of the minde by outward becks and exteriour gestures of the body; which vs^e afterward grew¹ into custome, and now into nature. But what soeuer men say of it, or from whence soeuer it sprang, *S. Chrysostom* saith plainly (to whom I willingly subscribe), that it sprang from the teates of the Devils brest, from whence all mischeef els dooth flow. Therefore, to conclude, if of the egges of a *Cokatrice* may be made good meat for man to eat, and if of the web of a spider can be made good cloth for mans body,² then may³ it be prooued that³ dancing is⁴ good, and an exercise fitte for a christian man to followe, but not before.⁵ *Wherefore* *God of his mercy take it away*⁶ *from vs!*

[¹ leaf 109, back B.*]

Vnpossible that dancing should be good

[⁶ O 3, back. A.]

Spud. What say you of⁷ Musick? is it not a laudable science?

Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth to vanitie.

Philo.

I Say of Musick as *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Galen*, and many others haue said of it; that it is very il for yung heds, for a certaine kinde of nice,⁸ smoothe sweetnes in⁹ alluring the auditorie¹⁰ ¹¹to nicenes¹²,¹¹ effeminacie,¹³ pusillanimitie,¹⁴ & lothfomnes of life,¹⁴ ¹⁵so as it may not improperly be compared to a sweet electuarie of honie, or rather to honie it-self¹⁵; for as honie and such¹⁷ like sweet things,¹⁷ receiued into the stomack, dooth delight at the first, but afterward they make¹⁸ the stomack so¹⁹ quasio,²⁰ ²¹nice and weake, that it is not able to admit²¹ meat of hard digesture: So sweet Musick at the first delighteth the eares, but afterward corrupteth and depraueth the minde, making it weake and²³

A comparison betwixt hony and dancing.¹⁶[²² leaf 110. B.†]

* leaf 109, back. Dauncyng vnpossible to be good. B.

² body to weare B, E, F.

^{3—3} not in E, F.

⁴ be for is in E, F.

⁵ els E, F.

⁷ to F.

⁸ nice not in B, E, F.

⁹ in it B, E, F.

¹⁰ hearers F.

^{11—11} to a certaine kind of F.

¹² niceness not in B, E, F.

¹³ and added in F.

^{14—14} not in F.

^{15—15} muche like vnto Honey B, E, F.

¹⁶ musicke B, E, F.

^{17—17} other sweete Conserues B, E; other sweete thinges F.

¹⁸ maketh for they make B, E, F.

¹⁹ so not in B, E, F.

²⁰ queasie F.

^{21—21} and vnable to receiue B, E, F.

† leaf 110. Hurte by Musicke. B.

²³ weake and not in B, E, F.

Wits dulled
by Musick.
[² sign. O 4. A.]

quasie,¹ and inclined to all licenciousnes of lyfe whatsoeuer. And right as good edges are not sharped ²(but ³obtused) by beeing whetted³ vpon softe stones, so good wits, by hearing of soft musick, are rather dulled then sharped, and made apt to all wantonnes and sinne. ⁴And therfore⁴ Writers affirme *Sappho* to haue been expert in musick, and therfore whorish.

Authors of the
bringing in of
musick.

Tyrus Maximus saith, the bringing in of musick was a cup of poyson to all the world.

Clytomachus, if hee euer heard any talking of looue, or playing vpon⁵ musicall Instrumts, would run his way, and bidde them farwel.

Plutarchus complaineth of Musick, and saith, that it dooth rather feminine the minde as pricks vnto vice, then conduce to godlines as spurres vnto Vertue.

Pythagoras condemnes them for fooles, and bequeathes them a cloke-bag, that measure Musick by sound and eare. Thus you heare the iudgement of the wise concerning Musick: now iudge therof as you list your self.

Spud. I haue heard it said (and I thought it very true) that Musick dooth delight bothe man and beast, reuiue the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it apter⁶ to the seruice of God.

Musick the
good gift of
God.
[⁷ O 4, back. A.]
[⁸ leaf 110, back.
B.†]

Philo. I graunt Musick is a good gift of God, and that it delighteth bothe man ⁷and beast, reuiue the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh ⁸it redyer⁹ to serue God; and therfore did *David* bothe vse musick him self, & also commend the vse of it to his posteritie (and beeing vsed to that end, for mans priuat recreation, musick is very laudable).

Of musick in
publique assem-
blies and
conuenticles.

But beeing vsed in publique assemblies and priuate conuenticles, ¹⁰as directories¹⁰ to filthie dauncing, thorow the sweet harmonie & smoothe melodie therof, it estraungeth the mind, fireth vp filthie lust, womannisheth the minde, rauisheth the hart, enflameth concupisence, and bringeth in vncleannes. But if musick openly were vsed¹¹ (as I haue said) to the praise¹² and glory of God, as our Fathers vsed it, and

¹ queasie F. ^{3—3} dulled by whetting F. ^{4—4} And hereof is it that F.

⁵ of B, E, F. ⁶ and readier added in F.

† leaf 110, back. How Musicke is tollerable. B. ⁹ apter F.

^{10—10} as a Directorie B, E, F. ¹¹ openly follows used in B, E, F. ¹² prsie A.

as was intended by it at the first, or priuaty in a mans secret Chamber or house, for his owne solace or¹ comfort to driue away the fantasies of idle thoughts, solicitude,² care, sorrowe, and such other perturbations and molestations³ of the minde, the only ends wherto true Musick tends, it were very commendable and tollerable.⁴ If Musick were thus vsed it would comfort man wunderfully, and mooue his hart to serue God the better; but beeing vsed as it is, it corrupteth good minds, maketh them womannish, and inclined to all kinde of whordome and mischeef.⁵

How musicke were tollerable & good.

Spud. What say you, then, of Musitions & Minstrels, who liue only vpon the same art?

⁶ *Philo.* I thinke that all good minstrelles, sober and chaste musitions (speking of such drun⁷ken sockets and bawdye parasits as range the Cuntreyes, ryming and finging of vncleane, corrupt, and filthie songs in Tauernes, Ale-houses, Innes, and other publique assemblies,) may daunce the wild Moris thorow a needles eye. For how should thei bere chaste minds, seeing that their exercyse is the pathway to all vn-cleane.⁸ Their is no ship so⁹ balanced with massie matter,⁹ as their heads are fraught¹⁰ with all kind of bawdie songs, filthie ballads and scurrie rymes, seruing for euery purpose, and for euery Cumpanie.

[⁶ sign. O 5. A.]
The scarsity of good musitions and minstrelles.
[⁷ leaf xxx. B.†]

The marchandise of minstrelles and musitions.

¹¹ Who be ¹² more bawdie ¹² than they? who vn cleaner than they? who more licentious and loose¹³ minded¹⁴? who more incontinent than they? and, briefly, who more inclyned to all kind of insolencie and lewdnes than they? wherefore, if you wold haue your sonne softe, womannish, vn cleane, smoth mouthed, affected to bawdrie, scurrilitie, filthie rimes, and vnseemely talking; brisly, if you wold haue him, as it weare, transfmured into a woman, or worse, and inclyned to all kind of whordome and abomination, set him to dauncing school, and to learn musicke, and than shall you not faile of your purpose. And if you would haue your daughter whoorish, bawdie, and vn cleane, and a filthie speaker, and such like, bring her vp in ¹⁵ musick and dauncing, and, my life for youre, you haue won the goale.

The wickednes of musitions and minstrels.

[¹⁵ O 5, back. A.]
How to haue Children lerned in all wickednes.

¹ and B, E, F.

² to mitigate F.

³ passions F.

⁴ lawful F.

⁵ vn cleannes F.

† leaf III. Good Musitions scarce. B.

⁸ Baudry & filthines F.

⁹⁻⁹ laden with merchandize F.

¹⁰ pestred F.

¹¹ As for example added in B; For prooffe whereof added in E, F.

¹²⁻¹² baudier F.

¹³ looser E, F.

¹⁴ then they added in F.

[¹ leaf xxx, back. B.*]

The scarcytie of dyuines.

¹ And yet, notwithstanding, it weare better (in respecte of² acceptation³) to be a Pyper, or⁴ bawdye minstrell, than a deuyne, for the one is looued for his ribauldrie, the other hated for his grauitie, wifdome, and sobrietie.

Euery towne, Citie, and Countrey, is full of these minstrelles to pype vp a dance to the Deuill; but of⁵ dyuines, so few there be⁶ as they⁷ maye hardly be seene.⁶

But some of them will reply, and say, what, Sir! we haue lycenfes from iustices of⁸ peace to pype & vse our minstraltrie to our best commoditie. Curfed be those licences which lycense any man to get his lyuing with the destruction of many thousands!

But haue you a lycence from the Arch-iustice of peace,⁹ Chrifte Iesus? If you haue so, you may be glad; if you haue not (for the Worde of God is against your vngodly exercyses, and condemneth them to Hell,) than may you as rogues, extrauagantes, and straglers¹⁰ from the Heauenlye Country,¹⁰ be arrested of the high iustice of peace,¹¹ Chrif Iesus, ¹² and be punished with eternall death,¹² notwithstanding your pretended¹³ licences of earthly men. Who¹⁴ shall stand betwixt you and the Iustice of God at the daye of Iudgement? Who shall excuse you for draw¹⁵ing so manye thousandes to Hell? shall the Iustices of peace? shall their licences? Oh, no: ¹⁶ For neither ought they to graunt anye licences¹⁷ to anie to doo hurt withall; neither (if they would) ought any to take them.

Licences graunted to musitions & minstrels to exercyse their mistery or facultie of mischief.

[¹⁵ sign. O 6. A.]

No lycences to do hurte withall are to be graunted.

[¹⁸ leaf 112. B.†]

¹⁸ Giue ouer, therefore, your Occupations, you Pypers, you Fidlers, you minstrelles, and you musitions, you Drummers, you Tabretters, you Fluters, and all other of that wicked broode; for the blood of all those whome you drawe to destruction, thorow your prouocations¹⁹ and intyng allurementes, shalbe powred vppon your heads at the day of

A Caue[a]t to musitions, minstrelles, & all others of that²⁰ stampe.

* leaf 111, back. Licences for Minstrelles. B.

² of worldly B, E.

³ the accompt of the world F.

⁴ or a F.

⁵ of good F.

⁶—⁶ that small skill in Arithmetick will suffice to number them F.

⁷ any B, E.

⁶ of the B, E, F.

⁹ of peace *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ *not in* B, E, F.

¹¹ of peace *not in* B, E, F.

¹²—¹² *not in* B, E, F.

¹³ presented A, pretended B, E, F.

¹⁴ Then who F.

¹⁶ It wil not goe for payment at that day *added in* F.

¹⁷ licencens A.

† leaf 112. A Caueat for Minstrelles. B. E has: Cardes, Dice, vnlawfull on the Sab.

¹⁹ example F.

²⁰ twat A.

Iudgement. but hereof enough, and, perchaunce, more than will like¹ their humour.²

Spud. Is it not lawfull vpon the Sabaoth daye to playe at Dice, Cardes, Tables, Bowles, Tenniffe, and fuche other pleasaunt exercyfes, wherein Man taketh pleasure and delight?

Cards, Dice, Tables, Tenniffe, Bowles, and other exercyfes vfed vnlawfully in Ailgna.

³ *Philoponus.*

[³ O 6, back. A.]

THEse be no Sabaothlike⁴ exercyfes for any Christian man to follow any day at all, much lesse vpon the Sabaoth daye, which the Lord wold haue to be consecrat to himselfe, and to be spent in holy and Godly exercyfes, according to his will. As for cards, dice, tables, bowls, tenniffe, and such like, thei are *furta officiosa*, a certen kind of smooth, deceitfull, and sleightie thefte, wherby many a one is ipoiled of all that euer he hath, sometimes of his life withall, yea, of body and soul for⁵ euer. And yet (more is the pitie) these be the onely exercyfes vfed in euery mans howse, al the yeer thorow; But specially in Christmas tyme, there is nothing els vfed but cards, dice, tables, masking, mumming, bowling, & such like fooleries. And the reason is, they⁶ think they haue a commiſſion and prerogatiue that time to do what they lust,⁷ and to folow what vanitie they will. But (alas!) do they thinke that they are priuiledged at that tyme to doo euill? the holier the time is (if one time were holier than another, as it is not) the holier ought their workes⁸ to be. Can anie⁹ time diſpenſe with them, or giue them libertie to ſin? No, no: the ſoule which ſinneth ſhall dye, at what time ſo euer it offendeth. But what will thei ſay? Is it not Christmas? muſt we not be mery? truth it is, we ought, both than and at¹¹ all tymes beſides, to be merie in the Lord, but not otherwyſe; not to ſwil and gull¹² more that time than at any other time, nor^{13 12} to lauſh foorth more at that time than¹⁴ at another¹⁴ time.¹⁵

Exercises vn-lawfull vpon the Sabaoth day.
Furta officiosa.

[⁵ leaf 112, back. B.†]

All wicked games vſed in Christmas tyme.

No tyme priuiledged¹⁰ a man to ſinne.

[¹¹ ſign. O 7. A.]

¹ please E, F.

² daintie humours F.

⁴ not in F.

† leaf 112, back. Al wicked Games vſed in Christmas. B.

⁶ for that they F. ⁷ list B, E, F. ⁸ exercises B, E, F. ⁹ anie not in F.

¹⁰ priuiledgeth E, F. ^{12—12} in more then will ſuffice nature, nor F.

¹³ not A.

^{14—14} at any other B, E, F.

¹⁵ times A, B, E, F.

The true
keeping of
Christmas.

But the true celebration of the Feast of christmas is to meditat (and as it were to ruminat¹) vppon the incarnation and byrthe of Iesus Christ,² not onely³ that time, but all the tymes and daies of our life, and to shewe our selues thankful to his⁴ Maiestie for the fame. Notwithstanding, who⁵ is ignorant⁵ that more mischiefe is that time committed than in all the yeere besides? ⁶ what masking and mumming! wherby robberie, whordome,⁷ murther,⁸ and what not,⁸ is⁹ committed! what dicing & carding, what eating and drinking, what banqueting and feasting is than vsed more than in all the yeere beydes! to the great dishonor of God, and impouerishing of the realme.

[⁶ leaf 113. B.*]

Wickednes in
Christmas.

Spud. Is it not lawfull for one Christian to play with another at any kinde of game, or to winne his monie, if he can?

Philo. To play at tables, cards, dice, bowls, or the like (though a good Christian man will not so ydely and vainely spend his golden dayes) one Christian with another, for their priuat recreations, after some oppression of studie, to driue away fantasies¹⁰ and suche like, I doubt not, but they may, vsing it moderately, with intermission and in the feare of ¹¹ God; But to play for lucre of gaine, and for desire onely of his Brothers substaunce (rather than for any other cause) it is at no¹² hand lawfull, or¹³ to be suffered.

Unlawful for
one Christian
to play with
another to
win his
money.

[¹¹ O 7, back. A.]

For as it is not lawful to robbe, steale and purloine by deceit or flaight, so is it not lawfull to get thy Brothers goods from him by carding, dicing, tabling, bowling, or any other kynd of thefte; for these playes¹⁴ are no better; nay, worser than open theft; for open theft euery Man can be ware of, but this being a craftie pollitick theft, and commonly don vnder pretence of Freendship, few or none at all can beware of ¹⁵ it. The commaundement saith, thou shalt not couet nor desire any thing that belongeth to thy Neighbour: Now, it is manifest that those that playe for monie, not onelye couet their

[Gamyng worse
then open theft
E, F.]

[¹⁵ leaf 113, back.
B.†]

¹ in the secrete cogitations of our myndes *added in* B, E, F.

² God and man *added in* B, E, F.

³ at *added in* E, F.

⁴ blessed *added in* F.

⁵—⁵ knoweth not E, F; is so *for* is B.

* leaf 113. Great wickednes in Christmas. B.

⁷ and sometimes *added in* B, E, F.

⁸—⁸ *not in* B, F.

⁹ what no, tis A.

¹⁰ or melancholy passions *added in* F.

¹² not at any *for* at no F.

¹³ nor F.

¹⁴ games B, E, F.

† leaf 113, back. Gamyng houses. B.

Brothers monie, but also vse craft, falshood and deceit to wyne the fame.

The *Apostle* forbiddeth vs to vse deceit in bargaining, in buying or selling; much lesse than ought we to vse deceit in gaming.

Our Sauour Christ biddeth euery man do to an other as he would another should do vnto him. Which rule, if it weare dulia obserued, weare sufficient to with[d]raw men both from all kynd of gameing, and also from all kynd of ¹indirect and ¹vnjust dealing. For as thou woldest not that another man should winne thy money, so thou oughtest not ³to desire the winning of his, for thou must do as thou woldest be done by.

A rule to
restraine
vnlawfull
gameing.²
[³ sign. O 8. A.]

Spud. If gameing for money be so vnlawfull, wherfore are there howses⁴ and places appointed for maintenance of the same?

Philo. That excuseth not the fault, but aggrauateth it rather. And truly great pitie it is, that these brothel howses (for so I call all gaming howses) are suffred as they be: For are they not the very feminaries and nurseries of all kynd of abomination, whatsoeuer heart can thinke, or tongue expresse?

Gaming
houses with
their wicked-
nes.

And therefore I marueile, *that* those who keep and maintaine these gaming howses can euer⁵ haue light hearts, or once to⁶ looke ⁷vp towards Heauen, *that* not onely suffer this manifest theft in their howses (for gaming is no better) but also maintaine and nourish⁸ the fame.

[⁷ leaf 114. B.†]

The *Apostle* saith, not onely they that doo euill *digni sunt morte*, are worthie of death, but also *qui consentiunt facientibus*, those who consent to them that do it.

Call to mind, than, what euills come of this wicked excercyse, I beseeche you.

For doth not swearing, tearing, and blaspheminge of the Name of God; doth not stinking Whordome, Theft, Robberie, Deceit, Fraude, Cosenage, fighting, Quareling, and sometymes Murder; ⁹doth not pride, rapine, drunken[e]s, beggerie, and, in fine, a shamefull end followe it, as the shadowe doth follow the body? wherfore I will not doubt to call these gaming howses, the slaughter howses, the

[⁹ O 8, back. A.]

¹—¹ *not in F.*

² gamening A.

⁴ gamyng houses B, E, F.

⁵ neuer F.

⁶ to *not in* B, E, F.

† leaf 114. Infamy gotten by gamyng. B.

⁸ vphold F.

shambles, or blockhowfes of the Deuill, wherein he butchereth Christen mens soules infinit waies, God knoweth : the Lord suppresseth them !

Spud. Weare there euer anie lawes made against the inordinat abuse hereof? or haue the Godly in any age misliked it?

Philo. In all ages and times both the godly sober Christians haue detested it, and holosome lawes haue been promulgat¹ against it.

Oclavius Augustus was greatly reproched of the Writers of his time for his great delight in gaming, notwithstanding his manifold vertues besides.

Lawes and
sanctions
diuturnat
against
gaming.

[² leaf 114, back.
B.*]

² *Cicero* objected to *Marcus Antonius* his often gaming, as a note of infamie vnto him.

The infamy
purchased by
gaming.

The noble *Lacedemonians* sent their Ambassadors to *Corinth* to conclud a peace, who coming thither, and finding the People playing at dice and cards and vnthrifitie games, returned back again (*infecta pace*) their peace vnconcluded, saying it should neuer be reported that they wold ioyne in league with Dice-players and gamesters.

[³ sign. P r. A.]

The same *Lacedemonians* sent to *Demetrius*, in derision of his diceplaying, a paire of ³ dice of gold. Sir *Thomas Eliot* (that worthie Knight) in his 'Book of gouernance' asketh, who will not think him a light man of small credit, dissolut, remife, and vaine, that is a Dice-player⁴ or gamester?

5 Laws against
gaming.

Publius saith, *Quantò peritior est aleator in sua arte, tanto nequior est, & vita, & moribus* : How much conninger a man is in gaming and diceplaying, so much corrupter he is both in life and maners. *Iustinian* made a lawe that none should play at dice, nor cards, for no cause, neither priuately nor openly.

Alexander Seuerus banished all gamesters out of his dominions; And if anie were found playing, their goods were confiscat, and they counted as mad men euer after, neuer trusted nor esteemed of anie.

[⁶ leaf 115. B.†]

⁶ *Ludouicus* ordeined that al gamesters shold depart⁷ his land, for feare of corrupting of others.

K. Richard the second forbad all kynd of gaming, and namely dice-playing.

¹ published F.

* leaf 114, back. Lawes against Gamying. B.

⁴ Dici-player A.

⁶ this side-note not in E, F.

† leaf 115. Punishment for Gamying. B.

⁷ out of added in F.

K. Henrie the fourth ordeined *that* euery Dice-player should be imprifoned fix daies for euery feuerall time he offended in gaming. Punishment for gaming.

K. Edward the fourth ordeined, who fo kept gaming howfes should fuffer imprifonment three yeeres, and forfeit xx. li.¹ & the Players to be imprifoned two yeers & forfeit .x. pound.

K. Henri the feuenth ordeined *that* euery Dice-player should be imprifoned all a day, and the ²Keeper of the dicing howfe to forfeit for euery offence vi. shil. viij.d., and to be bound by recognizance to good behaiour. The penalty for those that keep gaming howfes.
[² P 1, back. A.]

K. Henrie the eight ordeined that euery one that kept dicing houfes should forfeit xl. shil., and the Players to forfeit vi. shil. viij.d., with many³ good lawes and fancies⁴ fet foorth againft this raging Abuse of gaming; which, ⁵to auoid tediousnes⁵ I omit, befecching *the* Lord to root vp and fupplant thefe, and all other stumbling blocks in his church ⁶what fo euer.⁶

Sp. As I remember, in the Catalogue of abufes before, you faid, *the* fabaoth day was prophaned by bearbaiting, cockfighting, ⁷hawk-
ing, hunting, keeping of faires, courts, & markets, vpon *the* faid day. [⁷ leaf 115, back. B.f]
Is it not lawful, *than*, to follow thefe exercifes vpon the fabaoth day neither?

Beare baiting and other exercyfes, vfed vnlawfully⁸ in AILGNA.

Philoponus.

THEfe Hethnicall⁹ exercyfes vpon the Sabaoth day, which *the* Lord ¹⁰hath confecrat¹⁰ to ¹¹holy vfes,¹¹ for the glory of his Name, and our spirituall comfort, are not in any refpect tollerable, or to be fuffered. For is not¹² the baiting of a Bear, befides that it is a filthie, ftinking, ¹³and lothfome game, a ¹⁴daungerous & ¹⁵perilous exercyfe? [Bearbaiting on Sundays.]
[¹⁵ sign. P 2. A.]
wherein a man is in daunger of his life euery minut of an houre; which thing, though it weare not fo, yet what exercyfe is this meet

¹ pound B, E, F.

³ other *added in F.*

⁴ statutes F.

⁵—⁵ least I might seeme tedious F.

⁶—⁶ & common wealth F.

† leaf 115, back. Beare bayting. B.

⁸ vpon the Sabboth day *added in F.*

⁹ Heathnifh F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ would haue consecrated B, E, F.

¹¹—¹¹ his seruice F.

¹² is not *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁴ is it not a B, E, F; dangerous and *not in* F.

¹⁵ and a B, E.

No Creature
to be abused.

[⁴ leaf 116. B.*]

for any Christian? what christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beaft to rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they ¹be bloody¹ beafts to mankind, & seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, & whose creatures they are. For, notwithstanding that they be euill to vs, & thirst after our blood, yet are thei good creatures in their own nature & kind, & made to set forth the glorie² & magnificence of ³the great³ God, & for our vse; & therefore for his sake⁴ ⁵not to be abused.⁵ It is a [com]mon saying amongst all men, borrowed from the french, *Qui aime Iean, aime son chien*; ⁶loue me, loue my dog: so, loue God, loue his creatures.

God is abused
when his
Creatures are
misused.

If any should abuse but the dog of another mans, wold not he who oweth the dog think *that* the abuse therof⁷ resulteth to himselfe? And shall we abuse *the* creatures of God, yea, take pleasure in abusing them, & yet think *that* the contumely don to *them* redoundeth not to him who made them? but admit it weare graunted that it weare lawfull to abuse the good Creatures of God, yet is it not lawfull for vs to spend our golden yeers in such ydle and vaine exercyses, daylie and hourely as we do.

Keeping of
mastiues and
bandogs.

[⁸ P 2, back. A.]

⁸And some, who take themselues for no small fooles, are so farre allotted that they will not stick to keep a dosen or a score of great mastiues ⁹and bandogs,⁹ to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forsooth); and will not make anie bones of. xx. xl. C.¹⁰ pound at once to hazard at a bait, with "feight dog, feight beare (say they¹¹), the deuill part all!" And, to be plaine, I thinke the Deuill is the¹² Maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastyme, forsoth, worthie of commendation, and wel fitting¹³ these Gentlemen of such reputation. But how muche the Lord is offended for the prophanation of his Sabaoth by such vnsauorie exercyses, his Heauenly Maiestie of late hath reueiled, pouring forth his ¹⁴heauie

[¹⁴ leaf 116, back. B.†]

¹—¹ bloody bc F.

² power *added in* B, E, F.

³—³ our B, E, F.

* leaf 116. Keepyng of Mastiues. B.

⁵—⁵ we ought not to abuse them B, E, F.

⁶ that is *added in* F.

⁷ done to his dog F.

⁹—⁹ *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁰ yea, an hundred B, E, F.

¹¹ say they *not in* B, E, F.

¹² the *not in* F.

¹³ fitting F.

† leaf 116, back. A wofull crye at Syrap [= Parys] garden. B.

of Abufes. A wofull cry at Syrap* garden. 179

wrath, his fearfull iudgements,¹ and dreadfull vengeance vppon the
Beholders of these vanities.²

*A Fearfull Example of God his Iudgement vpon
the prophaners of ³his Sabaoth.³*

[Accident at the
Bear-House in
Paris Garden,
Southwark, on
Sunday, Jan. 13,
1583.]

Vpon the 13. day of Ianuarie last,⁴ being the Sabaoth day, *Anno*
1583, the⁵ People, Men, Wemen, and Children,⁶ both yonge and
old, an infinit number flocking⁶ to ⁷those infamous places, where
these wicked exercyses are vsuallie practised, (for they haue their
courts, gardens, & yards for *the* same purpose)⁸ when they were⁸ all
come together and mounted aloft vpon their scaffolds and galleries,
and in middest of al their iolytie & pastime, all the whole building
(not one stick standing) fell down with a most wonderfull and feare-
full confusion; So that either two or three hundred men, wemen,
and children (by estimation⁹), wherof seuen were killed dead,¹⁰ some
were¹⁰ wounded, some lamed, and other some brused and crushed
almost to the death. Some had their braines dashed out, some their
heads all to squasht,¹¹ some their legges broken, some their arms, some
their backs, some their shoulders, some one hurt, some another. So
that you should haue hard a woful crie, euen pearcing the skyes,
parents bewayling their children, Children their louing Parents,
wyues¹² their Husbands, and Husbands their wyues, marueilous to be-
hold¹⁴! This wofull spectacle and heauie iudgement, pitifull to heare
of, but most ruefull to behold, did¹⁵ *the* Lord send¹⁶ down from
Heauen, to shew vnto the whole World how greuously he is of-
fended with those that spend his Sabaoth in such wicked exercises;
In *the* meane tyme, leauing his temple desolat and emptie. God
graunt all men may take warning hereby, to shun the same for feare
of ¹⁷like or worser¹⁸ Iudgement to come!

[7 sign. P 3. A.]

A wofull crie. ¹²

[13 leaf 117 B.]

[17 P 3, back. A.]

* Paris—(F. J. F.) ¹ iudgment B, E, F. ² as hereafter followeth B, E, F.

^{3—3} the Sabaoth daie B, E, F. ⁴ last *not in* F.

⁵ there resorted an infinite number of *for* the E, F.

^{6—6} of each sort E, F.

^{8—8} and beyng B, E, F.

⁹ by estimation *not in* B, E, F.

^{10—10} were some F.

¹¹ quasht B, E, F.

¹² *this side-note not in* F.

† leaf 117. A wofull spectacle at the Theaters.

¹⁴ haue heard F.

¹⁵ did *not in* B, E, F.

¹⁶ sent B, E, F.

¹⁸ sharper B, E, F.

*A fearfull Iudgement of GOD, shewed at
the Theaters.*

THE like Iudgement (almost¹) did the Lord shew vnto them a litle befor, being assembled at their Theaters, to see their bawdie enterluds and other trumperies² practised: For he caused *the* earth mightly to shak and quauer, as though all would haue fallen down; wherat the People, fore amazed, some leapt down (from the top of *the* turrets, pinacles, and towres, wher they stood) to the ground; wherof³ some had their legs broke, some their arms, some their backs, some hurt one where, some another,⁴ & many fore crusht and brused; but not any but they went away fore⁵ affraid, & wounded in conscience. And yet can neither *the* one nor *the* other fray them from these diuelish exercyses, vntill the Lorde consume them all in his⁶ wrath; *which God forbid!* The Lord of his mercie open the eyes of the maiestrats to pluck down these places of abuse, that god may be honored and their consciences disburthened^{7,8}

Besids these exercyses, thei flock, thick & three fold, to *the* cockfeights, an exercyse nothing inferiour⁹ to *the* rest, wher nothing is vsed but swering, forswering, deceit, fraude, collusion, cofe¹⁰nage, scoulding, railing, conuitious talking, feighting, brawling, quarreling, drinking, whooring; & which is worst of all, robbing of¹¹ one an other of their goods, & *that* not by direct, but indirect means & attempts: & yet to blaunch & fet out these mischiefs *withall* (as though they were vertues) thei haue their appointed daies & set howrs, when these diuelries must be exercised. They haue houses erected to *the*¹² purpose, flags & ensignes hanged out, to giue notice of it to others, and proclamation goes out to proclaim *the* same, to th' end *that* many may come to the dedication¹³ of this solemne feast of mischief: ¹⁴*the*

¹ in effect F.² fooleries there F.³ whereby F.⁴ another where F.⁵ sore B, E, F; store A.

† leaf 117, back. Cockfichtyng in Ailgna. B.

⁷ discharged F.⁸ *A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F:—Cockfichtyng in Ailgna; F has:—Cockfighting vpon the Sabboth day in England.*⁹ not in F.¹¹ of not in F.¹² that B, E, F.¹³ celebration F.¹⁴—¹⁴ not in B, E, F; *A new chapter-heading follows this in B, E:—Hawking and Hunting in Ailgna; F has:—Hauking and hunting vpon the Sabboth day in England.*

A wofull
spectacle.

[⁶ leaf 117, back.
B.†]

Cockfeight-
ing vpon the
Sabaoth.*
[* day added in
F.]
[¹⁰ sign. P 4. A.]

Appointed
times for
exercise of
dyuelries.

Lord supplant them!¹⁴ And as for hawking & hunting vpon the fabaoth day,¹ it is an exercyse vpon *that* day no leffe vnlawful than the other; ²For no man ought to spend any day of his life, much leffe every day ³in his life,³ as many do, in such vaine & ydle pastimes: wherfore⁴ let Gentlemen take heed; for, be iure, accounts must be giuen at the day of iudgement for⁵ every minut of time, both how they haue spent it, & in what exercyses. And let them be sure no more libertie is giuen *them* to mispend an howre, or one iote of the Lord his goods, than is giuen to the poorest and meanest person *that* liueth vpon the face of the earth. I neuer read of any, in *the* volume of *the* sacred scripture,⁶ that was a good man and a Hunter.

Hawking & hunting vpon the sabaoth.

[² leaf 118. B.*]

No more libertie giuen to one than * another for mispend- ing of their goods.
[* then to F.]

Eſau was a great hunter, but a reprob; *Iſ⁷maell* a great hunter, but a miscreant; *Nemrode*, a great hunter, but yet ⁸a reprob⁸ and a vessell of wrath. Thus I speake not to condemne hawking and hunting altogether, being vsed for recreation, now and than, but against the continuall vse therof daylie, hourly, weekly, yeerly, yea, all the time⁹ of their life without intermission. And such a felicitie haue some in it, as they make it all their ioye, bestowing more vpon hawkes and hounds, and a sort of idle lubbers to followe them, in one yeer, than they will impart¹⁰ to the poore members of Christ Iesus in vii. yeers, peraduenture, in all the dayes of their life. So long as man in Paradice persisted in innocency, all beasts what so euer weare obedient to him, and came and prostrated¹¹ themselues be¹²fore him; But euer since his fall they haue fled from him, & disobeyd him, because of his sin; that seeing he disobeyed the Lord, they again disobeyed¹³ him. For so long as man obeyed God, so long they obeyed him, but so soone as man disobeyed God, they disobeyed him, & became enemies to him; as it were, seeking to reuenge *the*¹⁵ iniurie which man had don vnto¹⁶ God in disobeying his lawes. Wherfore the cause why all beasts do fly from vs, and are become Enemies to¹⁷ vs, is our disobedience to

No good hunters [in] scripture.

Cost bestowed in hawks and dogges.

[¹² leaf 118, back. B.†]

When all beasts weare obedient to man, & wherfore they rebell.

¹ day *not in* E, F.

³⁻³ *not in* F.

⁵ of F.

⁸⁻⁸ an abiect E, F.

¹⁰ giue F.

† leaf 118, back. Why beasts rebell against man. B.

¹⁵ that E, F.

* leaf 118. Hawkyng and huntyng. B.

⁴ And therfore F.

⁶ Scriptures F.

⁹ times F.

¹¹ humbled F.

¹³ disobey F.

¹⁷ vnto F.

the Lord, which we are rather to sorow for, than to hunt after their deaths by the sheading of their blood.

[¹ sign. P 5. A.]

For pleasure sake only no man ought to abuse any of the creatures of God.

¹ If necessitie, or want of other meats, inforceth vs to seek after their liues, it is lawfull to vse them, in the feare of God, *with* thanks to his name; but for our pastimes and vain pleasures sake, wee are not in any wise to spoyle or hurt them. Is he a christian man, or ² rather a ³ pseudo-christian, ³ that delighteth in blood? Is he a Christian that spendeth all his life in wanton pleasures and plesant delights? Is hee a Christian that buieth vp the corne of *the* poor, turning it into bread (as many doo) to feed dogs for his pleasure? Is hee a christian that liueth to the hurt of his Neighbour, in treading and breaking down his hedges, in casting open his gates, in trampling of his corne, & otherwise ⁴ in preiudicing ⁴ him, as hunters doo? wherefore God giue them grace to see to it, and to mend ⁵ it ⁶ betimes ere it be to late; for they know *mora trahit periculum*, delay bringeth danger. Let vs not deferre to leaue the ⁷ euil and to doo good, leaft the wrath of the Lord be kindled against vs, and consume vs from of ⁸ the vpper face of the Earth.⁹

Hurt by hunting to poore Men.

[⁶ leaf 119. B.†]

Not lawfull to keep court[es] Leets, Markets and Fayres, vppon the Sabaoth day.

Spud. What say you to keeping of Markets, of ¹⁰ Fayres, Courtes, and Leetes vpon *the* Sabaoth day? Think you it is not lawful to vse the same vpon any ¹¹ day?

Philo. No truely; for can you ¹² serue God & the deuil together? can wee carrie to God, and ferrie to the deuil? can we serue two Maisters, ¹³ and neither offend the one nor ¹⁴ the other? can wee serue God and Mammon? can wee please God and the world bothe at one time? The Lord wil not be serued by peecemeale; for either he wil haue the whole man, or els none: For saith he, '*Thou shalt looue the Lord thy God with all thy soule, withall thy minde, withall ¹⁵ thy power, withall thy strength,*' and so forth, or els with none at all. Then, seeing that we are to giue ouer our selues so wholly and totally to the seruice of God al *the* daies of our life, but ef-

[¹³ P 5, back. A.]

² or not B, E, F.

^{3—3} cruel Tartarian F.

^{4—4} annoying F.

⁵ amend F.

† leaf 119. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.

⁷ the *not* in B, E, F.

⁸ of *not* in B, E, F.

⁹ *A new chapter-heading follows this in* B, E, F:—Markettes, Faïres, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabaoth daie in Ailgna [England F.].

¹⁰ of *not* in F.

¹¹ that E, F.

¹² we F.

¹⁴ nor displease E, F

¹⁵ withall A.

pecially vpon the Sabaoth day, being confe¹crate to that end, we may not intermedle with theſe prophane exerciſes vpon that day. For it is more then manifeſt *that* theſe faires, markets, courtes, and leetes, vpon the Sabaoth day, are not only a hinderance vnto vs in the true² ſeruice of God, and an abuſe of *the* Sabaoth, but alſo lead vs the path way to hel. For what coſonage is not there practiſed? what falſhod, deceit, & fraude is not there exerciſed? what diſſimulation in bargaining? what ſetting foorth³ of fucate³ & deceivable wares, is not there frequented⁴? what lying, ſwering, forſwering, drunkennes, whordom, theft, & ſometimes murder, either there or by *the* way thither, is not euery where vſed⁵? In courtes & leets, what enuie, malice, & hatred is nooriſhed⁶? what expoſtulation, railing, ſcolding, periuring, & reperiuring is maintained? ⁷what opreſſion of *the* poore, what fauouring the⁸ rich, what iniuſtice & indirec^t dealing? what bribing, deceiuing, what poling & pilling is there⁹ practiſed? it would make a chriſtian hart to bleed in beholding it. And yet, notwithstanding, we muſt haue theſe goodly pageants played vpon *the* ſabaoth day (in a wanion), becauſe there are no mo daies in *the* week. And heerby¹⁰ *the* ſabaoth is contaminat,¹⁰ Gods woord contemned, his commandements diſannulled, his ſacraments conculcate, his ordinances neglected, &, ¹¹*in ſumma*, his blood trod vnder feet, and all miſcheef maintained. ¹²*The Lord cut of theſe, with all other ſin, both from their ſoules and thy Sabaoth, that thy name may be glorified and thy Church truly edified*¹²!

Spud. Is *the* playing at football, reding of mery bookes, & ſuch like delectations, a violation or prophanation of the Sabaoth day?

Ph. Any exerciſe which *withdraweth* vs from godlines, either vpon *the* ſabaoth¹³ or any other day els, is wicked & to be forbidden.¹⁴ Now, who is ſo groſſly blinde, *that* ſeeth not *that* theſe aforeſaid exerciſes not only *withdraw* vs from godlines & vertue, but alſo haile & allure vs to

[¹ leaf 119, back. B.*]

Abuſe of the Sabaoth by Fayres, markets.*

[* masks A.]

The euils in Fayres and Markets.

The euils in Courtes and Leets practiſed.

[⁷ ſign. P 6. A.]

[¹¹ leaf 120. B.†]

Playing at Foot-ball

* leaf 119, back. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.

² true *not in* F.

³—³ counterfeit F.

⁴ vſed B, E, F.

⁵ committed B, E, F.

⁶ nooriſhed A.

⁸ of the F.

⁹ the (*ſic*) F.

¹⁰—¹⁰ it cometh to paſſe that the Sabboth is prophaned F.

† leaf 120. Footeball playing in Ailgna. B.

¹²—¹² *not in* B, E, F. *A new chapter-heading follows*, Playng at Footeball

* in Ailgna.* (*—* vpon the Sabboth and other dayes in England F.)

¹³ day *added in* F.

¹⁴ forbidden (*ſic*) F.

Foot-ball a
freendly kind
of fight.

[¹ P 6, back. A.]

Hurt by foot-
ball playing.

[⁴ leaf 120, back.
B.†]

Foot-Ball
playing a mur-
thering Play.

[¹² sign. P 7. A.]

Reading of
wicked
bookes.

[¹⁴ leaf 121. B.†]

wickednes and fin. for as concerning football playing, I protest vnto you it may rather be called a freendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; A bloody and murthering practise, then a felowly sporte or pastime. ¹For dooth not euery one lye in waight for his Aduersarie, seeking to ouerthrowe him & to picke him on his nose, though it be vpon hard stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place soeuer it be, hee careth not, so he² haue him down. And he that can serue the most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow, and who but he? so that by this meanes, somtimes their necks are broken, ³sometimes their backs, ³sometime their legs, sometime their armes; ⁴sometime one part thurst out of ioynt, sometime an other; sometime⁵ the⁶ noses gush out with blood, sometime⁵ their eyes start out⁷; and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoever scapeth away the best, goeth not scotfree, but is either sore ⁸wounded, craised⁹, ⁸and brused, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly. and no meruaile, for they haue the¹⁰ sleights to meet one betwixt two, to dashe him against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him vnder the short ribbes with their griped fists, and with their knees to catch him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a¹¹ hundred such murdering deuices: and hereof groweth enuie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

¹² Is this murthering play, now, an exercise for the Sabaoth day? is this a christian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that vpon prepened malice, or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to vs? *God make vs more careful ouer the bodies of our Bretheren!* ¹³

¹⁴ And as for the¹⁵ reading of wicked Bookes, they are vtterly vnlawfull, not onely to bee read, but once to be named; & that not (onely) vpon the Sabaoth day, but also vpon any other day; as

² he maie B, E, F.

³—³ not in F.

† leaf 120, back. Great hurt by Foote-ball play. B.

⁵ sometimes F.

⁶ their B, E, F.

⁷ of their heads added in F.

⁸—⁸ crushed F.

⁹ craised not in B, E.

¹⁰ the not in B, E, F.

¹¹ an F.

¹³ A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F. Readyng of wicked bookes in Ailgna. [England. F.]

† leaf 121. Reading of wicked bookes hurtful. B.

¹⁵ the not in F.

which tende to the dishonour of God, deprauation of good manners, and corruption of christian foules. For as corrupt meates doo annoy the stomack, and infect the body, so the reading of wicked and vn-godly Bookes (which are to the minde, as meat is to the body) infect the soule, & corrupt *the* minde, hailing it to distruction, if the great mercy of God be not present.¹

The euil
comming by
reading euil
Bookes.

And yet, notwithstanding, whofoeuer wil set pen to paper now a dayes, how vnhoneft foeuer, or vnseemly of christian eares, his argument be, is permitted to goe forward, and his woork plaufibly² admitted and³ frendly licensed, and gladly imprinted, without any prohibition or contradiction at all: wherby it is growen to this issue, that bookes & pamphlets of scurilitie and baudrie are better esteemed, and more vendible, then the godlyest and sa³gest bookes that be: for⁴ if it be a godly treatise, reproouing vice and teaching vertue, away with it! for no man (almost) though they make a flourish of vertue and godlynes, will buy it, nor (which is lesse) so much as once touch it. This maketh the *Bible*, the⁵ blessed Book of God, to be so little esteemed; That woorthie⁶ Booke of *Martyrs*,⁷ made by that famous Father & excellent Instrument in God his Church, Maister *John Fox*, so little to be accepted, and all other good books little or nothing to be⁸ reuerenced; whilst other toyes, fantasies, and bableries, wherof the world is ful, are suffered to be printed. These prophane schedules, sacriligious libels, and hethnicall pamphlets of toyes & bableries (the Authors wherof may⁹ vendicate to them selues no smal commendations⁹ at the hands of the deuil for inuenting the same) corrupt mens mindes, peruert good wits, allure to baudrie, induce to whoredome, suppress vertue & erect vice: which thing, how should it be otherwise? for are they not inuented & excogitat by *Belzebub*, written by *Lucifer*, licensed by *Pluto*, printed by *Cerberus*, & set a-broche to sale by the infernal furies themselues, to the poysoning of the whole world? But let the Inuentors, the licensors, the printers, & the sellers of these vaine toyes, and more then Hethnicall impieties, take heed; for the blood of all those which perish, or take hurt¹⁰ thorow these

[³ P 7, back. A.]

[⁷ leaf 121, back B.*]

[The hurte that
wicked books
bryng E, F.]

[¹⁰ 'Q 1', A.
wrongly sign'd;
leaf P 8 is misst;
the catchword is
right.]

¹ present *not in* F.

^{2—3} receiued F.

⁴ but B, E, F.

⁵ that B, E, F.

⁶ renowned F.

* leaf 121, back. Hethnicall bookes in Ailgna. B.

⁸ to be *not in* F.

^{9—9} challenge no small reward F.

wicked bookes, shalbe powred vpon their heads at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

Spud. I pray you how might al these inormities and Abuses be reformed? For it is to small purpose to shew *the* abuses, except you shewe withall how they might be reformed¹

[² leaf 122. B.*]

[The Laws
against Evil
Doers are not
enforcet.]

Philo. By putting in practife and executing ²those good lawes, ³wholsome sanctions³, and Godly⁴ statutes, which haue beene heretofore, and daily are, set forth and established, as God be thanked, they⁵ are manie. The want of the due execution wherof is *the* cause of all these mischiefs, which both rage and raigne amongst vs.

Spud. What is the cause why these lawes are not executed, as they ought to be?

Philo. Truly, I cannot tell, excepte it be thorow the negligence and contempt⁶ of the inferiour Magistrates. Or els, perhaps (which thing happeneth now and than), for money they are bought out, disfranchised and dispensed withall; for, as the saying is, ⁷*quid non pecunia potest*: what is it but money will bring to passe⁷? And yet, notwithstanding, shall it be don inuifibly in a clowde (vnder *benedicite* I speake it) the Prince being borne in hand that the same are ⁸dalie executed⁸. This fault is the corruption of those that are put in trust to see them executed, as I haue ⁹tould you, and (notwithstanding) do not.

[Why the lawes
are not executed
as they ought
to bee E, F.]

[⁹ P 8, back
(wrong Q 1, bk.)
A.]

Spud. This is a great ¹⁰corruption &¹⁰ Abuse, doubtles, and worthie of great punishment.

Ph. It is so truly; for if they be good lawes, tending to the glorie of God, the publike weale of the Cuntrey and correction of vices, it is great pytie that money should buy them out. For what is that els, but to sell vertue for lucre, Godlynes for droffe, yea, mens fouls for corruptible mo¹¹ney? Therefore, those that sell them are not onely Traitors to God, to their Prince and Countrey, but are also the Deuils Marchants, and ¹²ferrie the bodies and foules of Christians, ¹³as

[¹¹ leaf 122, back.
B.†]

[They that buy

¹ amended B, E, F.

* leaf 122. How to reforme Abuses. B.

³⁻³ not in F.

⁴ Goldy A; Godly B, E, F.

⁵ there B, E, F.

⁶ corruption F.

⁷⁻⁷ Pecunia omnia potest, Money can do all thynges B, E, F.

⁸⁻⁸ duly excuted (*sic*) B, E, F.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ not in B, E, F.

† leaf 122, back. Lawes not executed. B.

¹² to B, E, F.

¹³⁻¹³ as much as lieth in them F.

it were, in *Charons boate*^{1 13} to the *Stigian flood* of Hell, burning with fire and brimstone for euer.

or sell lawes for money are traitors to God E, F.]

And those that buy them are Traitors to God, their Prince, and Countrey also.

For if the lawes were at the first good (as, God be praised, al² the lawes in *Ailgna* be), why shuld they be suppressed³ for money? and if they were euill, why were they diuulged,⁴ but had rather beene buried in the wombe of their Mother before th[e]y had euer seene the light.

And why were lawes intituted⁵, but to be executed? Els, it were as good to haue no lawes at all (the People lyuing orderly) as to haue good lawes, and them not executed.

The Prince ordeining a law may lawfully repeale & adnull⁶ the same againe, vpon speciall⁷ causes & considerations, but no inferiour maieffrat or subiecte what so euer, may stop the course of any lawe made by the Prince, without daunger of damnation to his owne⁸ foule, as the Word of God beareth witnesse.

[None maie stay the course of the lawes, but the Prince E, F.]
[⁷ sign. Q 2. A.]

And therefore, wo be to those men that will not execut the sentence of the lawe (being so Godly and so Christian as thei be in *Ailgna*) vpon Malefactors and Offenders!

Verely they are as guiltie of their blood before God, as euer was *Iudas* of the death⁹ of Christe Iesus.

[⁹ leaf 123. B.†]

Spud. Seeing it is so that al flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of God, and that there is such abomination amongst them, I am perswaded the¹⁰ daye of Iudgement is not farre of; For when iniquity shall haue filled vp his measure, than shall the end of all¹¹ appeare, as *Christ* witnesseth in his *Euangelie*.

[The day of Judgment is not far off.]

Philo. The day of the Lord cannot be farre of; that is most certain; For what wonderfull portents,¹² strang miracles, fearful signes, and dreadfull Iudgements¹³ hath he sente of late daies, as Preachers & fortellers of his wrath, due vnto vs for our impenitence¹⁴ & wickednes of life. Hath he not caused the earth to tremble and quake? the

[The wonderfull

¹ ouer the Sea of this world *added in* B, E, F.

² the most of B, E, F.

³ bought out F.

⁴ published F.

⁵ constitute B, E, F.

⁶ annul F.

⁸ not in F. † leaf 123. The latter daie at hande. B.

¹⁰ that the E, F.

¹¹ all things E, F.

¹² not in F.

¹³ tokens F.

¹⁴ impenitencie E, F.

signes and
tokens; which
the Lord hath
sent to warne vs
of the date of
iudgement E, F.]
[¹ Q 2, back. A.]

same Earth to remooue from place to place? the seas and waters to
roare, swell, & brust out, and ouerflow their bankes ¹ to the destruction
of many thousands? hath he not caused the Elements and Skyes to
send forth flashing fire? to raine downe wheat, a wonderfull thing as
euer was heard, and the like? hath he not caused wonderfull Eclipses
in the Sunne and Moon, with most dreadfull coniunctions of Starres
and Planets, as the like this thousand yeeres haue not been² heard of?
haue not the clowdes distilled downe aboundance of rayne and
showres, with all kinde of vnseasonable wether, to the destroying (al-
most) of al thinges vpon the Earth? haue we not seene Commets,
blasing starres, fire ³Drakes, men feighting in the ayre, most fearfully
to behold? Hath not dame Nature her selfe denied vnto vs her opera-
tion in sending forth abortiues, vntimely births, vgglesome monsters
and fearfull mishapen Creatures, both in man & beast? So that it
seemeth all the Creatures of God are angrie with vs, and threaten vs
with destruction, and yet ⁴we are⁴ nothing at all amended: (alas) what⁵
shal become of vs! Remember we not there is a God that shal iudge vs
righteously? that there is a Deuill who shall torment vs after this lyfe
vnspcakably, if we repent not? At that day the wicked shall find that
there is a Material Hell, a place of all kinds of tortures, wherein they
shal be punished in fire and brimstone amongst the terrible Com-
pany of vgglesome ⁶Deuills, world without end, how light so euer
they make account of it in this World.

[³ leaf 123, back.
B.*]

[All God's
Creatures are
wroth with us,
but we don't
mend.]

[⁶ sign. Q 3. A.]

For some such there be that, when thei heare mention of Hell, or
of the paines therof in the other World, they make a mocke at⁷ it,
thinking they be but metaphoricall speeches, onely spoke to terrifie
vs withall, not⁸ otherwyte. But certen it is, as there is a God that
will reward his Children, so there is a Deuill that will remunerat his
Seruauants; And as there is a Heauen, a Materiall place of perfect
ioye prepared for the Godly, so there is a Hell, a Materiall place of
punishment for the wicked and reprobate, prepared for the Deuil & his
Angels, or els the word of God is in ¹⁰no wyfe to be credited; which
blasphemie once to think¹¹, God keep all his Children from!

[⁹ Materiall hell
after this life E,
F.]

[¹⁰ leaf 124. B.†]

² seene or added in F.

* leaf 123, back. Gods warninges late shewed. B.

⁴—⁴ are we F.

⁵ that A, B, E; what F.

⁷ of F.

⁸ and not F.

⁹ A materiall F.

† leaf 124. A reward for good and euill. B.

¹¹ think of F.

Spud. But they will easily auoid this; for they say it is writ¹, at what time so euer a sinner doth repent him of his sinne, I wil put all his sin² out of my remembrance, faith *the* Lord. So that, if they maye haue three words at the last, they will with no more. What think you of these felowes?

Philo. I think them no men, but Deuils; no Chrifians, but worse³ than *Tartarians*³, and more to be auoided than *the* poifon of a serpent; for the one flayeth but the body, but the other both body & foul for euer. Wherefore let euery good Chriften Man take heed of them, and ⁴auoid them; For it is truly faid *cum bonis bonus eris*, et *cum peruerfis peruerferis*⁵: with the good thou fhall⁶ learne good, but with the wicked thou fhall⁶ be peruerted.

[Men who put off repentance till their deaths are but Devils.]

[⁴ Q 3, back. A.]

Spud. Do you think, than, that that cannot be a true repentance, which is deferred to the laft gaspe?

Ph. No, truly; For true repentance muft fpring out of a lyuelie faith, with an inward lothing, hating⁷, and detefting of sinne. But this deferred repentance fpringeth not of faith, but rather of the feare of death, which he feeth imminent before his eyes, of the grief and tediousnes of paine, of the Horror of Hell, and feare of God his ineuitable iudgement, which he knoweth now he muft needs abyde. And therefore this can be no true repentance; For there is⁸ two maner of re⁹pentances, *the* one a true repentance to life, the other a falfe repentance to death. As we maye fee by *Iudas*, who is faid to haue repented, and, which is more, to haue confessed his faulte, and, which is moft of all, to haue made reftitution, and yet was it a falfe repentance. And why? becaufe it fprang not out of true faith, but as before.

[No true repentance which is deferred to the laft gaspe E, F.]

[⁹ leaf 124, back. B. f.]

[Two maners¹⁰ of repentance, a falfe repentance, and a true repentance E, F.]

Peter repented and weept bitterly, and was faued therby, though he neither made confession nor fatisfaction; and why? Becaufe it fprang of a true and lyuely faith. So these felowes may say they repent, but except it be a ¹¹true repentance, fpringing of faith, it can ferue them no more to life, than the pretended repentance of *Iudas* did ferue him to faluation.

[¹¹ sign. Q 4 A.]

¹ written F.

² wickednes E, F.

³—³ then either Turks or Iewes, or any other infidels whatsoever F.

⁵ peruerteris B, F.

⁶ shalt F.

⁷ not in F.

⁸ are E, F.

+ leaf 124, back. Who are true repentants. B.

¹⁰ maner of repentances F.

Let them beware, for *Cain* repented, yet is he condemned. *Esfau* did repent, yet is he condemned; *Antiochus* did repent, yet is he condemned; *Iudas* did repent, yet is he condemned, with infinite moe. And why so? Because their prolonged repentaunce sprange not of faith, &c.¹

Thus they may see, that euerye light affection is no true repentance, And that it is not ynough to say at the last, I repent, I repent; For viles it be a true repentance indeed, it is worth nothing. But, indeed, if it weare so that man had *liberum arbitrium*, free wil² of himself to repent truely when he wold, and that God³ promised in his word to accept of that repentance, it weare another matter. But repentance is *donum Dei*, the gifte of God, *de sursum veniens a patre luminum*, com⁴ming from aboue from the Father of light, & therfore it is not in our powers to repent when we will. It is the Lord *that* giueth the gift, when, where, & to whom it pleaseth⁵ him; & of him are we to craue it incessantly by faithfull prayer, & not otherwise to presume of our owne repentaunce, when, indeed, we haue nothing lesse than a true repentance.

[Every light
affection is no
true repentance
E, F.]

[⁴ leaf 125. B.†]

[⁶ Q 4, back. A.]

[Of true and
feigned repent-
ance.]

⁶ *Spud.* Than, thus much I gather by your words, that as true repentance (which is a certen inward grief and sorrow of the⁷ heart, conceiued for our sinnes, with a hatred and lothing of the same) [†]erueth to saluation thorow the mercie of God in Christ, so fained repentance saueth not from perdition. And, therfore, we must repent daily and howrely, and not to⁸ deferre our repentaunce to the last gaspe, as many doo, than which nothing is more perilous.

Philo. True, it is; for maye not he be called a great Foole, that by deferring and prolonging of repentance to the last cast⁹ (as they say) will hazard his body and soule to eternall damnation for euer? Whereas, by daily repentaunce, he maye assure him felfe both of the fauour of God, and of life euerlasting (by faith) in the mercy of God, thorow the most precious blood of his deare Sonne, Iesus Christ, our alone Sauour and Redemer, to whome be praise for euer!

¹ & of an inward hatred vnto sin, &c. F.

² and power *added in* F.

³ God had F.

† leaf 125. Repentance not to be deferred. B.

⁵ shall please B, E, F.

⁷ the *not in* F.

⁸ did not *for* not to F.

⁹ gasp F.

Spud. Now must I needs say, as the Wyfe King *Salomon* said, all things are vaine and ¹transitorie, and ²nothing is permanent vnder the Sonne: the workes of men are vnperfect and lead to destruction, their exerceyses are vaine and wicked altogether.

All things are
vaine and
vanitie it-selfe.
[¹ leaf 125, back.
B.†]

Wherefore I, setting apart all the vanities of this lyfe, will from hencefoorth consecrate ³my selfe to the seruice of my God, and to follow him in his Woord, which onely is permanent and leadeth vnto life.

[³ sign. R 1. A.]

And I most hartelie thanke the Lord⁴ God for your good Company this day, and for your graue instructions; promising, by the assistance of God his grace, to followe and obey them to my possible power all the daies of my life.

Philo. God giue you grace so to do, and euery Christen man els, and to auoid all the vanities and deceiuable pleasures of this life; for certainly they tread⁵ the path to eternal destruction, both of body and soule for euer, to as many as obey them.

The ioyes of
this life tread
the path to
death.

For it is vnpossible to wallowe in the delights and pleasures of this World, and to lyue in ioy for euer in *the* Kingdom of Heauen. And thus we, hauing spent the daye, and also consummate⁶ our iorney, we must now depart, beseeching God that we may both meete againe in the Kingdome of Heauen, there to raigⁿ and lyue with him for euer, through Iesus Christe our Lorde;

to whome, with the Father and the holy

Spirit, be all honour & glorie

for euer more.

Amen.

*FINIS.*⁷

† leaf 125, back. A Christian protestation. B.

² and that F.

⁴ Lord my E, F.

⁵ leade E, F.

⁶ ended our F.

⁷ F then concludes with this line:—God haue the praise, both now and alwaies. Amen.



[sign. R 1
back. A.]

¹ ¶ Faults escaped in printing.

Letter.	Page.	Line.	Fault.	Correction.
In B	vij	6	the in Lord	in the Lord
In B	xi	5	what is ther	what thing is there
In D	xi [p. 49]	3	<i>inilimur</i>	<i>nitimur</i>
In D	xiiiij [p. 50]	9 [l. 1]	<i>tanta meriades</i>	<i>tanteque meryades</i> ²
In D	xv	16	supplied	applied [p. 52, l. 11]
In F	i	19	Read thus :	
	[See p. 65, 4 th paragraph]		<i>Spud.</i> I pray you shew me the opinions of the Fathers, concerning this coloring of faces.	
In F	ix [p. 71]	3 [l. 8]	Antiquities	Antiques ²
In F	xvi	5	pefteruing	peftering
In I	iiij [p. 105]	26 [l. 9]	refug meat	refufe meate
In I	iiij [p. 105]	27 [l. 10]	patrings	parings
In I	viiij [p. 108]	16 [l. 23]	<i>appetitum</i>	<i>appetitui</i>



[sign. R 2. A.]

Perused, authorifed, &
allowed, according to the order
appointed in the Queenes Maiesties Iniu-
ctions.



At London
Printed by Richarde
Iones: dwellinge at the Signe of the
Rose and the Crowne, neere vnto
Holborne Bridge.
1583³.



[In F, a plate covers the page following (R 2, back), with this on the scroll :—*Qvel . che. mi. molestava . accendo . et . ardo. This plate is not in B, E.*]

¹ this page '192' not in F.² The reader should make this correction. The other references are either wrong, or refer to another copy than that collated for this edition.³ 1585 E, 1595 F.

EXTRACTS
FROM
PHILLIP STUBBES'S
Life of his Wife.

1591.

A Chrifal Glaffe for Chriftian vvomen.

CONTAYNING

*An excellent Discourfe, of the godly life
and Chrifian death of Miftrefse Katherine Stubbes
who departed this life in Burton vppon
Trent, in Staffordfhire, the 14 day
of December. 1590.*

With a moft heavenly confeffion of the Chrifian
Faith, which ſhe made a little before her departure:
together, with a moft wonderfull combate be-
twixt Satan and her foule: worthie to
be imprinted in the tables of eue-
ry Chrifian heart.

**Set downe worde for worde as ſhe ſpake it, as neere
as could be gathered, by P. S. Gent.**

Reuel. 14. ver. 13.

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lorde, euen ſo ſaieth the
Spirite, for they reſt from their labours, and their workes
follow them.



Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, at the
**Rose and Crowne neere Holborne
Bridge. 1591.**

A Chrifall Glas, for Chri-
 ftian women : wherein they may fee a wonderfull
 and true example of a right vertuous life and
Chriftian death: as by the Difcourfe following, to
 their further inftru&tion and comfort,
 it may appeare.

[leaf A 2]

[Sidenotes by
F. J. F.]

Alling to remembrance (moſt Chriſtian Reader) the
 finall ende of mans creation, which is to glorifie God,
 and to edifie one another in the way of true godli-
 neſſe, I thought it my duetie as well in reſpect of the
 one, as in regarde of the other, to publiſh this rare
 and wonderfull example, of the vertuous life, and Chriſtian
 death, of miſtreſſe *Katherine Stubbes*, who whileſt ſhe liued, was a
 myrrour of womanhoode, and nowe being dead, is a patterne of true
 Chriſtianitie. She was of honeſt and wealthie parentage, and her
 father had borne office of worſhip in his companie: he was zealous
 in the truth, and of a ſound Religion. Her mother was a Dutch
 woman, both diſcreete and wiſe, of ſingular good grace and modeſtie:
 and, which did moſt of all adorne her, ſhe was both religious, and
 verie zealous. This couple liuing together in the Citie of London
 certain yeares, it pleaſed God to bleſſe them with children, of whom
 this *Katherine* was yongeſt ſaue one. But as ſhe was yongeſt ſaue one
 by courſe of nature: ſo was ſhe not inferiour to any of the reſt, or
 rather farre excelled them all without compariſon by manie degrees,
 in the induments and qualities of the mind. At xv. yeares of age
 (her father being dead) her mother beſtowed her in marriage to one
 maſter *Stubbes*, with whom ſhe liued four yeares, and almoſt an
 halfe, verie honeſtly and godly, with rare commendations of all that
 knewe her, as well for her ſingular wiſedome, as alſo for her modeſtie,
 courteſie, gentleneſſe, affabilitie and good gouernment. And aboue

I publiſh my
 wife's Life, to
 glorify God and
 edify men.

Her Father, a
 citizen.
 Her Mother,
 Dutch.

My wife, their
 yongeſt child
 but one.

At 15 ſhe married
 me, and liued with
 me 4 years.

She was zealous
for the truth, and
oppond Papists
and Atheists.

[leaf A 2, back]

She was seldom
without a Bible
or good book in
hand.

She was always
asking me to
explain texts.

She suffered no
disorder in her
house.

She never
scolded or
brawld;

or gossip.

all, for her feruent zeale which she bare to the truth, wherein she seemed to surpasse manie: Infomuch as if she chanced at any time to be in place where either Papists or Atheists were, and heard them talke of Religion, of what countenance or credite soeuer they seemed to be, she would not yeeld a iote, nor giue place vnto them at all, but would most mightily iustifie the truth of God, against their blasphemous vntruthes, and conuince them: yea, and confound them by the testimonies of the worde of God. Which thing, how could it be otherwise? for her whole heart was bent to seeke the Lorde, her whole delight was to bee conuersant in the Scriptures, and to meditate vpon them day and night: infomuch that you could feldome or neuer haue found her without a Bible, or some other good booke in her hands. And when she was not reading, she would spend the time in conferring, talking and reasoning with her husband of the worde of God, and of religion: asking him: "what is the sence of this place, and what is the sence of that? Howe expounde you this place, and howe expounde you that? What obserue you of this place, and what obserue you of that?" So that shee seemed to bee, as it were, rauished with the same spirite that *David* was, when hee saide: 'The zeale of thy house hath eaten me vp.' Shee followed the commaundement of our Sauour Christ, who biddeth vs to searce the Scriptures, for in them you hope to haue eternal life. She obeyed the commaundement of the Apostle, who biddeth women to be silent, and to learne of their husbands at home. She would suffer no disorder or abuse in her house, to be either vnreproued, or vnreformed. And so gentle was shee, and curteous of nature, that she was neuer heard to giue any the lie, nor so much as to (thou) any in anger. Shee was neuer known to fall out with any of her neighbours, nor with the least childe that liued: much lesse to scolde or brawle, as many will now adayes for euerie trifle, or rather for no cause at all. And so solitarie was shee giuen, that shee woulde verie feldome, or neuer, and that not without great compulsion, go abroad with any, either to banquet or feast, to gossip or make merie (as they tearme it), infomuch that shee hath beene accused to doo it in contempt and disdain of others.

When her husbände was abroad in London, or elsewhere, there was not the dearest friend she had in the world that coulde get her

abroad to dinner or supper, or to any other exercise what soever: neither was she giuen to pamper her bodie with delicate meates, wines, or strong drinke, but refrained them altogether. And as she excelled in the gift of sobrietie, so she surpassed in the vertue of humilitie. For it is well knowne to diuerse yet liuing, that she vtterly abhorred all kinde of pride, both in apparell, and otherwise. She coulde neuer abide to heare any filthie or vncleane talk of scurrilitie, neither swearing nor blaspheming, cursing nor banning, but would reprove them sharply, shewing them the vengeance of God due for such defaults. And which is more, there was neuer one filthy, vncleane, vndecent, or vnseemly word heard to come forth of her mouth, nor neuer once to curse or ban, to sweare or blaspheme God any maner of way: but alwayes her speech were such, as both glorified God, and ministred grace to the hearers, as the Apostle speaketh. And for her conuersation, there was neuer any man or woman that euer opened their mouthes against her, or that euer either did or could accuse her of the least shadow of dishonestie, so continently she liued, and so circumspectly she walked, eschewing euer the outward appearance or shewe of euill. Againe, for true loue and loialtie to her husband, and his friends, she was (let me speake it without offence), I thinke, the rarest in the worlde: for shee was so farre from perswading her husbände to bee lesse beneficiall to his friendes, that shee woulde perswade him to bee more beneficiall to them. If she sawe her husband merrie, then shee was merrie; if hee were sadde, she was sadde; if he were heauie, or passionate, shee would endeouour to make him glad; if he were angrie, she would quickly please him, so wisely shee demeaned her selfe towards him. Shee woulde neuer contrarie him in any thing, but by wise counsaile, and politike aduice, with all humilitie and submission, seeke to perswade him. And so little giuen was she to this worlde, that some of her neighbours maruayled why shee was no more carefull of it, and would aske her sometimes, saying: "Mistresse *Stubbes*, why are you no more carefull for the things of this life, but sit alwayes poring vpon a booke, and studying?" To whome she woulde answere: "If I shoulde be a friend to this worlde, I shoulde be an enemy to GOD: for God and the worlde are two contraries. *Iohn* biddeth mee, 'loue not the world': affirming, that if I loue the world, the loue of the father is

She'd not go to parties alone.

[leaf A 3]

She abhorred pride and foul talk;

liued continently, and shund all show of euil.

She was generous: sympathizd with her husband, and never crosst him.

She cared not for this world, but for God.

[leaf A 3, back]

She felt she
should not live
long,but should die
in child-birth.Her boy was
born,and she did very
well,till a burning
ague seized her.She never slept
an hour together
for 6 weeks;but in all her
suffering, no
impatient word
escaped her.

not in me. Againe, Christ biddeth mee, first seeke the kingdome of heauen, and the righteoufnesse thereof, and then all these worldly things shall be giuen to me. 'Godlinesse is great riches if a man be content with that he hath.' I haue chosen with good *Martha* the better part, which shall neuer be taken from me. Gods treasure (thee would say) is neuer drawne drie. I haue inough in this life, God make me thankful, and I know I haue but a short time to liue here, and it standeth me vpon to haue regard to my saluation in the life to come." Thus this godly yong woman helde on her course three or foure yeares after shee was married: at which time it pleased God, that she conceyued with a man childe: after which conception she would say to her husband, and many other her good neighbours and friends, not once, nor twice, but manie times, that she should neuer beare more children, that that child would be her death, and that shee shoulde liue but to bring that childe into the worlde. Which thing (no doubt) was reuealed vnto her by the Spirite of God, for according to her prophecie, so it came to passe.

The time of her account being come, shee was deliuered of a goodly man childe, with as much speede, and as safely in all womens iudgements, as any could be. And after her deliuerie, she grewe so strong and lustie, that she was able within foure or fise dayes to sit vp in her bed, and to walke vp and downe her chamber, and within a fortnight, to goe abroade in the house, being thoroughly well, and past all daungers, as euerie one thought. But presently vpon this so sudden recouerie, it pleased God to visite her againe, with an extreame hote and burning quotidian Ague, in which sicknes she languished for the space of six weekes, or there aboutes. During all which time, shee was neuer seene, nor perceiued to sleepe one houre together, neither night nor day; and yet the Lord kept her (which was miraculous) in her perfect vnderstanding, fence, and memorie, to the last breath; prayed bee the Lorde therefore! In all her sicknesse, which was both long and grievous, she neuer shewed any signe of discontentment, or of impacience: neither was there euer heard one worde come forth of her mouth, founding either of desperation, or infidelitie: of mistrust, or distrust, or of any doubting or wauering, but alwayes remayned faithfull, and resolute in her God. And so desirous was she to be with the Lorde, that these golden sentences were neuer

forth of her mouth, "I desire to be dissolued, and to be with Christ." [leaf A 4]

And, "oh miserable wretch that I am, who shall deliuer me from this

bodie subiect to sinne? Come quickly, Lord Iesus, come quickly!

She desired to be
set free, and to
be with Christ.

Like as the heart desireth the water springs, so dooth my soule thirst

after thee, O God. I had rather bee a doorekeeper in the house of

my God, then to dwell in the tentes of the wicked:" with manie

other heavenly sentences, which (least I should seeme to tedious) I

willingly omit. She would alwaies pray in her sicknesse absolutely,

that God would take her out of this miserable worlde: and when her

husband and others would desire her to pray for health, if it were the

will of God: Shee would answere, "I pray you, pray not that I should

liue, for I thinke it long to be with my God. Christ is to me life,

and death is to me aduantage. I cannot enter into life, but by death,

She knew death
was the door to
euerlasting life.

and therefore is death the doore or enterance into euerlasting life to

me. I knowe and am certainly perswaded by the spirite of God,

that the sentence of my death is giuen alreadie, by the great Iudge, in

the Court or Parliament of heauen, that I shall nowe depart out of

this life: and therefore pray not for me, that I might liue here, but

pray to God to giue me strength, and patience, to perseuere to the ende,

and to close vp mine eyes in a iustifying faith in the blood of my Christ."

Sometimes she would speake very softly to herselfe, and sometimes

very audibly, these words, doubling them a thousande times together,

"Oh my good God, why not nowe? Why not nowe, oh my good

God? I am readie for thee, I am prepared, oh receyue me nowe for

thy Christ his sake. Oh send thy messenger death to fetch me, send

She prayd God
to send and
fetch her.

thy sergeant to arrest me, send thy pursuant to apprehend me, thy

herault to summon me: oh send my Iailour to deliuer my soule out

of prison, for my bodie is nothing else but a filthie stinking prison to

my soule. Oh sende thy holie Angels to conduct my soule into the

euerlasting kingdome of heauen!" Other some times she would lie as

it were in a slumber, her eies closed, & her lips vttering these words

very softly to her selfe: "Oh my sweete Iesus, oh my loue Iesus: why

She calld on
Jesus.

not nowe, sweete Iesus, why not nowe?" as you heard before. "Oh

sweete Iesus, pray for mee! pray for me, sweete Iesus!" repeating them

many times together. These and infinite the like were her dayly

speeches, and continuall meditations: and neuer worser worde was

[leaf A 4, back]

there heard to come forth of her mouth during all the time of her

She often smil'd
sweetly,

seeing visions
and heavenly
sights.

She took leave
of her boy, and

bequeath't him
to me as the
Lord's.

She repented of
having been too
fond of her little
dog.

[leaf B]

sicknesse. She was accustomed many times as she lay, verie suddenly to fall into a sweete smiling, and sometimes into a most heartie laughter, her face appearing right faire, redde, amiable, and louely : and her countenance seemed as though she greatly reioyced at some glorious sight. And when her husband would aske her why she smiled and laughed so, she woulde say, "if you sawe such glorious visions and heauenly sights as I see, you would reioyce and laugh with me : for I see a vision of the ioyes of heauen, and of the glorie that I shall go to ; and I see infinite millions of Angels attendant vpon me, and watching ouer me, readie to carrie my soule into the kingdome of heauen." In regard whereof, she was willing to forsake herselfe, her husband, her childe, and all the world besides. And so calling for her childe, which the Nurse brought vnto her, she tooke it in her armes, and kissing it, said : " God blesse thee, my sweete babe, and make thee an heire of the kingdome of heauen : " and kissing it againe, deliuered it to the Nurse, with these words to her husband standing by : " Beloued husband, I bequeath this my child vnto you ; he is now no longer mine, he is the Lords and yours. I forsake him, you, and all the worlde, yea, and mine owne selfe, and esteeme all things dungue, that I may winne Iesus Christ. And I pray you, bring vp this child in good letters, in discipline ; and about all things, see that he be brought vp in the exercise of true Religion."

The childe being taken away, she spied a little Puppie, or Bitch, (which in her life time she loued well,) lying vpon her bed : she had no sooner spied her, but she beate her away, and calling her husband to her, said : " Good husband, you and I haue offended God grieuouly in receyuing this Bitch many a time into our bed : the Lord giue vs grace to repent for it and al other vanities ! " And afterward coulde she neuer abide to looke vpon the Bitch any more. Hauing thus godly disposed of all things, she fell into an extasie, or into a trance or fownde, for the space almost of a quarter of an houre, so as euery one thought she had beene dead. But afterward she, comming to her selfe, spake to them that were present, (as there were many both worshipfull and others) saying : " Right worshipfull and my good neighbours and friends, I thanke you all, for the great paines you haue taken with me : and whereas I am not able to requite you, I beseech the Lord to reward you in the kingdome of heauen. And for that I

knowe that my hower-glasse is runne out, and my time of departure hence is at hande, I am perswaded, for three causes, to make a confession of my fayth, before you all. The first cause that moueth me is, for that those (if there be any such here) that are not thorowly resolu'd in the trueth of God, may heare and learne what the spirite of God hath taught me out of his blessed and alsauiing worde. The second cause that moueth me hereto, is, for that none of you shoulde iudge that I died not a perfect Christian, and a liuely member of the mysticall bodie of Iesus Christ, and so by your rash iudgement might incurre the displeasure of God. The thirde and last cause, is for that, as you haue beene witness'es of part of my life, so you might bee witness'es of my faith and beliefe also. And in this my confession, I woulde not haue you to thinke, that it is I that speake vnto you, but the spirite of God which dwelleth in me, and in all the elect of God, vuleffe they be reprobates: for *Paul* sayeth, *Rom. 8*, 'If any one haue not the spirite of Christ dwelling in him, he is none of his.' This blessed spirite hath knocked at the doore of my heart, and God hath giuen mee grace to open the doore vnto him, and hee dwelleth in me plentifully. And therefore I pray you giue me pacience a little, and imprint my wordes in your hearts, for they are not the wordes of flesh and blood, but of the spirite of God, by whom I am sealed to the day of redemption."

She wisht to make confession of her faith,
1. to confirm others;

2. to testify that she died a Christian;

3. that her friends might be witness'es of her belief.

*A most heavenly confession of the Christian faith,
made by this blessed seruant of God Mistrisse
Stubbes a little before she died.*

My Wife's
Confession of
Faith.



Although the Maiestie of God be both infinite and vnspokeable, and therefore can neither be conceiued in heart, nor expresse'd in wordes, yet to the end you may know what that God is, in whom I beleene, as farre as he hath reuealed himselfe vnto vs in his holy worde, I will define him vnto you, as the spirite of God shall illuminat my heart. I beleene therefore with my heart, and freely confesse with my mouth, here before you all, that this God in whom I beleene, is a most glorious spirite, or spirituall substance, a diuine essence, or

[leaf B 1, back]

I believe in God
in 3 Persons,

effenciall being, without beginning or ending, of infinite glorie, power, might & maiestie, inuifible, inaccessible, incomprehensible, and altogether vnspcakable. I beleue and confesse, that this glorious Godhead, this blessed substaunce, essence, or being, this diuine power which we call God, is deuided into a trinitie of Persons, the father, the sonne, and the holy spirite, distinct onely in names and offices, but all one and the same in nature, in essence, substance, deitie, maiestie, glorie, power, might, and eternitie.

&c., &c., &c.

[.]

I believe that
we shall know
each other in
heaven.

"When God had cast *Adam* into a deade sleepe, and made woman of a ribbe of his side, hee brought her vnto him, and he knewe her freight way, and called her by her name. Coulede *Adam* in the state of innocencie knowe his wife, hee lying in a dead sleepe, whilest she was in making? And shall not we being restored to a farre more excellent dignitie and perfection, then euer was *Adam* in, not knowe one another? Shall our knowledge bee lesse in heauen then it is in earth? Doo wee knowe one another in this life, where wee knowe but in part, and see as it were but in a Glasse, and shall wee not knowe one an other in the life to come, where all ignoraunce shall bee done away?

Dives in hell
knew Abraham
and Lazarus in
heaven.

"In the 16. of *Luke*, we reade howe that the riche man lying in hell, knewe *Abraham* and *Lazarus* in heauen. Then I reason thus: If the wicked that be in hell in torments do know those that be in heauen so farre aboute them: how much more shall the godly knowe one another, beeing altogether in one place, and fellowe Citizens in the kingdome of heauen? We reade also in the 17. of *Matth.* howe our Sauour Christ, meaning to shewe vnto his disciples, *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*, as it were a shadowe, or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, and therefore hee is sayde to bee transfigured before them, and his face did shine as the Sunne, and his apparell was like the light. And there appeared vnto them *Moyfes* and *Elias*, sayeth the text.

Much more shall
we know one
another in the
life to come.

"Then it followeth, that if the Disciples being in their naturall corruption, and but in shadowe or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, did knowe *Moyfes* and *Elias*, the one whereof dyed almoste two thousande yeares before, the other not much lesse, howe much more shall wee knowe one another in the life to come, all corruption being taken

away, and we in the full fruition and possession of all the ioies & glory of heauen? This is my fait^h, this is my hope, & this is my trust; this hath the spirit of God taught me, and this haue I learned out of the booke of God. And (good Lord) that haft begun this goodnes in me, finish it, I beseech thee, & strengthen me that I may perseuere therein to the ende, and in the ende, through Iesus Christ my onely Lord and fauour." And she had no sooner made an end of this most heauenly confession of her faith, but Satan was readie to bid her the combate; whom she mightily repulsed, and vanquished, by the power of our Lord Iesus, on whom she constantly beleueed. And wheras before she looked with a sweet, louely, and amiable countenance, red as the rose, and most beautifull to beholde, now vpon the suddenn, she bent the browes, she frowned, and looking (as it were) with an angry, fearne, & fierce countenance, as though she saw some filthie, vgglesome, and displeasent thing, she brust forth into these speeches following, pronouncing her wordes as it were scornfully and disdainfully, in contempt of him to whom she spake.

[leaf C 2, back]

When she had
ended, Satan
was ready to
attack her

She scowld at
him, and scorn'd
him.

*A most wonderfull conflict betwixt Satan and her
soule, and of her valiant conquest in the
same, by the power of Christ.*

How my Wife
abus'd Satan.



Ow now, Satan? what makes thou here? Art thou come to tempt the Lords seruant? I tell thee, thou hel-hound, thou hast no part nor portion in me, nor by the grace of God neuer shalt haue. I was, now am, and shalbe the Lords for euer. Yea, Satan, I was chosen and elected in Christ to

Hell-hound,

euerlasting saluation, before the foundations of the world were laid: and therefore thou maist get the[e] packing, thou damned dog, & go shake thine eares, for in me hast thou nought. But what dost thou lay to my charge, thou foule fiend? Oh, that I am a finner, and therefore shall be damned: I confesse in deede that I am a finner, and a grievous finner, both by originall sinne, and actuall sinne; and that, I may thanke thee for. And therefore, Satan, I bequeath my sinne to thee, from whome it first proceeded, and I appeale to the mercie of God in Christ Iesus. Christ came to saue sinners (as he saith himselve) and not the righteous: 'behold the

be off!
Damned dog,
be gone!

Tho' I am a
sinner,

[leaf C 3]

yet Christ's
blood has
cleansd me.

All my sins are
pardond for his
name's sake.

Deceitfull devil,

Christ has paid
my debt to God
for me.

Firebrand of
Hell, auoid!

[leaf C. 3. back]

Pack! Or I will
call on Michael.

Lambe of God (saith Iohn) that taketh away the finnes of the world.' And in another place, he crieth out: 'the blood of Iesus Christ doth cleanse vs from al sinne.' And therefore, Satan, I constantly beleue that my finnes are washed away in the precious blood of Iesus Christ, and shall neuer be imputed vnto mee. For Christs righteoufnesse is my righteoufnesse, his holinesse my holines, his innocencie my innocencie, and his blood a full recompence and satisfaction for all my finnes. But what sayest thou more, Satan? Dost thou aske me how I dare come to him for mercy, he being a righteous God, and I a miserable finner? I tell the, Satan, I am bolde thorow Christ to come vnto him, being assured and certaine of pardon and remission of all my finnes for his names sake. For, doth not the Lord bid all that be heauie laden with the burden of sinne, to come vnto him, and he will ease them? Christes armes were spread wide open (Satan) vpon the Crosse (with that she spread her owne armes) to embrace me, and all penitent finners: and therefore (Satan) I will not feare to present my selfe before his footstoole, in full assurance of his mercie for Christ his sake. What more, Satan? Dost thou say, it is written, that God wil reward euery one according to his works, or according to his deserts? But it is written againe, thou deceitfull deuill, that Christs righteoufnesse is my righteoufnesse, his works my works, his deserts my deserts, & his precious blood a full satisfaction for all my finnes. Oh, but God is a iust God, thou saiest, and therefore must needs in iustice condemne me. I grant (Satan) that he is a iust God, and therefore hee cannot in iustice punish me for my finnes, which hee hath punished alreadie in his sonne. It is against the law of iustice, to punish one fault twice. I was, and am, a great debter vnto God the Father, but Christ Iesus hath paid the debt for me: and therefore it standeth not with the iustice of God to require it againe. And therefore auoid, Satan, auoid, thou firebrande of hell! auoid, thou damned dog, and tempt me no more! for he that is with me is mightier than thou, euen the mightie and victorious Lion of the tribe of *Iuda*, who hath bruized thy head, and hath promised to be with his children to the end of the world. Auoid therefore, thou dastard, auoid, thou cowardly souldier, remooue thy siege, and yeele the **field wonne**, & get thee packing, or else I wil call vpon my grand-captaine **Christ Iesus**, ~~that~~ valiant *Michael*, who beate thee in heauen,

and threw thee downe to hell, with all thy hellish traine, and diuelish crew." She had scarcely pronounced the last wordes, but she fell suddenly into a sweet smiling laughter, saying, "Now is he gone, now is he gone! do you not see him flie like a cowarde, and runne away like a beaten cocke? He hath lost the fiede, and I haue wonne the victorie, euen the garland, and crowne of euerlasting life; and that, not by my owne power or strength, but by the power and might of Iesus Christ, who hath sent his holy Angels to keepe me." And speaking to them that were by, she said, "would God you saw but what I see! Do you not see infinite millions of most glorious Angels stand about me, with fire charets ready to defend me, as they did the good prophet *Elizeus*. These holy Angels, these ministring spirits, are appointed by God to carrie my soule into the kingdome of heauen, where I shall behold the Lord face to face, and shall see him, not with other, but with these same eyes. Now am I happie and blessed for euer, for I haue fought the good fight, and by the might of Christ haue wonne the victorie. Now from henceforth shall I neuer taste neither of hunger nor cold, paine nor woe, miserie nor affliction, vexation nor trouble, feare nor dreade, nor of any other calamitie, or aduersitie, whatsoever. From henceforth is laid vp for mee a crowne of life, which Christ shal giue to those that feare him. And as I am now in possession thereof by hope, so shall I bee anon in full fruition thereof by presence of my soule, and hereafter of my bodie also, when the Lord doth please." Then she spake softly to herselfe as followeth. "Come, Lord Iesus, come, my loue Iesus, oh sende thy purseuant (sweet Iesus) to fetch me! Oh (sweet Iesus) strengthen thy seruant, & keepe thy promise!" Then sang she diuers Psalmes most sweetly, and with a chearefull voice: which done, she desired her husband that the 103. Psalme might bee sung before her to the Church. And further, she desired him that hee woulde not mourne for her, alledging the Apostle *Paul*, where he saith: 'Brethren, I woulde not haue you to mourne, as men without hope, for them that die in the Lord': affirming that she was not in case to be mourned for, but rather to bee reioyced for: for that she should passe (she saide) from earth to heauen; from men to holie Saints, to Angels, to **Cherubins** and Seraphins, yea to God himselfe. ~~After which~~ wordes, very suddenly, she seemed, as it were, greatly to reioyce, and to looke very cheere-

Then she laught.
for Satan ran off
like a beaten
cock.

She saw millions
of Angels about
her.

By Christ's
might she had
won the victory.

She calld on
Jesus to fetch
her.

She sang Psalmes
sweetly.

She bade me not
mourn for her.

[leaf C 4]

She lookt
cheerfully,

208 A Chriftall Glaffe for Chriftian women.

and welcomd
death;

commended her
spirit to her
God,

and then slept
sweetly in the
Lord.

She was but 18
when she died.
May we all
follow her
example!

fully, as though ſhe had ſeene ſome glorious fight: and lifting vp her whole body, and ſtretching forth both her armes, as though ſhee would imbrace ſomething, ſaid: "I thanke my God, through Ieſus Chriſt, he is come, he is come, my good Iayler is come to let my foule out of priſon! Oh ſweet death, thou art welcome, welcome, ſweet death! neuer was there any gueſt ſo welcome to mee as thou art! Welcome, the meſſenger of euerlaſting life: welcome, the doore and enterance into euerlaſting life: welcome (I ſay), and thiſe welcome, my good Iayler! do thy office quickly, and ſet my foule at libertie. Strike (ſweet death), ſtrike my heart, I feare not thy blowe. Now it is done. Father, into thy bleſſed hands I commend my ſpirit! Sweete Ieſus, into thy bleſſed hands I commend my ſpirit! Bleſſed ſpirit of God, I commit my foule into thy handes! Oh moſt holy, bleſſed, and glorious Trinitie, three perſons and one true euerlaſting God, into thy bleſſed handes I commit both my foule and my bodie:" at which wordes her breath ſtaied; and ſo, neither mouing hand nor foot, ſhe ſlept ſweetly in the Lord.

Thus haſt thou heard (gentle Reader) the diſcourſe of the vertuous life and chriſtian death of this faithfull ſeruaunt of God, Miſtreſſe *Katherine Stubbes*: which is ſo much the more wonderfull, in that ſhe was but yong and tender of yeares, not exceeding the number of xviii. when ſhe departed this life. The Lorde giue vs all grace to follow her good example, that we may come to thoſe vnſpeakeable ioyes wherein ſhe now reſteth, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lorde; to whome with the Father, and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glorie, praiſe, dominion, and thanksgiuing, both now and euermore. Amen.

F I N I S. P. S. Gent.

EXTRACTS FROM

THE 1610 EDITION OF

PHILIP STUBBES'S

PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE,

WITH

A SHORT TREATISE

OF

PRAIERS AND SUPPLICATIONS,

WRITTEN IN 1592.

[The original is a pretty little dumpty volume, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches broad. Collation ¶ 1-8. A. to T in 8s. ¶ 1, the 1st leaf, is blank; the last leaf and page before it (T. 8 and 7 back) are blank too; all the leaves are borderd.

Mr Hy. Huth's copy (from Heber's library), which he has kindly lent me, is in its original gilt vellum cover, with the initials R D, separated by a rose, on each of the two sides. The borders and initials in this partial reprint are not of the same patterns as those in the original.]

CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S *PATHWAY*,

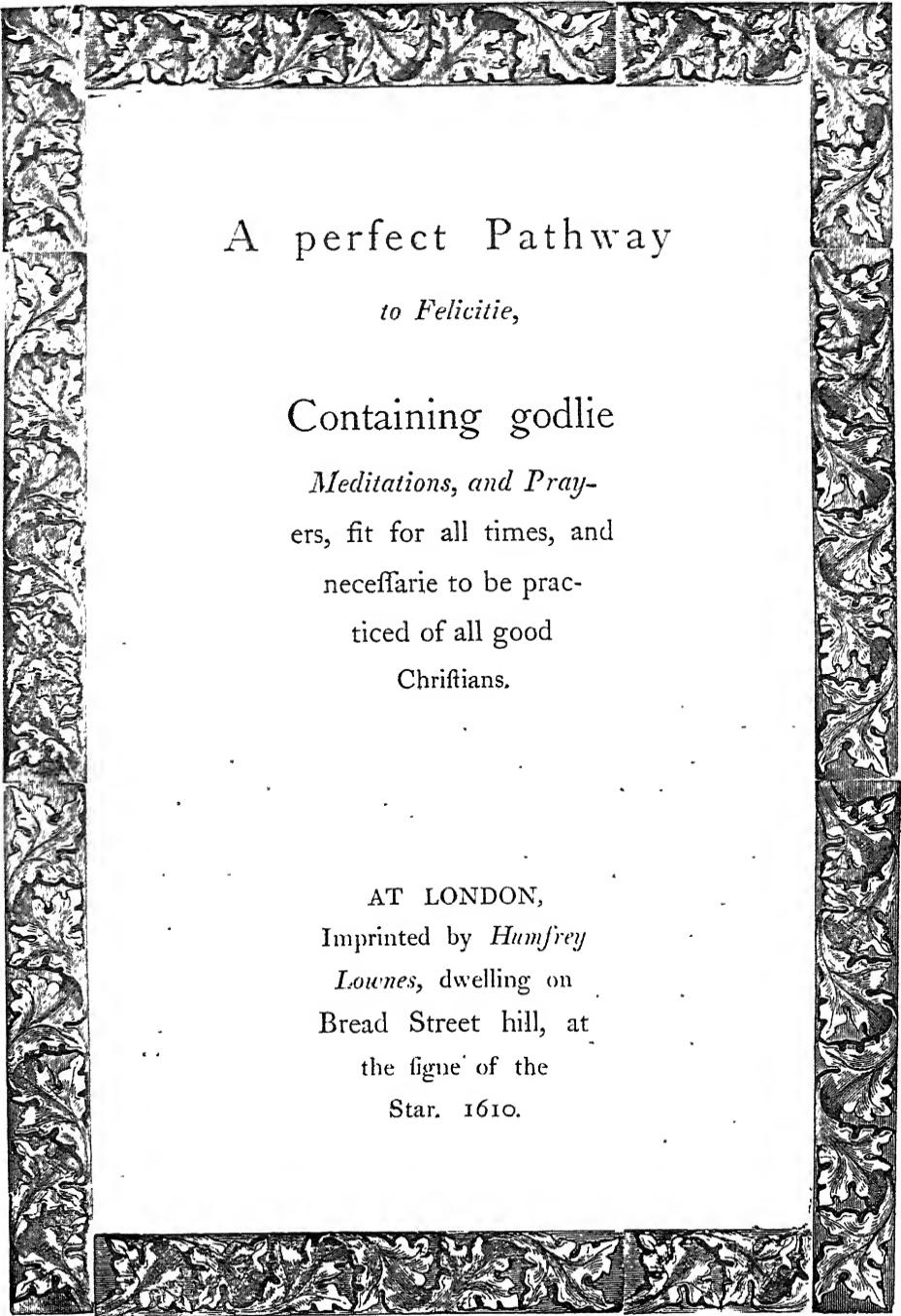
ED. 1592 (AND 1610).

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>¶ 1. Blank. ¶ 2. Title.
 ¶ 3. The Epistle Dedicatorie.
 ¶ 8. † The Preface.
 A 2. Certaine Graces to bee saide before and after meat.
 A 3. Thankesgiuing after meate.
 A 3, bk. Another prayer before meate.
 A 4, bk. An other praier after meate.
 A 5. A praier before meate.
 A 6. A thankesgiuing after meate.
 A 7. A note to knowe the beginning and ending of the foure Tearmes of the yeare. (A 8, back, blank.)
 B 1. Speciall Meditations for all times and for all persons.
 B 4, bk. Precepts and directions for the morning.
 B 5. Meditations in the morning.
 B 6, bk. Meditations to bee considered of at the rising of the Sunne.
 C 1. A praier for the morning.
 C 4. Precepts at thy going foorth of thy Chamber.
 C 4, bk. Meditations in the washing of ones face and hands.
 C 5, bk. A praier to be said at the washing of ones face and hands.
 C 6. Meditations before and at dinner.
 C 7. A praier before meate.
 C 8. Directions how a Christian should behaue himselfe at the table.
 D 1. † A Thanks-giuing to God after dinner.
 D 2. Meditations after dinner.
 D 3, bk. Directions how to behaue thy selfe before and after Supper.
 D 4, bk. A thankes giuidg [<i>so</i>] to God before Supper.
 D 6, bk. A thankesgiuing to God after Supper.
 D 7. Directions of Christian behaviour after Supper.
 D 8. † Meditations when thou comest into thy chamber.
 E 2, bk. † A Prayer when sleepe cometh vpon one.</p> | <p>E 6. † A Praier when one awakes out of sleepe.
 E 6, bk. † Meditations when one awaketh out of sleepe.
 E 7. † A Praier to be said at the breake of the day.
 E 8. † Meditations at the appearing of the day.
 F 1. † A Praier when one ariseth forth of his bed.
 F 1, bk. † Meditations when one ariseth out of his bed.
 F 2, bk. † A praier to be said at the putting on of a mans clothes.
 F 3. † Christian directions for the Morning.
 F 5. † [Fresh Title.] A SHORT / <i>Treatise, of praiers</i> / and Supplications ; / COMPRISING / <i>a briefe summe of all such</i> / things as we stand / in need of in this / life. / <i>By the same Author.</i> / P. S. Gent. / (F 5, back, blank.)
 F 6. † A Praier for the Morning.
 F 7. † A Prayer for the Euenig.
 F 8, bk. † A generall confession of our sins to God the Father, necessary to be said at all times.
 G 3, bk. A confession of our sinnes to Christ Iesus our sauour, with desire of forgiuenes.
 G 5. A fruitfull praier to God the holie Ghost.
 G 6, bk. A Praier for the Queenes¹ Maiestie.
 G 8, bk. A praier to be said of all such as be maiestrates and rulers in the common wealt.
 H 2. A praier for the increase of faith.
 H 3, bk. A praier against the deuill, the world and the flesh.
 H 4, bk. A praier for Gods direction in all things which we take in hand.
 H 5, bk. A praier for a competent and a necessarie liuing.
 H 7, bk. A praier for grace that wee may vse our wealth to the glorie of God.</p> |
|---|--|

¹ Kings, ed. 1610, which also alters *her* to *his*, and [our souereigne] 'Ladie and gouernesse' to 'Lord and gouerner.'

† From the 1610 edition, my copy of the 1592 one being imperfect.

[Continued at back of Title.]



A perfect Pathway

to Felicitie,

Containing godlie

Meditations, and Pray-
ers, fit for all times, and
necessarie to be prac-
ticed of all good
Christians.

AT LONDON,
Imprinted by *Humfrey*
Lownes, dwelling on
Bread Street hill, at
the signe of the
Star. 1610.

CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S *PATHWAY*, 1592, 1610.

- I 1. A praier to be said of women with childe.
 I 3. A praier for godly wisdom.
 I 4. bk. A praier against all kind of enemies.
 I 6. A praier when one taketh a iourney in hand.
 I 7, bk. A thanksgiuing to God after ones retorne home from his iourney.
 K 1. A praier for euerie subiect of a common wealth.
 K 2, bk. A praier to be said of those that be vnmariied.
 K 3, bk. A praier to be said of those that are mariied.
 K 5, bk. A praier to be said of those that be maisters of housholds.
 K 7. A praier to be said of seruants.
 K 8. A praier to obtaine the grace and fauour of God.
 L 2. A praier to God for a quiet conscience.
 L 3, bk. A praier for a true and liuely faith.
 L 4, bk. A praier for loue and charitie.
 L 6. A praier against pride, and for humilitie.
 L 7. A praier for a good name.
 L 8, bk. A praier for patience in sickness.
 M 2. A praier for the assistance of

Gods holie Angels in any extremitie or neede whatsoever.

- M 3, bk. A praier against sudden death.
 M 5. A praier for one that is sicke, and at the poynt of death.
 M 7, bk. A praier for those that be rich and wealthie.
 N 1, bk. A praier for those that be poore and needie.
 N 3. A praier for the increase and preservation of the fruits of the earth.
 N 4, bk. A praier against couetousnes and auarice.
 N 6, bk. A praier to be said before the reading, studying, or hearing of Gods word.
 N 8. A praier against swearing.
 O 1, bk. A praier against drunkennes.
 O 3. A praier against slouthfulnesse and idlenesse.
 O 4. A praier for those that are persecuted for the truth.
 O 6, bk. A praier for Godly wisdom.
 O 7, bk. A praier for grace to be mindfull to die.
 P 1, bk. † A Thanks-giuing to God for all his graces and blessings bestowed vpon vs.

The first edition of 1592 ends on the back of sign. P 5.

1592.

uerlasting GOD bee all / honour, glorie,
 prayse do^hminion power, and
 thanks/giuing for euermore.
 Amen.

*Vni Deo & trino sit,
 omnis gloria*

FINIS.

[Ornament.]

The after prayers in ed. 1610 are:—(2) A Prayer for the forgiuenes of sinnes (P 6, back). (3) Another (Q 3). (4) Prayse and (5) Prayer for Gods mercy towards vs (Q 5, back). (6) A Prayer, in meditating on Christs Passion (R 1, back). (7) Another (R 5). (8) A Prayer to Christ in glorie (R 6, back). (9) A Prayer before the hearing of Gods word (R 8). (10) A Prayer for Gods Grace (S 2). (11) A Prayer for confidence in God alone (S 3, back). (12) A Prayer for true enlightning (S 4, back). (13) A Prayer that the olde man may die in vs (S 6, back). (14) A Prayer to be vsed by the sicke (T 2). (15) A Prayer, in the time of Pestilence (T 5). *Finis.* (T 7, front). Back of T 7, and T 8, blank, tho' with borders.

² sign. P 5, back.

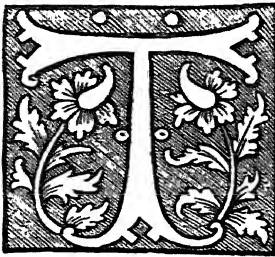
1610.

and euerlasting GOD, be
 all honour, glorie, praise,
 might power maiestie and
¹ dominion, now and for euer.
 Amen.

(1) A Praier for the Church.

○ Singular louer of vs,
 Christ Iesu, O Bride-
 groome to whom thy Church
 is most deare, and which hast
 promised that thou wilt ne-
 uer faile her: increase her; . . .

¹To the right worshipfull,
vertuous, and godlie Gentle-
 woman, Mistrresse *Katherine*
Milward, most faithfull spouse
 to the no lesse worshipfull, wise and
 religious Gentleman, Master *Willi-*
am Milward. Esquire, *P. S.* witheth
 all happie successe in this life, with in-
 crease of worship, and in the life
 to come, eternal felicity in the
 Heauenly Hierachie by
 Iesus Christ.



Wo things peraduenture (Right Worshipfull)
may be maruailed at, concerning this little
book: ²as namely, first, why I haue pub-
lished it, considering the great number of
Books, either of the same, or verie like
Argument, extant in these dayes. Secondly,
wherfore I haue dedicated it rather vnto³
you then to anie other. For the first, I
protest before God, who knoweth the secrets
of all hearts, I haue not published it, either for vain glory, lucre, or
⁴gaines, nor yet for any other priuate respect of my owne whatsoever;
but at the instant request and earnest desire of one of my verie good
friends, and alliance also, who yet being living, & the onely man that
hath borne the whole charges of the impression thereof, both can, & I
know will (if need should require) iustifie the same against any that
shold ⁵auerre the contrarie. And for the second, when I considered
with my selfe how much bound I haue alwaies beene to your worship

¹ sign. ¶ 3.

² sign. ¶ 3, back.

³ vnso orig.

⁴ sign. ¶ 4.

⁵ sign. ¶ 4, back.

ever since the time that I was first acquainted with you, for your good opinion you have euer conceived of me, & sundrie other your courtesies shewed towards me, far beyond my deserts or expectation: As also when I called to remembrance your seruent zeale which you have euer torn to the word of God & holy religion, your exquisite knowledge therein, your careful induour to put the same in practise, & to frame your life thereafter: Briefly, when I remembred your maruailous humilitie & lowliness of mind, your wonderfull modestie, gentlesse, and affability, your² rare continencie and integritie of life, with infinite the like vertues and graces, wherewith God hath beautified & adorned your worship aboue manie others; I say, when I remembred these things, with many mo, I doe no lesse (hauing so fit an occasion giuen me by reason of my friends importunacie) then to dedicate these my labors to your³ worship, though not as a guerdon answerable to your deserts, yet as an infallible testimonie, pledge, and token of my thankful goodwil and grateful heart towards you. And albeit that in respect of the formal method of the booke (for herein I haue not studied to be curious), it may seeme to be base and contemptible, and such as is farre vnworthy to bee⁴ exhibited, to so wise, so discreet, so godly, & religious a gentlewoman; yet in regard of the matter, which is heauenly and diuine, I most humbly beseech you to accept thereof, and to permit the same to go forth to the view of the worlde under the gard of your protection, and to patronize both the author & the booke against the poysoned tongues of railing Phormions & flouting Momusses, to whom all good things are had in disdaine. And in so doing, both God shall bee glorified by you, the church & Saints shall praise God in you, & I my selfe (besides that I will not rest vnthankfull to you to the death) will not cease also to pray to God for you. And thus I most humbly take my leaue. From my

*⁶ Chamber, this present
tenth of Aprill.*

1592.

Your Worships in the Lord.

Philip Stubs.

¹ sign. ¶ 5.

² sign. ¶ 5, back.

³ sign. ¶ 6.

⁴ sign. ¶ 6, back.

⁵ sign. ¶ 7.

⁶ sign. ¶ 7, back.

¹Precepts at thy going forth
of thy Chamber.



WHEN thou goest forth of thy chamber, salute thy bed fellow (if thou hast anie), giuing him the time of the day, and in meeting others doe the like (for ciuilitie requireth it). And when thou comest into the presence of thy Parents, not onely salute them, but also fall downe vpon thy knees before them, ²and desire them to praie to God to bless thee. When thou hast so don, wash thy face & thy hands, & keep thy body cleane and neat: in the doing wherof, meditate thus with thy selfe.

Meditations in the washing
of ones face and hands.



AS y^e filthines and pollution of my bodie is washed & made clean by y^e element of water; so is my ³bodie and soule purified and washed from the spots & blemishes of sin, by the precious blood of Iesus Christ. Think, also, this washing putteth me in remembrance of my baptism, of my spiritual birth and regeneration, whereby I am not onelie borne anew by the operation of the Holy-ghost, but also am sealed vp to eternall saluation, thorowe the redemption that is in Christ. These Meditations ended, pray as followeth:

⁴A praier to be said at the wa-
shing of ones face & hands.



Most gracious God, and louing Father, who hast giuen thy onelie begotten Son Iesus Christ, to suffer death vpon the Crosse for my redemption; graunt, I most intirely beseech thee, for his sake, that as this my bodie is now washed

¹ sign. C 4.

² C 4, back.

³ C 5.

⁴ C 5, back.

and made cleane by the element of materiall water, so my body and foule maie both bee purified & purged from all vncleannesse and filthinesse of sinne, thorow the efficacie of thy sonne his most precious blood. These things thus ordered, go forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things to his glorie, and the good of thy brethren.

Directions how a Christian
should behaue himselfe at
the Table.



When thou comest to the Table, shew all obedience and curtesie, behauing thy selfe modestlie, humbly, and soberly, as in the presence of God. Eate so much as nature requireth, not how much insatiable appetite desireth. Be spare, as well of hande as tongue. Let thy countenance be amiable and pleasant toward all men. Let all thy communication bee seasoned with salt, as the Apostle speaketh, that it maie giue grace to the hearers, remembering that wee must giue accounts at the daie of iudgement for euerie idle word. Use not to laugh much, to iest, or scoffe, to floute or mocke, to deride, backbite, or ¹ detract anie man behinde his backe, but in all things so demeanor thy selfe, that thou maist neither dishonour thy God, nor giue either offence or euill example vnto any at the table. Dinner being ended, giue God thanks as followeth.

A Thank-giuing to God
after dinner.



Most holy-father, Lord of heauen & earth, I giue thee thanks in ² the name of Iesus Christ for all thy benefites and blessings in mercy bestowed vpon mee euer since I was borne. And namelie, O Father, I praise thee for feeding my hungry body, as alwaies heretofore, so now presentlie at this time, with earthlie foode; beseeching thee to feede my soule likewise with the

¹ sign. D.

² sign. D, back.

celestiall foode of thy holie word. And I pray thee, good Lord, that as thou hast giuen vnto mee the vse of these ¹earthly creatures in great measure, so thou wilt in mercie vouchsafe to giue vnto me the continual supply of all my necessities & wants, needfull either for my soule, or bodie, to the end, and in the end, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord.

²A Thanks-giuing to God
before Supper.



Ather of mercie, and God of all truth, looke downe, I beseech thee, from the throne of thy heavenly palace vpon vs thy humble seruants, albeit most wretched and miserable finners: sanctifie both our bodies & soules, by the presence of thy holie Spirite, and blesse these thy creatures vnto vs: giue them strength to nourish our bodies, and our bodies their naturall powers and force, euerie member to performe his office and dutie, according as thou hast appointed, & as thou seeest to bee best for thy glorie, and the sustaining and repairing of our ruinous and weake natures. And we praie thee, good father, also, to feede our soules with the celestiall *Manna* of thy blessed worde, and bring vs once to suppe with thee in the kingdome of heauen, thorow the precious blood of Iesus Christ.

Then fall to thy meate reuerently, as before at dinner, hauing alwaies a diligent eye, that thou abuse not the good creatures of GOD, by gluttony, drunkenesse, gourmandise, or any other kinde of riot or excessse. Remember that nature is satisfied with a little; and what is more then will suffice nature is superfluous; and one daie thou shalt be accomptable for it to the great Iudge of all the earth. Thy body beeing satisfied, forget not to relieue the necessities of the Saints, according to thy abilitie, that God maie blesse thee, & multiplie thy store. When Supper is ended, giue god thanks, either as followeth, or otherwise, as the spirit of God shall illuminate thy heart.³

¹ sign. D 2.

² sign. D 4, back.

³ Ends D 6, front.

¹A Thank-giuing to God
after Supper.



H Lord our God, most gracious & holy father, we render all praise & thank-giuing to thy foueraigne maiefty, for all thy benefites and blessings so plentifully bestowed vpon vs. And namelie² we thanke thee (holy father) for these thy good creatures, which thou hast at this present in full measure giuen vnto vs. Oh Lord, make vs thankfull for them, & pardon our vnthankfulness, for Iesus Christ his sake. Finally, make vs all thy true, obedient, & faithful seruants, and bring vs to euerlasting life in thy good time, for thy great mercies sake in thy beloued, Amen.

Directions of Christian behaui-
our after supper.



He rest of the time after Supper, vntill thou goest to bedde, ³spend with thy familie, either in singing of Psalmes and spirituall songs, singing and making melodie to the Lord in your hearts; or else in conferring, reasoning, disputing, and talking of the word of God, in reading, expounding, or interpreting of the same. Then, when time calleth thee to goe to bed, call thy whole household together in some conuenient place, make publike confession of your finnes to God the Father, craue ⁴pardon and forgiuenesse for Iesus Christs sake, and praie for grace to bee able to resist sin hereafter, with all means, waies, & allurements leading thereunto. Which done, repaire to thy chamber, reuoluing with thy selfe these and the like things following.

¹ D 6, back.

² especially.

³ D 7, back.

⁴ sign. D 8.

Meditations when thou comest
into thy chamber.



Hen thou art come into thy chamber, call to ¹thy remembrance what euill thou hast committed that daie past, either in thought, word, or deed, towards GOD, or towards man, and the good which thou shouldest haue done, and hast not done. If thou hast seene or heard anie good thing in any man, note it, learne it, and praie for grace to follow it. If againe thou hast seene or heard anie euill in anie man, note it in thy selfe, and pray for grace to eschewe it. This done, kneele ²downe by thy bed side, confesse thy sins to GOD the Father, craue pardon for Iesus Christ his sake, and praie to him to protect thee that night, and to defende thee vnder the shadowe of his wings, from all perilles and daungers both bodilie and ghostly. Thy clothes being put off, meditate thus with thy selfe. 'Oh what a filthy, vncleane, & vgglesome carkasse doe I beare about with me, that for very shame ³had neede to bee couered with garments!' Thinke also from what an excellent state and dignity (in regard of thy first creation) thou art fallen, by reason of the filthines of sin. Then thinke, that if thy apparell were giuen thee for verie necessities sake, to couer and hide thy shame withall, what reason hast thou to be proud thereof? For should a begger be proude of the cloutes that wrap his fores? Thinke also, that as thou ⁴canst not without thy shame stand before men, naked and bare, so canst thou not without shame and confusion of face stand before the maiestie of God, except thou be clothed & inuested with the garment of Christs righteousnes and holinesse. Finally think, that as thou puttest off and layest aside thy materiall garment, so shalt thou once, and peraduenture before thou risest againe, put off and lay away the earthly mansion of thy ⁵body, committing it to mother earth againe, from whence it first came. When sleep commeth vpon thee, pray as followeth.

¹ D 8, back.

² sign. E.

³ sign. E 1, back.

⁴ sign. E 2.

⁵ sign. E 2, back.

A Prayer when sleepe com-
meth vpon one.



Of mercifull Father, with whome there is no difference of time, nor varietie of chaunge, seeing thou hast appointed the daie for man to trauaile in, and the¹ night for him to take his naturall rest, I beseech thee that as my bodie hath beene occupied and employed this daie in the labours of this life, so it maie receiue by thy protection quiet rest and sleepe this night, that I may be the abler to goe forwarde in the exercise of good works, in the rest of my life that I haue to liue, to the praise and glorie of thy blessed name: and in this my sleepe defend mee, I beseech thee, from all perilles² and daungers, and from all the force and violence of mine enemies both spirituall and corporall. And as it maie please thee to graunt to my bodie quiet rest and sleepe; so let it be thy good pleasure to make my soule watchfull and vigilant to waite vpon thee, and diligently to looke for the comming of thy deare sonne Iesus Christ vnto iudgement for my redemption. Keepe me from all fearefull dreams and visions, from all phanta³sticall apparitions & diuelish illusions of the wicked enemye, from all carnall pollutions & vngodlie suggestions of the wicked spirite. Finally graunt, that both my bodie and my soule, resting vnder thy diuine protection, may be safe from all enmitie & hostilitie whatsoeuer, and at the last maie attaine euerlasting life, thorough Iesus Christ, my onelie Sauour & Redeemer. This done, dispose thy selfe to rest, com⁴mitting both thy bodie and soule into the hands of God, praying him to be thy watchman that night. Then descend thou into the secrets⁵ closetts and priue chambers of thine heart, search euery place, and ransacke euerie corner; and if thou findest anie filthinesse or vncleanesse therein (as indeed thou shalt finde nothing else) wash it away with the teares of repentance, & make it cleane with the broome of contrition. Then thinke thus⁶ with thy selfe; ‘My bed dooth represent vnto me my

¹ sign. E 3.² sign. E 3, back.³ sign. E 4⁴ secretest? or secret⁵ E 4, back.⁶ E 5.

graue, wherein I muſt once ſleepe; and the clothes, the earth, wherewithall I ſhall ſhortlie be couered in my ſepulchre or graue: And as theſe fleas and gnats do bite & gnaw my ſkinne, ſo ſhall the wormes eate and conſume the frame of my bodie, in the duſt of the earth, when the Lord doth pleaſe.' When the morning beginneth to dawn, and the dayſtarre to appeare, ¹thinke thus; 'As now the morning cometh on, and the daie ſtarre beginneth to appeare, ſo ſhall Chriſt Ieſus, the true morning ſtar, ſhew himſelfe at the time appointed of his Father, to iudge both the quicke and the dead.' And when thou heareſt the crowing of the Cocke, the founding of belles, or anie other noiſe whatſoeuer, think alwaies, that thou heareſt the Trumpe of the Archangell ſound, ſaying, 'Arife, you dead ²and come vnto iudgement.' When thou awakeſt out of ſleepe, praie to this effecte as followeth.

A Praier when one awakes
out of ſleepe.



Ereſfull father, grant that as thou haſt now awaked my earthly body out of this naturall ſleepe, ſo thou wilt alſo vouchſafe to raiſe me vp from the ſleep of ſin, and in the general reſurrection of all ³ſleſh, to eternall life, thorow Ieſus Chriſt my only Sauour & Redeemer. . . .

⁴Chriſtian directions for the Morning.



When thou haſt attired thyſelfe decently and comely, not pompouſly, nor proudly, goe forth of thy ⁵chamber, and if thou beſt a maſter of a houſehoulde, call thy familie together, confeſſe your finnes, craue pardon for Ieſus Chriſt his ſake, pray for grace to reſiſt ſinne hereafter, prayſe God for all his benefites and bleſſings in mercie beſtowed vpon you, pray for continuance of them. Thanke him for your protection that night, beſeeching him to protect you that day, and to bleſſe all your workes and labours. And finally, deſire him

¹ E 5, back.

² E 6.

³ E 6, back.

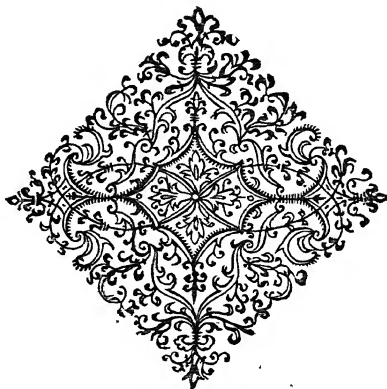
⁴ on ſign. F 3.

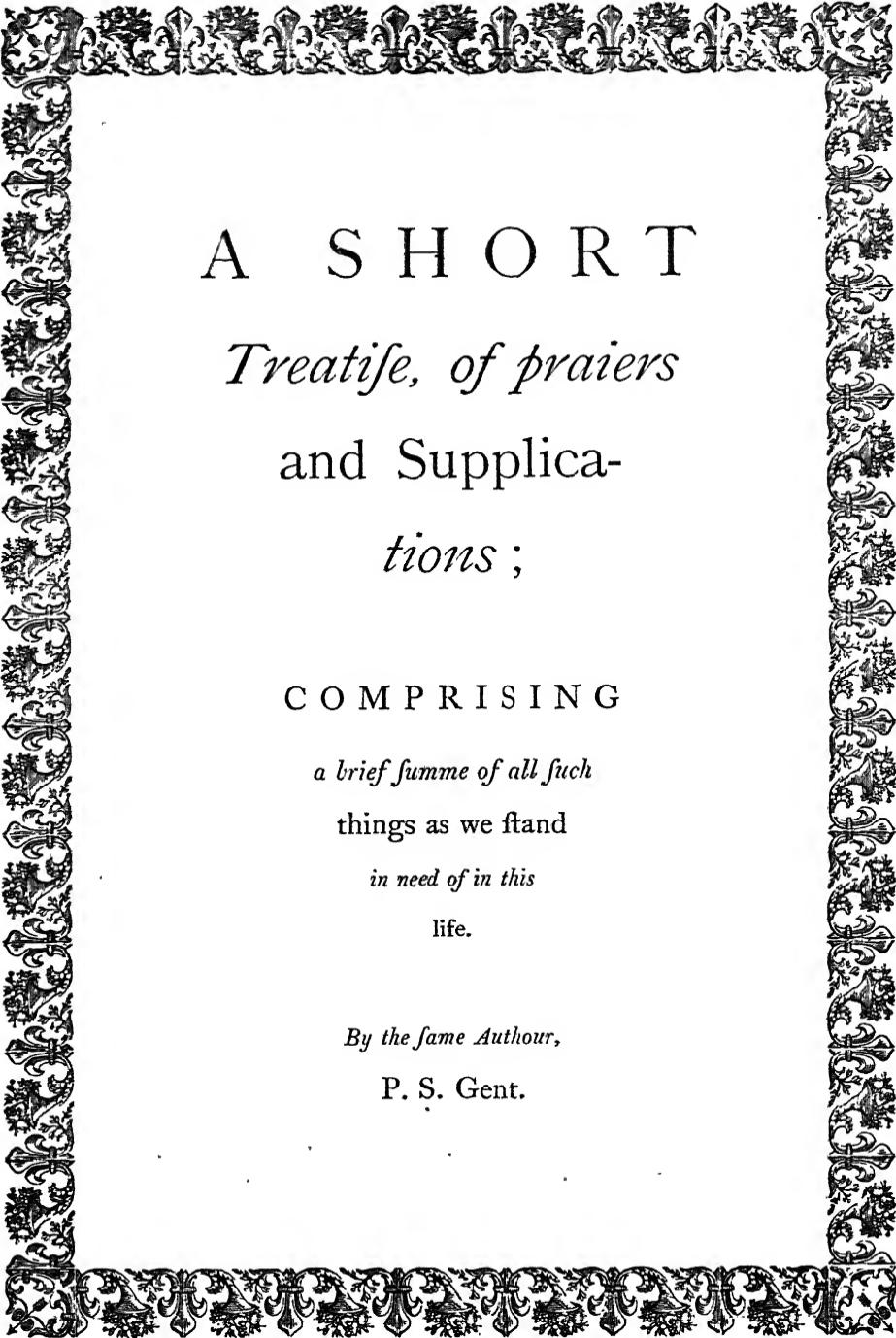
⁵ F 3, back.

⁶ ſign. F 4.

to keepe and defend you that day, and euer, from all perils and dangers, both bodily and ghostly whatsoeuer, and to bring you to euerlasting life at the time appointed, through the precious blood of Iesus Christ. This done, goe forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things with single eie and good conscience, to the praise of him that made thee; being assured that as in mercie hee will not leaue the least ¹good worke that wee do, vnrewarded; so in iustice hee will not leaue the least euill that wee doe commit, either in thought, word, or deed, vnpunished, except we repent. To God, therefore, our Father, to Christ Iesus our Sauour and redeemer, and to God the Holie-ghost our Comforter and Sanctifier, three persons and one true and euerliuing God, bee all honour, glorie, praise, dominion & thanksgiving for euermore. Amen.

¹ F 4, back.





A S H O R T

Treatise, of praiers
and Supplica-
tions ;

C O M P R I S I N G

a brief summe of all such
things as we stand
in need of in this
life.

By the same Authour,

P. S. Gent.

¹A Praier for the Queenes
Maiestie.



E render all prayse and thanks to thee, oh ²king of all kings, and gouernour of all things, for that in the multitude of thy mercies thou hast vouchedsafe to place ouer vs thy little flock, so godly & vertuous a guide, so gracious & wise a princes, as the worlde neuer had her peere.

And we humblie pray thee, holie father, with thy fauourable countenance to beholde the same thy seruant, our souereigne Ladie and gouerneffe. And so sanctifie her heart with the grace of thy ³holie spir[i]te, that shee maie bend all her studie and indeuour to y^e setting forth of thy glorie, y^e maintenance of thy holie religion, the aduancement of true vertue and godlines, the supplanting of vice and commoditie of this her maiesties common weale vnder thee: kindle in her a seruient zeale of thy glory and a vehement desire to establish whatfoeuer is defectiue or wanteth in this thy Church & vineyard in England, for the ⁴true & sincere discipline & gouernment of thy church & common welth. Saue and defend her from al forreigne power, & authoritie, from all traitterous conspiracies, plots and practises, either of papiſts, Atheists, or any other sectaries whatfoeuer. Giue her godlie, wise, & religious counsailers, such as may respect onlie thy glorie, that her maiestie ruling according to thy wil, they counselling according to the inspiration of thy holy spirit, ⁵and we her subiects faithfully obeying, may altogether in the end receiue the incorruptible crowne of eternall glorie in the heauenlie Hierusalem, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

¹ From ed. 1592, sign. G 6, back.

² sign. G 7. ³ G 7, back.

⁴ sign. G 8.

⁵ G 8, back.

A Prayer for a Competent &
a necessary living.

O Lord our GOD, most gracious & holie father, ¹whose loue towards men in Christ Iesus is infinite and vnspokeable, & whose tender care ouer him is such, that thou hast promised that whosoever beleeweth in thee, dependeth vpon thy prouidence, and seeketh his reliefe at thy blessed handes, shall neuer want anie good thing, eyther necessarie for soule or bodie: Therefore, most gracious Father, I thy felie creature, of my selfe poore, yea, pouertie and nakednesse ²it selfe, most intirelie beseech thee, for Iesus Christ his sake, that thou wilt giue vnto mee a competent and a necessarie living, as meate, drinke, and cloth, with all other things needfull for my bodie; that pinching pouertie oppresse mee not, nor that I be not drawn to attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes for the maintenance of my life. To this end therefore (good father) blesse my store, and replenish my basket with thy ³ blessings, that I maie be able, thorow thy beneficiall liberalitie, to liue out of debt and danger of all men, and to occupie my selfe in the exercise & practise of good workes, to the reliefe of them that haue neede, and the setting forth of thy honor & glory, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen. . . .

⁴A praier to be said of those
that be vnmarried.

O Lord our God, in as much as thou hast commaunded in thy blessed word, the word of truth, that wee, abstayning from all whooredome, and fornication, and vncleannesse, should keepe our vesselles in holinesse, and not in y^e filthy lusts of the flesh, as do the heathen, who know not thee: I beseech thee ther⁵fore to giue mee grace to perform this thy most holy Commandement, and graunt that I neuer pollute nor defile my bodie with whoredome, fornication, nor any other vncleannesse. And because, O Lord, chastitie of the bodie

¹ sign. H 6.² sign. H 6, back.³ sign. H 7.⁴ sign. K 2, back.⁵ K 3.

is nothing, without the continencie of the minde, bridle therefore, I beseech thee, all the motions and affections of my heart ; that I, banishing all wicked thoughts and vncleane imaginations out of ¹my mind, may liue in all holy innocencie, puritie, and integrity, both of bodie & soule, vnto my liues ende, thorow the efficacy, power, & strength of the pretious blood of Iesus Christ, Amen.

A Prayer to bee said
of those that be
married.

HOly Father, wee are taught by thy sacred word, the breath of thy own mouth, that after ²thou hadst created all things, the last of all other *thou* createdst man, & woman of a rib of his side, giuing her vnto him in holy wedlocke, adding vnto them thy blessing, saying : ‘Increase and multiplie, and replenish the earth :’ I giue thee most humble & hartly thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to call me to the honorable state of mariage. And I most heartily beseech thee that we may liue together in thy true faith, feare, and loue, all the daies of ³our liues. Giue vs grace, the one to loue the other, & both of vs to loue thee, and our brethren for thy sake. Keepe vs (good lord) farre from all wicked ielofie, hatred, malice, and contention one with the other. And as our bodies are incorporate together, and become, as it were, but one bodie ; so vouchsafe, holy father, that as thy owne Turtle doues, we may liue together in chastitie and continencie, both of bodies and mindes, ⁴without defrauding one the other. And if it please thee to blesse vs with children, giue vs grace to bring them vp in such holy exercises, discipline, and learning, as thou requirest of vs in this life. Grant that wee may labour and trauaile, either of vs in our vocation, that by thy blessing, we may alwaies haue sufficient to maintain our estates withall in thy holie feare ; that wee be not chargeable to others, but liuing forth of debt ⁵and

¹ sign. K 3, back.

² sign. K 4.

³ sign. K 4, back.

⁴ sign. K 5.

⁵ sign. K 5, back.

danger of all men, maie be rich & plentiful in all good works, to the praise & glorie of thy blessed name, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord, to whom be praise and glorie for euermore, Amen.

A Prayer to be said of
those that be masters
of households.



Hou hast commanded (oh gracious Lord God) by thy blessed Apostle, *that* masters ¹should intreate their seruants gently and courteously, putting away all bitterness and threatning, doing vnto them all equitie and iustice, knowing *that* thou art our common master in heauen: graunt me grace, therefore (good Lord), so to order my seruants, as I neuer attempt nor enterprise anie vnrighteous thing against them, but so to execute my authoritie ouer them, as I maie alwayes remember that thou art the Lord and ²master of vs all, and respectest no mans person. Make me, O Lord, to be the same vnto them, that a good Pastor is to his flocke, to teach them by wordes thy holie lawes, and by example of life, true righteousnesse and holinesse in conuersation, that they and I together, in thy good time, may all inherite euerlasting life, by Christ our Lord, Amen.

³A Prayer to be said of
seruants.



Lord our GOD, seeing thou hast ordayned sundry degrees and states of men in this life, and amongst them all hast appointed ⁴ mee to bee a Seruant, giue me grace, I beseech thee, to serue in my vocation faithfully, and to obey willinglie in all things not repugnant to thy blessed will, not with eye seruice as ⁵ studying to please men, but with all sinceritie and singleness of heart, as seeking to glorifie thee: being thorowlie perswaded that in seruing them, I serue thee, and of thee shall receiue my reward. Giue mee grace to demeane

¹ sign. K 6.

² K 6, back.

³ sign. K 7.

⁴ Appointest, *orig.*

⁵ sign. K 7, back.

my selfe faithfully, iustlie, and trulie towards all men, in all things, and not to enrich my selfe by picking, stealing, imbezeling, purloining, or conueying anie thing from anie man by any finister practice ¹whatsoever; but so to behaue my selfe towards all men, as there may be no fault found in me: that thy name may be glorified, and my saluation in Christ Iesus sealed vp vnto mee. Grant this, O Lord, for thy mercies sake, Amen.

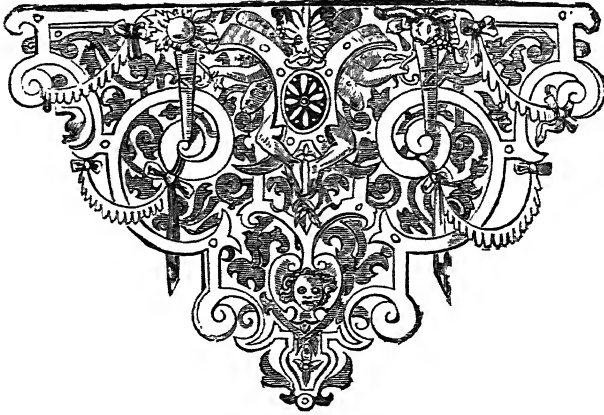
²A Prayer in the time of Pestilence.

IT is no marueile, O most righteous Father, that the elements of this worlde are fierce against vs, sometime with earthquakes, sometime with tempests & lightnings, sometimes with ouerflowing ³of Seas & Riueres, sometime with pestilent concourses of the heauenlie lights, and sometime with corruption of the infected ayre: for we do commonly abuse thy gifts. We acknowledge, that euen in this case also the creatures serue and obeie their Creator, whose commandements wee neglect so oftentimes. Also wee acknowledge thy fatherlie nurturing of vs, whereby thou callest vs backe from ⁴the trust of this world with gentle correction, and drawest vs to the desire of the euerlasting life. We humbly beseech thee to remember thy mercy euen in thy wrath, and fauorable to withdrawe the afflictions which thou hast laid vpon vs in thy displeasure. The infection of y^e pestilence shall do vs no great harm, if we withdrawe our selues from the infection of sinne. But both those things are of thy gift, O ⁵Father of mercie, namely, as well to haue our mindes free from the poyson of sinne, as to haue our bodies safe from y^e infection of y^e plague. Such as haue fastened the Anchor of their hope in this life, are wont in their perils to flie for remedie to such shifts as these: namely, some to certain Saints, as to S. Rooke, or S. Anthonie; and some to the pernicious Art of witchcraft. But we, who are fully perswaded that no ⁶man can escape thy hand

¹ sign. K 8.² On sign. T 5.³ sign. T 5, back.⁴ sign. T 6.⁵ sign. T 6, back.⁶ sign. T 7.

beleeue there is no such safetie as to resort to thy selfe, and to flie from thy iustice to thy mercie, as to the surest and safest sanctuarie that can be, forasmuch as thou neuer forsakeest them that put theyr trust in thy goodnesse; vnder whose protection, euen they that dye are safe. To thee therefore bee praise for euermore, Amen.

FINIS.



¹A praier to be said of all such
as be maiestrates and rulers in
the common wealth.



Orasmuch as it hath pleased thee, oh eternall God, ruler of all kinges and ²kingdoms, to constitute and appoint me (though altogether vnworthie) to be a ruler and gouernour of thy people vnder my foueraigne, I beseech thee, giue me grace, so to execute my office, and minister iustice in the common wealth, that I maie please thee in all things, iniurie no man, oppresse no man, damnifie no man, neither in bodie, nor in goods, but by thy gracious working, may iudge iustly³, neither fauoring ⁴the rich nor mightie for desire of gifts, nor yet dispising the poore for want of rewardes, that I, seeking thy glorie, the aduancement of thy holie word, and Gospell, and the common benefite of all men, may be found acceptable vnto thee in thy beloued, and may heare that sweete haruest song⁵, 'well, good seruant, thou hast beene faithfull in small thinges of this life, (which are but vanities and trifles to the things in the life to come) enter into the ioy of the Lord'. Oh Lord, let it be so, for Iesus Christ his sake. Amen.

¹ From ed. 1592, sign. G 8, back. Given for Justice Shallow's sake.

² sign. H.

³ Compare 2 *Henry IV*, Act V. sc. i. :—

Davy. I beseech you, sir, to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the hill.

Shal. There are many complaints, Davy, against that Visor; that Visor is an arrant knave on my knowledge.

Davy. I grant your worship, that he is a knave, sir: but yet, God forbid sir, but a knave should have some countenance at his friend's request. An honest man, sir, is able to speak for himself, when a knave is not. I have served your worship truly, sir, these eight years; and if I cannot once or twice in a quarter bear out a knave against an honest man, I have but a very little credit with your worship. The knave is mine honest friend, sir; therefore, I beseech your worship, let him be countenanced.

Shal. Go to; I say, he shall have no wrong. Look about, Davy.

[*Exit Davy*.]

⁴ H 1, back.

⁵ sung, ed. 1592; song, ed. 1610.

NOTES.

p. vi, l. 10: *whose gawld backes are tutched*. "But what o' that? Your Maiestie, and wee that haue free soules, it *touches* vs not: let the *gall'd* iade winch: our withers are vnprung." *Hamlet*, III. ii. 251-3; 1st Folio, *Trag.* p. 268, col. 2.

p. viii, l. 7 from foot; p. xii, *veluers*; p. 32, *velvet*.—Cotgrave distinguishes between *velvet* and *velure*: "*Velours*: m. Veluet . . . *Tripe de Velours*, Valure, Mocke Veluet, Fustian an Apes. *Tripe*: f. . . Valure, Irish Tuftaffata, Fustian an Apes;" and as Harrison says that wool was used for *vellures*, the stuff must have been a kind of 'velvet-pile cloth' like that which ladies wore a few seasons ago, and which was all wool. 'Velveteen' and 'cotton velvet' have, I am told, no wool in them. Common velvets have a cotton back and silk face. The French have also *velours* in silk, cotton and wool (Littré):—

"In time past, the vse of this commoditie [wool] consisted (for the most part) in cloth and woolsteds: but now by meanes of strangers succoured here from domesticall persecution, the same hath beene imploied vnto sundrie other vses, as mockados, baies, *vellures*, grograines, &c.; whereby the makers haue reaped no small commoditie" (not in ed. 1577), 1587. W. Harrison, *Description of England*, bk. 3, chap. 1, p. 221, l. 31-7; my ed. Pt. II. 1878, p. 6.

"at Westminster . . . the bragging *velure*-canioned [with wool-velvet knee-rolls] hobby-horses prance up and down as if some o' the tilters had ridden 'em." 1607. Webster & Dekker's *Northward Ho*, Act II. sc. 1, p. 257, col. 1, of *Webster's Works*, ed. Dyce, 1857. (On *Canions*, see p. 246 below.)

On the etymology of *velvet*, *velure*, Mr Henry Nicol says:—"The second *v* of *velvet* is an alteration of *w* (*velwet*, Promptorium), and this of *u* (*feluet* Launfal—misprinted in Stratmann *felvet*—*veluet*, Chaucer). That the *u* of Mid. E. *veluet* formed a separate syllable is shown by the metre of

And co|uered it | with *ve|lu-et|tes* blew|e

(*Squire's Tale*, Ellesmere MS. 6-Text, p. 496, l. 644)

and by the Cambridge MS. spelling *velowetys*. Mid. E. *veluet* comes from Old Fr. *veluet* (Roquefort—who misprints *velvet*), also spelt *velluet* (Hippeau), for which no references are given; but which occurs latinised as *velluetum*. *Veluet* corresponds to a hypothetical Latin *villūtūtum*, being a diminutive of Fr. *velu*, hypothetical Lat. *villūtum* (Ital. *velluto*, Span. *velludo*), which shows the usual Fr.

loss of Lat. single *t* between vowels, and (like the other words here considered) has for its primitive Lat. *villus*. Another diminutive of *velu* is Old Fr. *vellueau* (Roquefort, with quotation), later *veluan* and *veluyau*, latinised *velludellum*, and corresponding to a hypothetical Lat. *villūellum*.

"E. *vellure* (Shakspeare *velure*, Cotgrave—probably by misprint—*valure*) is probably Early Mod. Fr. *velure* (Cotgrave), meaning 'shag'; so far there is no authority for either word before the 16th century. The Old Fr. may be either *velure* (four syllables), hypothetical Lat. *villātūram*, with the common Fr. suffix, or *veloure* (-*orz*, -*ure*, three syllables), hypothetical Lat. *villōram*, with a rare suffix, existing in the Provincial Span. *vellora* ('knot or lump taken off woollen cloth'). If E. *vellure* existed before the 14th century, it points to an Old Fr. *velēure*, as if from *veloure* it would have been *vellour* in Early Mod. E., change of suffix by analogy being unlikely. But if borrowed later, when Old Fr. *veloure* had become *velure*, either F. form (with *eu* = Late Mod. F. *eu*, or *eu* = Late Mod. F. *u*) would suit. It is very unlikely that E. *vellure* comes from Mod. Fr. *velours*, as the *s* of this, though now always silent, would be pronounced in many cases in the 16th century. *Velours* is a Mod. form for Old Fr. *velous*, which is Lat. *villōsum* (Ital. *veloso*, Span. *veloso*); Froissart's *velus* is possibly influenced by *velu*, but probably the vowel, as Scheler says, was altered for the sake of the rhyme with *Lus*. The Mod. Burgundian *velour*, *velor*, quoted by Littré, is probably *velours* in phonetic spelling, hardly Early Mod. Fr. *velure*; an exactly parallel example of inserted *r* in the termination *ous* is noted by Scheler in the Mod. Dutch *jaloersch* ('jealous'), which presupposes a Fr. *jalours* for *jaloux* (Lat. *zēlōsum*)."

p. xii : *the inferiour sorte* onely. See p. 237, &c., below.

p. 1. *Anatomic of Abuses*. Compare Thomas Nashe's "The Anatomie of Absurditie : Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayeses to feminine perfection, with a short description of the severall practices of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times. No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembered, especially by those who live more licentious, or are addicted to a more nyce stoycall austeritie." . . 1589. 4to, black letter, 23 leaves. Br. Museum. *Hazlitt's Handbook*. See the evils of Elizabeth's and James's time described in the play of *No-Body and Some-Body*, 1606, printed in Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 348-351 (and reprinted in facsimile by Mr. Alexander Smith of the Hunterian Club, Glasgow). They are, engrossing corn, racking rents, debasing the coinage, absentee landlords, city wives' whoredom, harlot-keeping, watch-beating, seduction of girls at 13 years old, pick-pocketing, purse-cutting, &c.

p. 1. *Abuses*.—See in S. Rowlands's *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot*, 1614, sign. E 3 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 37), a list of

" *Certaine common abuses*

" **A** Common Alehouse in this age of sinne,
Is now become a common Drunkards Inne :
A common seller, and a common buyer,
Are turned common swearer, common lyeer

A common Gamester, shifts hath basely made
 A common Cheater, at the Dicing trade :
 A¹ common Thiefe, in Newgate common layle,
 Of Tyborne common hye-way cannot fayle :
 A common Vag'rانت, should by law be stript,
 And by a common Beadle soundly whipt :
 A common Scould, her furious heate must coole :
 Wash'd by her diuing in a Cucking stoole :
 A common Bawd, and filthy Pander slaue,
 Must common Cart, and Brid-well whipping haue ;
 A common Rogue is tennant for the Stockes,
 A common Companyon² for the Pockes."

Also see the set of folk whom Rowlands threatens to stab in his *Looke to it : for Ile Stabbe ye*, 1604.

p. 22, l. 11 : *who so sitteth at home*. Cp. Shakspeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. i. 2-8, Folio, p. 20, col. 1 :

"Home-keeping-youth, haue euer homely wits.
 Wer 't not affection chaines thy tender dayes
 To the sweet glaunces of thy honour'd Loue,
 I rather would entreat thy company
 To see the wonders of the world abroad,
 Then (liuing dully sluggardiz'd at home)
 Weare out thy youth with shapelesse idlenesse."

p. 23. *A plesant & famous Iland*. Cp. Shakspeare in *Rich. II*, "This royall Throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle," &c., Folio, *Hist.* p. 28, col. 2, &c. &c. ; and on 'the strong kinde of people', the extracts in the Forewords to *Harrison*, Parts I and II, and *Harrison*, I. p. 221, &c. ; my *Andrew Boorde*, p. 117-119 (and see its Index).

p. 24, l. 11—10 from foot. Our Saviour * * * with his *Taratantara*. Extract from Luther's *Danger of delaying Repentance* quoted in the *Philobiblion*, vol. i. p. 251. New York. 1862. "The kettle-drum and trumpet of our good God sounds thus: *Poumerle poump ! poumerle poump ! pliz ! pluz ! schmi ! schmir !*³ This was the drumming of the Lord, or as Saint Paul says, the voice of the archangel and the trumpet of God, for when God shall thunder at the last day, it will be suddenly, and like beating the kettle-drum, *poumerle poump !* This will be the war-cry and the *taratantara* of our good God. Then the whole heaven will resound with this noise: *Kir ! Kir ! poumerle poump !*" &c.—S. (W. G. Stone.)

p. 27, l. 2 : *two kinds of sinne*. "For sothe, synne is in two maneres : outhur it is venial, or dedly synne. Sothly, when man lovith any creature more than Jhesu Crist oure creatour, thanne it is dedly synne ; and venial synne is, if a

¹ *Orig.* Of.

² Read it with 4 syllables, Com-pa-ny-on.

³ *schmi, schmir !* in the *Philobiblion*. Perhaps it should be *schmi schmu !* like *poumerle poump !*—S.

man love Jhesu Crist lesse than him oughte. For sothe the dede of this venial synne is ful perilous, for it amenisith the love that men schulde have to God, more and more." ? 1398-1400.—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Works, ed. Morris, iii. 290.

p. 27. *Pride . . . the verie efficient cause of all evils.* "thanne is Pride the general roote of alle harmes. For of this roote spryngen certein braunches : as Ire, Enuye, Accidie or Slewthe, Auarice (or Coueitise, to commune vnderstondynge), Glotonye, and Lecherye."—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Group I, l. 388, Ellesmere MS., p. 615.

p. 28, l. 13. *Pride is tripartite.* Chaucer, in his *Parson's Tale*—evidently following some monk's treatise—first divides Pride into 16 Twigs:—1. Disobedience, 2. Boasting, 3. Hypocrisy, 4. Despite, 5. Arrogance, 6. Impudence, 7. Swelling of Heart (rejoicing in harm done), 8. Insolence, 9. Elation, 10. Impatience, 11. Contumacy, 12. Presumption, 13. Irreverence, 14. Pertinacity, 15. Vain-glory, 16. Jangling (or Chattering). Then he tells of a private kind of Pride (like his Host's Wife's and the Wife of Bath's), wanting to go to offering first, &c. And then he gives the more important division of Pride into two kinds : I. within man's heart ; II. without ; II. being the sign of I, 'as the gaye leefsel (*portico, verandah*) atte Taverne is sign of the wyn that is in the Celer.' This II, or Outside Pride, is shown in 1. dear Clothing, 2. Horses & Grooms, 3. Household, keeping too many retainers, 4. Table, not asking the poor, having too fine dishes, cups, &c., and too choice minstrelsy. (From my Contents of the *Parson's Tale*, Ellesmere MS.)

p. 28. *Pride, &c.*—Compare "Luxury, Pride and Vanity, the Bane of the British Nation," 8vo, p. 61, London, N.D. (about 1750):—

"A scathing satire throwing curious light with all the vividness of a Hogarth on the vices of a century ago. Among the subjects treated of are the Increase of the Wine Trade ; a new piece of Frugality among men of quality in keeping their mistresses in their own dwelling-houses ; Beggars & Scotchmen, their respective consumption of white bread, 'with diverse other entertaining subjects, serious and comical.'"—*Secondhand-book Catalogue*.

p. 29. *Dame Nature.* "And eek we been alle of o fader, and of o mooder ; and alle we been of o nature, roten and corrupt, both riche and poure."—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Group I, 461, Ellesmere MS., p. 621.

p. 31. *Other nations dress.* Compare in Andrew Boorde's *Introduction* the High German's 'I wyll not chaunge my olde father's fashyon,' p. 159 ; the Dane's 'Symple rayment shal serue me ful wel ; My old fashion I do vse to kepe,' p. 163 ; the Bohemian's 'Of our appael we were neuer nyce ; We be content if our cotes be of fryce,' p. 166 ; the Hungarian's 'The fashion of my apparel, I do neuer chaunge', p. 171 ; the Sicilian's 'we loue no newe fashions', p. 176 ; the Neapolitan's 'Al new fashyons to Englund I do bequeue ; I am content with my meane aray', p. 177 ; the Italian's 'in my apparel I am not mutable', p. 178.

p. 31, last line. English Men's absurd dress is contrasted with the Italians' sober dress, in Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, p. 259, quoted in *Harrison*, Pt. II. p. 64.

p. 31. *Pride & Luxury in England.*

“Who can endure to see
The fury of men’s gullets and their groins?
What fires, what cooks, what kitchens, might be spared?
What stews, ponds, parks, coops, garners, magazines?
What velvets, tissues, scarfs, embroideries,
And laces they might lack? . . . what need hath nature
Of silver dishes or gold chamber-pots?
Of perfumed napkins, or a numerous family
To see her eat?”

1625.—Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, III. ii. *Works*, ii. 314, col. 1.

p. 32: *new fangles* :—“*Cileachi*, iests, toyes, new fangles.” 1598 Florio.
World of Wordes.

p. 33. *English valuables exchanged for foreign trifles* : see Harrison, I. ? In
The Three Ladies of London, by R. W., 1584, Hazlitt’s *Dodsley*, vi. 276, Lucre
speaks thus of English exports and imports there :—

“Thou must carry over wheat, pease, barley, oats, and vetches, and all kind of
grain

Which is well sold beyond sea, and bring such merchants great gain.

Then thou must carry beside, leather, tallow, beef, bacon, bell-metal and
everything :

And for these good commodities, trifles into England thou must bring,

As bugles to make bables, coloured bones, glass beads to make bracelets
withal,

For every day gentewomen of England do ask for such trifles from stall to
stall :

And you must bring more, as amber, jet, coral, crystal, and every such bable

That is slight, pretty, and pleasant : they care not to have it profitable.

And if they demand wherefore your wares and merchandise agree,

You must say ‘jet will take up a straw : amber will make one fat :

Coral will look pale when you be sick, and crystal staunch blood,’

So with lying, flattering and glosing, you must utter your ware,

And you shall win me to your will, if you can deceitfully swear.”

* * * * *

Lucre. Then, Signor Mercatore, I am forthwith to send ye
From hence to search for some new toys in Barbary and in Turkey ;
Such trifles as you think will please wantons best,
For you know in this country ’tis their chiefest request.

Mercatore. Indeed, de gentewomans here by so much vain toys,
Dat we strangers laugh-a to tink wherein day have their joys.”

1584.—R. W., *The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt’s *Dodsley*, vi. 306.

‘*Triquedondaines* : f. All kind of superfluous trifles vsed, or vsually bought,
by women ; hence, any trash, nifles, or paltrie stuffe.’ 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 33. Compare a modern writer :—“The hard times are slowly and surely
working out their own cure. It is a painful and tedious process, but one sure in

the end to restore health to the business interests of the country—not the feverish speculative activity that followed the war, and continued until the crash of 1873, but a condition of moderate and reliable prosperity. People are adapting their habits to their reduced incomes, are denying themselves useless luxuries, and are discovering that they can live just as comfortably with less outside display. The importations of foreign goods have fallen largely, and for the first time in sixteen years the balance of trade is in favour of the United States, a calamity to the importers, no doubt, but a benefit to the country at large. *Fewer velvets, laces, diamonds, Worth's dresses, French wines, and gimcracks* are brought across the Atlantic, but no political economist will see anything but a hopeful sign in that fact."—*Daily News*, Oct. 5, 1876, p. 6, col. 1, United-States' Correspondent.

p. 33, l. 16; p. 65, l. 16: *farrefetched and deare boughte is good for Ladyes*:—"Mendoza. What shape! Why, any quick-done fiction . . . some such anything. Some *far-fet trick good for ladies*, some stale-toy or other, no matter so 't be of our devising."—Marston & Webster's *Malcontent*, V. ii., Webster's Works, ed. Dyce, 1857, p. 358, col. 2. Dyce notes *far-fet*, i. e. far-fetched. An allusion to the proverb, "*Far-fet is good for ladies*." So in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, Act IV. sc. i, "Marry, and this may be *good for us ladies*; for it seems 'tis *far-fet* by their stay." See my *Tell-Troth*, p. 6, l. 7, & *Stafford*, N. Sh. Soc. p. 106; also Lyly's *Euphues*, p. 33, 'far fet, and dere bought, is good for ladies.' Again:—

"Mineuer. God neuer gaue me the grace to be a Lady, yet I haue all implements belonging to the vocation of a Lady.

Sir Vaughan. I trust, mistris Mineuer, you han all a honest oman shud haue.

Mineuer. Yes perdie, as my Coach, and my fan, and a man or two that serue my turne, and other things which Ide bee loath euery one should see, because they shal not be common. I am in manner of a Lady in one point.

Sir Vaughan. I pray, mistris Mineuers, let vs all see that point for our better understanding.

Mineuer. For I ha some things that were *fetcht* (I am sure) as *farre* as some of the Low Countries; and I payde sweetly for them too; and they tolde me they were *good for Ladies*." 1602.—T. Dekker, *Satiromastix*. Works, 1873, i. 204. See too Latimer's use of the phrase, p. 254 below.

p. 33, p. 52. *Pride in England. Peasants' dress & extravagance.*

The pride of England "And the pride of England is, as it were, set up upon the highest mountain of the world, seen and scorned even of the very infidels of the earth: such as know not God make marvel of our monstrous attire, which exceedeth not only in cost and colour, but in weight and fashion. O pull it down: it is not fit for such as are taking the way to the kingdom of heaven; it agreeth not with the guest which lodgeth in us the Spirit of God; it is no fit ornament to deck the house of our silly souls, for it stinketh and polluteth all corners of the house. O remove it, and send every country his fashion again: be not beholden to any nation for such trumpery, neither to the garment-maker, whose study therein, though it please the vain-glorious for a time, it will bring repentance, too late, to the work and the workman. It is from the court come

into the country, a dangerous evil, and hath infected the poor ploughman, that a year's wages sufficeth not one suit of attire. If I should tell all, The carter and the carter would step in with his courtly gards, and will defy ^{ploughman exceed-}eth in pride him that is not of the fashion; men and women, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, are too far gone in this sickness: the Lord give a timely medicine lest we perish therein." 1596.—J. Norden, *Progress of Piety* (Parker Soc.), pp. 172-3. Compare also the Surveyor John Norden (is he the same as the writer of the religious tracts?):—"where in those days [Henry VI's] Farmers and their wiuies were content with meane dyet and base attire, and held their children to some austere gouernment, without haunting Alehouses, Tauerns, Dice, Cards, & vaine delites of charge, the case is altdred: the *Husbandman* will be equal to the *Yoman*, the *Yoman* to the *Gentleman*, the *Gentleman* to the *Squire*, the *Squire* [to] his Superiour, and so the rest, euery one so farre exceeding the corruptions [?] consumptions] held in former times, that I will speake without reprehension, there is at this day thirty times as much vainely spent in a family of like multitude and quality, as was in former ages whereof I speake." 1607.—John Norden, *The Surveyors Dialogue*, p. 14.

p. 36, l. 12: *his wife her perswasions*. See note on p. 36, l. 3, of *Tell Troth* New Sh. Soc.—S.

p. 36, l. 10 from foot: *some are so brasen faced & so impudent, &c.* Cf. *Two Gen. of Ver.*, II. vii. ll. 53—56 (Lucetta and the codpiece to Julia's round hose), and *Much Ado*, III. iii. l. 146 (Hercules & the same article).—S.

p. 37: *in leather*. Compare *Edward III*, II. ii. 120, Leopold Shakspeare, p. 1044, col. 1: "Since *leathern* Adam till this youngest hour."

p. 39, l. 7: *it maketh a man to bee accepted and esteemed of*.

"Keep good clothes on thy backe, and nearely weare them;
What want soeuer comes, doe not pawne them;
For, once being gotten in the Deuils iawes,
He will surely keepe them in with his pawes.
In thy Apparell be something clenly,
Though in thy purse thou hast neu'r a penny:
Men may in some measure it esteeme thee,
And a farther grace happily giue thee.
Doe not seeme bace, though penillesse thou art;
But looke about, of whom to get a part."

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiavils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 15.

p. 42, l. 8 from foot: *what preuayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie*, &c. Compare Chaucer's *Gentleness* in Scogan's Poem in Thynne's Chaucer, lf. 380, bk. col. 1; Urry's, p. 547, col. 1; Morris's, vol. vi, p. 296.

"This firste stoke was ful of rightwisnesse,
Trewe of his worde, soboure, pitous and free,
Cleene of his gooste, and lovid besynesse,
Ageynste the vice of slowthe in honeste;

And, but his heire loue vertu, as did he,
He nis not gentille, thouhe him richë seme,
Al were he mytre, corone, or diademe."

'The idea of course is not new. It is found frequently enough in the Greek & Latin literature. It occurs, we believe, for the first time in the fragments of Epicharmus:—

ἀγαθὸς δ' ἄνηρ
Κάν' Ἀιθίοψ καὶ δοῦλος, εὐγενὴς ἔσθ'.

and afterwards it is found in Euripides, Horace, Juvenal,—“*Stemmata quid faciunt?*” and lastly in Seneca. Doubtless Jean de Meung took it from Seneca.'—W. Besant, in the *British Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1871, p. 388. See Shakspeare's *Meas. for Meas.*, Tennyson's *Lady Clara Vere de Vere*, &c.

p. 43, l. 14: *tagge and ragge*. Compare John Partridge in *The Worthie Historie of . . . Plasidas*, 1566, “To walles they go, both *tagge and ragge*, their citie to defende,” and the other quotations in Mr. H. B. Wheatley's *Dict. of Reduplicated Words*, Philolog. Soc. 1865, p. 85-6.

p. 44. *Pride & Apparel*.—See Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* (*Works*, ed. Morris, iii. 296-8) on Pride, as shown “in superfluite of clotheynge” in his day, the embroidering, indenting, waving, furring, chisel-punching, dagging, of gowns, their trailing in the mire; the short coats and tight particoloured hose or breeches showing the shameful members of man, and making em look as if flayn, &c. &c. See also *Piers Plowman*, Roberde of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, &c.

p. 49, l. 5: *abhorring the christian povertie, &c.*

“Be rich, I say; nay boy, be rich and wise!
Gold is an actious [*so*] mettle for the eyes.
Why? rich men haue much monie and gaie geare,
And goodly houses, and most daintie cheare;
Faire wiues, fine pictures, playes and morris-dances,
And many cheates, that come by many chances;
Fine Ciuet-boxes, sweet perfumes, and waters,
And twentie other such kind of matters.
While the poore man, that pines for want of friends,
May sit and sigh, and picke his fingers ends,
And euery morning wash his face with teares,
And wipe his blubbered cheekes with sheualed heares.
It is a heaue sence, where coyne is wanting;
At such a time of care, friends are scanting.”

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiavils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 22.

p. 52, l. 6: *liquide matter which they call Starch*. Howell relates that Mrs. Turner, the poisoner of Sir Thomas Overbury, “the first inventress of *yellow Starch* was executed in a Cobweb Lawn Ruff of that colour at *Tyburn*; and with her I believe that *yellow Starch*, which so much disfigured our Nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and fantastic, will receive its Funeral.”—*Epistola Ho-Eliaana*, p. 19, ed. 1737.—S.

p. 53, last line : *if they stand upon their pantoffles.* See notes in *Tell Troth* on p. 55, last line.—S.

MEN'S ABSURD DRESS, &c.

See Harrison's amusing Chapter 7, in his Book II, our Part I, p. 167 ; *Father Hubburds Tales* at the end of Dyce's *Middleton*, vol. v, &c.

p. 49, 60. *Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion.* Men's changeable fashions and Women's extravagant dress also movd Schoolmaster Averell to wrath in 1588. In his "*A meruailous combat of contrarieties. Malignantlie striuing in the members of mans bodie allegoricallie representing unto vs the enuial state of our flourishing Common wealth: wherin dialogue-wise by the way, are touched the extreame vices of this present time, &c. &c.*" by W. A." he makes "The Bellie" say (sig. B. 1 & 2):—

"Why, had euer Premetheus more shapes, then the backe sutes ? or ye Hydra more new heads then the back new Garments ? not so variabie for their matter, as changable for their fashion : to daie French, to morrowe English, the next day Spanish, to daie Italianate, to morrow for fashion a deuill incarnat, *O tempora, o mores!* To daie you shine in sutes of silke, to morrow you iet it out in cloth of Golde, one daie in blacke for show of grauitie, an other daie in white in token of brauerie, this day that cullour, the next day another, nowe short wasted, anon long bellied, by and by after great Buttoned, and straight after plaine laced, or els your Buttons as strange for smalnes, as they were monstrous before for greatnes, this yeere bumbd like a Barrell, the next shottend like a Herring, nowe your hose hang loose like a bowe case, the next daie as strait as a pudding skinne, one while buskind for lack of stocks, another while booted for want of shooes, and thus from you that are the grand Maister, doo the inferiour members fetch their fashions, & these be the mutabilities of men."

[The continuation of the passage, on Women, is on p. 253, below.]

See too Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III. Sect. 2, Memb. 3, subs. 3. "Artificial Allurements," p. 295 of edition 1676 :—

"Women are bad, & men worse ; no difference at all betwixt their & our times. *Good manners* (as *Seneca* complains) *are extinct with wantonness : in tricking up themselves men go beyond women, they wear harlots colours, and do not walk, but jet and dance, hic mulier, hæc vir,* more like Players, Butterflies, Baboons, Apes, Anticks, than men. So ridiculous moreover are we in our attires, and for cost so excessive, that as Hierom said of old, '*Vno filo villarum insunt pretia, uno lino decies sestertium inseritur*' ; 'tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand Oaks, & an hundred Oxen into a suit of apparel, to wear a whole mannor on his back. What with shoo-ties, hangers, points, caps and feathers, scarfs, bands, cuffs, &c., in a short space their whole patrimonies are consumed."

Compare also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 343, and *Shakspeare*, in *Henry VIII.* I. i. 80-85, 'many Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em For this great journey,' &c. Also in *Histrion-mastix*, by Peele and Marston, 1590-1600, pr.

1610, we find the Serving man saying to his master (*School of Shakspeare*, ii. 47) :—

“ We breake your backs? No ! ’tis your rich lac’d sutes,
And straight lac’d mutton : those break all your backs.”

See too in ‘A Supplycacyon to . . Kynge Henry the Eyght,’ 1544 (E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 52) : “Is there not suche excesse and costelynes of apparel / bycause of dyueryte and chaunge of fasshyons, that scarce a worshipfull mans landes, which in tymes paste was wonte to fynde and maynteyne twenty or thirty tall yowemen / a good plentyfull howsholde for the releyfe and comforte of many poor and neadye / and the same nowe is not suffycient and able to maynteyne the heyre of the same landes / his wiffe / her gentle woman or mayde / two yowmen / and one lackey? The pryncypall cause herof is their costly apparell / and specially their manyfolde and dyuerse chaunges of fasshyons whiche the man, and specially the woman, muste weare vpon bothe headde and bodye. Somtyme cappe / somtyme hooode / nowe the Frenshe fasshyon, nowe the Spanyshe fasshyon ; than the Italian fasshyon / and then the Myllen fasshyon ; so that there is noo ende of consumyng of substauce . . and all to please the prowde folyshe man and womans fantasye. Hereof spryngethe great myserye and neede.” See too the Note for p. 53, l. 4-6, p. 245, below.

p. 49, l. 9 : *one sute for the forenoone, &c.* See the note from Bp. Pilkington (for p. 58), p. 248, below.

p. 50 : *hats, standing collars, ruffs, shoestrings, &c.*

“ Good Card-makers (if there be any goodnes in you)
Apparrell vs with more respected Care,
Put vs in Hats, our Caps are worne thread-bare,
Let vs haue standing Collers, in the fashion :
(All are become a stiffe-necked generation)
Rose Hat-hands, with the shagged-ragged-Ruffe :
Great Cabbage-shoestrings (pray you bigge enough)
French Doublet, and the Spanish Hose to breech it :
Short Cloakes, like old Mandilions (wee beseech it)
Exchange our Swords, and take away our Bils,
Let vs haue Rapiers, (knaues loue fight that kills¹)
Put vs in Bootes, and make vs leather legs,
This, *Harts* most humbly, and his fellowes, begs.”

1612.—Samuel Rowlands, *The Knaue of Harts* (1874, Hunterian Club, p. 12-13).

The dress obtaind is describd in Rowlands’s *More Knaues yet ?* (1611 ?) sign. A 4 (ed. 1874 and p. 5) :—

“ . . now the honest Printer hath bin kinde,
Bootes, and Stockins, to our Legs doth finde,
Garters, Polonia Heeles, and Rose Shooe-strings,
Which somewhat vs two Knaues in fashion brings . . .

¹ See the extract from Howes, in *Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 31*.

Well, other friends I hope we shall beseech
 For the great large abhominable breech
 Like Brewers Hopsacks : yet, since new they be,
 Each knaue will haue them, and why should not wee?
 Some Laundresse we also will entreate
 For Bands and Ruffes
 Scarffes we doe want to hange our weapons by . . .
 hats of newest blocke” . .

p. 50. *Hat & feathers, &c.*

“ His *hat*, himselfe, small crowne and huge great brim,
 Faire outward show, and little wit within.
 And all the band with *feathers* he doth fill,
 Which is a signe of a fantastick still,
 As sure as (some doe tell me) evermore
 A goate¹ doth stand before a brothell dore.
 His clothes perfum'd, his fustie mouth is ayred,
 His chynne new swept, his very cheekes are glared.”

1598.—Jn. Marston, *Satyre III*. Works, 1856, iii. 223-4 : see p. 216 too.

p. 51: *feathers, wings, breeches, cloak, rapier, hangers, boots, spurs*. The dress of a young dandy in 1604 is thus described by T. M. in his *Father Hubbards Tales*, reprinted (in modern spelling) at the end of vol. v. of Dyce's ed. of Middleton's Works, as probably Middleton's. “ At last, to close up the lamentable tragedy of us ploughmen, enters our young landlord, so metamorphosed into the shape of a French puppet, that at the first we started, and thought one of the baboons had marched-in in man's apparel. His head was dressed up in white feathers like a shuttlecock, which agreed so well with his brain, being nothing but cork, that two of the biggest of the guard might very easily have tossed him with battledores, and made good sport with him in his majesty's great hall. His doublet was of a strange cut ; and shew the furye of his humour, the collar of it rose up so high and sharp as if it would have cut his throat by daylight. His wings,² according to the fashion now, were as little and diminutive as a puritan's ruff, which shewed he ne'er meant to fly out of England, nor do any exploit beyond sea, but live and die about London, though he begged in Finsbury. His breeches, a wonder to see, were full as deep³ as the middle of winter, or the roadway between London and Winchester, and so longe and wide withal, that I think within a twelvemonth he might very well put all his lands in

¹ The emblem of lechery, as the sparrow also was. See the picture of Lechery in the Cambr. Univ. Library's MS. Gg. 4. 27, Chaucer's Parson's Tale, autotyped for the Chaucer Society.

² See p. 524, Dyce's *Middleton*, v : T. M.'s *Blacke Booke*, 1604 : “ apparelled in villanous packthread, in a wicked suit of coarse hop-bags, the *wings* and skirts faced with the ruins of dishclouts.” ‘ Wings, lateral prominencies extending from each shoulder.’ Whalley's note on B. Jonson's *Works*, ii. 103, ed. Giff.

³ ‘ They strangle and cloke more velvet in a deep-gathered hose, than would serve to line through my lord What-call-ye-him's coach.’ 1604.—T. M., *Blacke Booke*. Dyce's *Middleton*, v. 524.

them; and then you may imagine they were big enough, when they would out-reach a thousand acres: moreover, they differed so far from our [old] fashioned hose¹ in the country, and from his father's old gascoynes,² that his back-part seemed to us like a monster; the roll of the breeches standing so low, that we conjectured his house of office, sir-reverence,³ stood in his hams. All this while his French monkey bore his cloak of three pounds a yard, lined clean through with purple velvet,⁴ which did so dazzle our coarse eyes, that we thought we should have been purblind ever after, what with the prodigal aspect of that and his glorious rapier and hangers all bost [= embosst] with pillars of gold, fairer in show than the pillars in Paul's or the tombs at Westminster; beside, it drunk up the price of all my plough-land in very pearl, which stuck as thick upon these hangers as the white measles upon a hog's flesh. When I had well viewed that gay gaudy cloak and those unthrifty wasteful hangers, I muttered thus to myself: 'That is no cloak for the pain, sure; nor those no hangers for Derrick'; when of a sudden, casting mine eyes lower, I beheld a curious pair of boots of king Philip's [= Spanish] leather, in such artificial wrinkles, sets and plaits, as if they had been starched lately and came new from the laundress's, such was my ignorance and simple acquaintance with the fashion, and I dare swear my fellows and neighbours here are all as ignorant as myself. But that which struck us most into admiration: upon those fantastical boots stood such huge and wide tops, which so swallowed up his thighs, that had he sworn as other gallants did, this common oath, 'would I might sink as I stand!' all his body might very well have sunk down and been damned in his boots. Lastly he walked the chamber with such a pestilent gingle⁵ that his spurs oversqueaked the lawyer, and made him reach his voice three notes above his fee; but after we had spied the rowels of his spurs, how we blest ourselves! they did so much and so far exceed the compass of our fashion, that they looked more like the forerunners of wheelbarrows. Thus was our young landlord accoutred in such a strange and prodigal shape [= dress] that it amounted to above two years' rent in apparel."—T. M. *The Ant and the Nightingale, or Father Hubbards Tales, 1604.*

"Asper . . . But that a rook, by wearing a pyed feather,
The cable hatband, or the three-piled ruff,
A yard of shoe-tye, or the Switzer's knot

¹ breeches. ² galligaskins. ³ See note, Dyce's *Middleton*, ii. 227.

⁴ "There is no fool to the satin fool, the velvet fool, the perfumed fool; and therefore the witty tailors of this age put them, under colour of kindness, into a pair of cloth bags, where a voider will not serve the turn." 1602.—*Return from Parnassus*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 184.

⁵ 'Caused by the large loose rowels which are presently mentioned; they were commonly of silver.' Compare—

"*Fastidious Brisk*. . . my gray hobby . . . a fine fiery little slave, he runs like a—oh, excellent, excellent—with the very sound of the spur.

Carlo. How! the sound of the spur?

Fast. O, it's your only humour now extant, sir: a good gingle, a good gingle." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, II. i., *Works*, i. 80, col. 2; and in II. ii. p. 93, col. 2:

"*Fungoso*. I had spurs of mine own before, but they were not gingers."

On his French garters, should affect a humour !
O, it is more than most ridiculous."

Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted 1599). Induction, *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 67, col. 1. See the Cap's complaint about the Feathers stuck in him in "*A Pleasant Dialogue or Disputation betwene the Cap, and the Head.*" 1564, quoted in my Thynne's *Animadversions* (E. E. T. Soc.), p. cxxxi.

p. 51, l. 3: *hats without bands; feathers in hats, scarfs, &c.*

"EPIGRAMS. Epig. 27.

Aske *Humors*, why a Feather he doth weare ?

It is his humor (by the Lord) heele sweare.

Or what he doth with such a Horse-taile locke ?

Or why vpon a Whoore he spendes his stocke ?

He hath a Humor doth determine so.

Why in the Stop-throate fashion doth he go,

With Scarfe about his necke ? *Hat without band ?*

It is his humor, sweete sir, vnderstand . . .

Obiect, why Bootes and Spurres are still in season ?

His Humor answeres : Humor is the reason.

If you perceiue his wittes in wetting shrunk,

It commeth of a Humor, to be drunke.

When you behould his lookes pale, thin, and poore,

Th' occ[*a*]sion is, his Humor, and a Whore :

And euery thing that he doth vndertake,

It is a vaine, for sencelesse Humors sake."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, sign. C (ed. 1874, p. 33).

p. 51, &c. : *dress, & starcht ruffs & rabatos*.—"There was then [in Adam's days] neither the Spanish slop, nor the skipper's galligaskin, the Switzer's blistered codpiece¹, nor the Danish sleeve sagging down like a Welsh wallet, the Italian's close strosser, nor the French standing collar : your treble-quadruple dædalian ruffs, nor your stiffnecked rabatos, that have more arches for Pride to row under than can stand under five London bridges, durst not then set themselves out in print, for the patent for starch could by no means be signed. Fashions then was counted a disease, and horses died of it² ; but now, thanks to folly, it is held the only rare physic, and the purest golden asses live upon it." 1609.—T. Dekker. *Guls Hornbook*, ch. i., ed. 1862, p. 8.

¹ See *Coryal's Crudities* on this. Rowlands makes it Danish :—

"His faces chiefest ornament, is nose,
Full furnished with many a Clarret staine,
As large as any *Codpiece* of a Dane,
Embossed curious :"

1600.—S. Rowlands, *Letting of Humours Blood*, sign. D 3 (1874, p. 53).

² *Lobado en el cuerpo*, bunches in the flesh, the fashion in a horse, *Tuber struma*. 1591. R. Perciuaile. Spanish Dict. '*Lbbado*, m. bunches in the flesh', a disease in a horse, called the fashions.' 1623. Jn. Minsheu's enlarged *Perciuaile*.

p. 51. *Ruff & Band, &c.* (See p. 259 below, note on p. 70-1.,)

"Behold, at length in London streetes he shoves.
His *ruffe* did eate more time in neatest setting,
Then Woodstocks worke in painfull perfecting;
It hath more doubles farre than Ajax shield,
When he gainst Troy did furious battle weild.
Nay, he doth weare an embleme bout his neck;
For under that fayre *ruffe* so sprucely set,
Appeares a *fall*, a *falling-band* forsooth!
O dapper, rare, compleate, sweet nittie youth!
Jesu Maria! How his clothes appeare
Croست and recrost with lace! sure, for some feare
Least that some spirit with a tippet mace
Should with a gastly show affright his face."

1598.—Jn. Marston, *Satyre III.*, Works, 1856, iii. 223.

p. 52. "*Lambskin.* My father was a starch-maker, and my mother a laundress; so, being partners, they did occupy¹ long together before they were married; then was I born." 1632.—Wm. Rowley, *A Woman never vexed*, in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xii. 137.

p. 52, second side-note: *Euery peasant hath his stately bands.* See Fairholt's capital quotations in *Hist. of Costume in England*, p. 216, from Lodge's *Wills Miserie*, 1596, and *Euphues Golden Legacie*, 1592. The first is, "The plowman, that in times past was contented in russet, must now a daies have his doublet of the fashion, with wide cuts, his garters of fine silk of Granada, to meet his Sis on Sunday. The farmer, that was contented in times past with his russet frock and mockado sleeves, now sells a cow against Easter, to buy him silken geere for his credit." See too in *Harrison*, II, 36*, what Howes says: "men of meane ranke weare Garters and shooe Roses, of more then fiue pound price; and some weare scarffes from ten pounds a piece, vnto thirtie pounds or more. The like may be truly said concerning wrought Wastcoates." The dresses of a smart Tailor (p. 19), a Baker (p. 29), a Dancing-master, and a Vintner (p. 30), a Grasier (p. 31), an Informer (p. 32), a Husbandman (p. 33), a Cumberland copyholder's family (p. 35), are described in *The Debate between Pride and Lowliness* wrongly ascribed to Francis Thynne, old Shakesp. Soc. 1841. The author has 15 men on his Jury, and rejects 3: Greene, in his prose *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, which was modelled on the earlier poem, has 24 men in his Jury, and rejects 27: this *Quip* should be read for its sketches of the characters. See my *Trial-Forewords to my Six-Text of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, p. 101-2.

¹ 'Enjoy, in the sense of a man having knowledge of a woman. Doll Tear-sheet says of Pistol, in the *Second Part of Henry IV.*, "These villains will make the word 'captain' as odious as the word *occupy*, which was an excellent good word before it was ill-sorted." See Nares, edit. 1859 in *v.*; and Percy Folio MS. *Loose and Humorous Songs*, p. 29.'

p. 53, l. 4-6: *result of extravagance in dress, &c. :-*

"yet take . . . the cost with the pleasure, and tell me then if once in seauen yeares, when your state is weakened and your Land wasted, your Woods untimbered, your Pastures vnstored, and your Houses decayed : then tell me whether you find the prouerbe true, of the Courtier young and old."¹ 1618.—N. Breton, *The Court and Country* (1868), p. 178. See too the interesting 'Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruingsmen,' by I. M., 1598, in the same vol. Hazlitt's *Inedited Tracts*, 1868, p. 95; also, *Quips upon Questions*, 1600, sign. G 2.

"Carlo.—First, to be an accomplished gentleman, that is, a gentleman of the time, you must give over housekeeping in the country, and live altogether in the city amongst gallants; where, at your first appearance, 'twere good you *turned four or five hundred acres of your best land* into two or three trunks of apparel." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, I. i., *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 73, col. 1. In II. i, p. 87, col. 2, Fungoso puts the cost of his suit at about £40 of our money: "Let me see, the doublet: say fifty shillings the doublet; and between three or [= and] four pound the hose; then boots, hat, and band: some ten or eleven pound will do it all, and suit me, for the heavens." 1596-8.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii., *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 21, col. 1.

p. 53: *shirts*. When Fastidious Brisk is describing the articles of his dress injured in his duel, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted A.D. 1599; 4to. 1600, fol. 1616), IV. iv, Carlo says, "I wonder he speaks not of his wrought shirt" [he does, 14 lines lower]; and Gifford notes: "The linen, both of men and women, was either so worked as to resemble the finest lace, or was ornamented, by the needle, with representations of fruits, flowers, passages of history," &c. The Puritans, it appears, turned the mode to account, and substituted texts of Scripture for the usual embellishments. There is a pleasant allusion to this practice in the *City Match*:

"Sir, she's a Puritan at her needle too :
My smock sleeves have such holy embroideries,
And are so learned, that I fear in time
All my apparell will be quoted by
Some pure instructor."

Works, ed. Cunningham, i. 120, Act II, sc. ii.

In Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1590) Puntarvolo describes his dress in the account of his duel with Luculento: "He again lights me here,—

¹ "And if thou be a Courtier, know thy place :
But do not serue for onely shew of grace,
But let thy profit answere thy expence,
Least want do proue a wofull patience,
And thou do proue the prouerbe often tolde,
'A carelesse Courtier yong, a Begger olde.'"

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiavils Instructions to his Sonne: With the Answer to the same*, p. 7.

I had on a gold cable hatband, then new come up, which I wore about a murrey French hat I had,—cuts my hatband,—and yet it was massy goldsmith's work—cuts my brims, which, by good fortune, being thick embroidered with gold twist and spangles, disappointed the force of the blow: nevertheless it grazed on my shoulder, takes me away six purls of an Italian cut-work band I wore, cost me three pound in the Exchange but three days before . . . He, making a reverse blow, falls upon my embossed girdle—I had thrown off the hangers¹ . . . strikes off a skirt of a thick-laced satin doublet I had, lined with four taffatas, cuts off two panes embroidered with pearl, rends through the drawings-out of tissue, enters the linings, and skips the flesh . . . not having leisure to put off my silver spurs, one of the rowels caught hold of the ruffle² of my boot, and being Spanish leather, and subject to tear, overthrows me, rends me two pair of silk stockings that I put on,—being somewhat a raw morning,—a peach colour and another, and strikes me some half inch deep into the side of the calf; he . . . takes horse, and away; I, having bound up my wound with a piece of my wrought shirt . . . rid after him." Act IV. sc. iv. *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 119, col. 2.

p. 54: *men tender now*.—Cp. *Harrison*, Part I, p. 337-8, "when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie . . . altogether of straw," &c.

p. 55. *Doublets with great bellies*. "*Fungoso*. look you, that's the suit, sir: I would have mine such a suit without difference, such stuff, such a wing, such a sleeve, such a shirt, *belly* and all; therefore, pray you observe it." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, III. i., *Works*, i. 101, col. 1.

p. 56. *With Canions annexed*.—See the Velure-canonied hobbyhorses, in *Northward Ho*, p. 231 above. "*Canons de Chausses*, Cannions. *Chausses à queue de merlus*. Round breeches with strait cannions; hauing in the seat a peece like a fishes taylor; and worne by old men, schollers, and such like niggardlie or needie persons." 1611.—Cotgrave. "*Canions* were rolls of stuff which terminated the breeches or hose at the knee (fig. 135," [where 2 heavyish rolls or sausages all round the knee are cut]), Fairholt: he refers to Henslowe's diary, "under April, 1598, he [H.] disburses £6 8s. for a bugell doblett and a payer of paned hose of bugell panes drawne out with cloth of silver and *canyons* to the same," &c.

p. 56: *gally-hosen*; also Gally-gascoynes. See that word in Fairholt, p. 454.

p. 56: *hosen of a Marke price*.—This was an extravagant price in William Rufus's day, when 3s. was the figure. See the anecdote about the king's hose in Robert of Gloster's *Chronicle*, quoted by Fairholt under *hose*, p. 512.

p. 56: *trunk hose*.—"Sometimes I have seene Tarleton play the clowne, and vse no other *breeches* than such *sloppes* or *slivings* as *now many gentlemen weare* :

¹ "The fringed loops appended to the girdle, in which the dagger or small sword usually hung."

² The turn-over fringe or scollop of fine leather, often edgd with gold lace. "*Ruffle* your brow like a new boot." *Ib.* I. i. p. 73.

they are almost capable of a bushel of wheate; and if they be of sackcloth, they would serve to carrie mawlt to the mill. This absurd, clownish, and unseemly attire, only by custome now is not misliked, but rather approved." 1601.—Thos. Wright. *The Passions of the Minde in generall*. (Dedicated to Lord Southampton; and has Verses by Ben Jonson.) See also the interesting extracts and cut in Fairholt's *Costume*, p. 217. He was before me, I see, in quoting the following:—

"When Tarlton clown'd it in a pleasant vaine,
And with conceites, did good opinions gaine
Vpon the Stage, his merry humors shop,
Clownes knew the Clowne, by his great clownish slop.
But now th'are gull'd, for present fashion sayes,
Dicke Tarltons part, Gentlemens breeches playes:
In euery streete where any Gallant goes,
The swagg'ring *Sloppe*, is Tarltons clownish hose."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, C 2, back (ed. 1874, p. 36). See too the bit from *More Knaves Yet*, p. 240, above, and Ben Jonson's "I'll go near to fill that huge tumbrel-slop of yours with somewhat, an I have good luck: your Garagantua breech cannot carry it away so." 1598 — 1601.—*Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii, *Works*, i. 18, col. 1.

"And for false cards and dice, let my great slops,
And his big bellied dublet both be sercht,
And see which harbors most hypocrisie."

1606.—*No-Body and Some-Body*, Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 353.

"The rest of France takes the modell of the court, as a rule unto it selfe to follow. Let Courtiers first begin to leave off and loath these filthy and apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret parts: the bumbasting of long pease-cod-bellied doublets, which makes us seeme so far from what we are, and which are so combersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and *Beso las manos* in saluting of our friends: (a ceremonie heretofore only due unto Princes:)" 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essayes*, 1634, p. 146.

"In our Old Plays, the humor Love and Passion,
Like Doublet, Hose and Cloak, are out of fashion."

1667.—Prologue to James Shirley's *Love-Tricks*, first call'd *The Schoole of Complement*, 1631. (Shirley died in Oct. 1666.)

p. 57: *nether-stocks*, the stockings, as distinguish'd from the *hose*, when the latter became *breeches*. See the *Debate between Pride and Lowliness*—wrongly attributed to Francis Thynne, from the forged 'F. Th.' on its title-page—"The netherstockes of pure Granada silke," and other authorities quoted by Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 1860, p. 211.

p. 57: *shoes*.—See Fairholt, *Costume in England*, p. 385-7. "*Pinsnet*, apparently the same as *Pinson*, a thin-soled shoe. 'Calceamen and calcearium is

248 Notes on p. 58. *Men's Boots and Coats.*

a shoo, *pinson*, socke.'—*Withals' Dictionarie*, ed. 1608, p. 211." Nares, by Halliwell and Wright. *Pinçon*, *pinçonnet* are not in any French Dictionary or Glossary that Mr. Henry Nicol or I can find; and my friend Prof. Paul Meyer doesn't know the words. See p. 266 below.

p. 58: *boots with wide tops*.—"if thy quicksilver can run so far on thy errand as to fetch thee boots out of S. Martin's, let it be thy prudence to have the tops of them wide as the mouth of a wallet, and those with fringed boot-hose over them to hang down to thy ancles." 1609.—T. Dekker. *Guls Hornbook*, ch. iii. (1862), p. 16.

Instead of high-soled cork shoes, the earlier dandies had piked ones: See the passage at the end of *Gregory's Chronicle*, after his death, p. 238. Camden Soc. 1876. "A.D. 1468-9. Alle so that yere the Pope sende a bulle for the Cordyners, and cursyd thoo that made any longe *pykys* passynge ij yenchys of lengthe, and that no Cordyner shuld not sylle no schone a-pone the Sonday, ne put no schoo a-pon no man-ys fote, ne goo to noo fayrys a-pon the Sonday, uppon payne of cursynge. And the kynge grauntyd in a conselle and in the Parlement tha' hyt shulde be put in execussyon, and thys was proclaymyd at Poulys Crosse. And sum men sayd that they wolde were longe *pykys* whethyr Pope wyll or nylle, for they sayde the Popys curse wolde not kille a flye. God amend thys! And within schorte tyme aftyr, sum of the Cordyners gate prevy selys and proteccyons to make long *pykys*, and causyd the same men of hyr crafte that laboryd to the Pope for the destruccyon of longe *pykys* to be trobelyd and in grete donger."

"1582. In this Queenes dayes [Anne of Bohemia, Rich. II's Queen], began the detestable vse of piked shooes, tyed to their knees with chaines of siluer and gilt. Also noble women vsed high attire on their heads, piked like hornes, with long trained gownes, and rode on side saddles, after the example of the Queene, who first brought that fashion into this land, for before, women were vsed to ride astride like men." 1605.—Jn. Stowe. *Annales*, p. 471.

p. 58. *Coats*, &c.

"But these tender pernels must have one gown for the day, another for the night; one long, another short; one for winter, another for summer; one furred through, another but faced; one for the work day, another for the holy day; one of this colour, and another of that; one of cloth, another of silk or damask; change of apparel, one afore dinner, another after, one of Spanish fashion, another Turkey; and to be brief, never content with enough, but always devising new fashions and strange; yea, a ruffian will have more in a ruff and his hose than he should spend in a year. I read of a painter that would paint every country man in his accustomed apparel, the Dutch, the Spaniard, the Italian, the Frenchman; but when he came to the English man, he painted him naked, English and gave him clothe,¹ and bad him make it himself, for he changed his apparel fashion so often, that he knew not how to make it; such be our fickle

¹ See the cut opposite, from Andrew Boorde.

and unstable heads, ever devising and desiring new toys." 1560.—Bishop Pilkington, *Exp. upon Aggeus, Works* (Parker Soc., 1842), p. 56.



¶ I am an English man, and naked I stand here,
Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were,
For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that ;
Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.

1542.—ANDREW BOORDE. *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, chap. i. p. 116 of my edition, E. E. Text Soc., 1870.

p. 59. *Cold charitie to the poore.*

“Wealthye Cittizens.

YOu Cittizens that are of *Diues* Wealth,
His costly cloathing, and his dainty fare,
Regarding nothing but selfe-ease and health,
How euer Lazarus lyes poore and bare :
Your Dogges are not so kinde to lick their sores,
But rather serue to bite them from your dores.
You that do make your Tables Poulters stalles,
Great prouocation to the sinfull flesh,
And though the famish'd, hunger-starued, calles

' For Jesus sake, with Crummes our wantes refresh,'
Your Dishes haue the food for which they cry :
You play with that, for which they pine and die.
He Stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Looke to it : for, He Stabbe ye*, B 2, back ; p. 12, ed. 1872.
Compare the corn-hoarder Sordido, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), I. i., *Works*, i. 78 :

"O, but (say some) the poor are like to starve.
Why, let 'em starve ; what's that to me ? Are bees
Bound to keep life in drones and idle moths ? No."

p. 59-61. *Men's Coats, Cloaks, Gowns, Caps, Chains.*

The madness of Englishmen in their apparel. "To behold the vain and foolish light fashions of apparel used among us, it is too much wonderful. I think no realm in the world, no, not among the Turks and Saracens, doth so much in the vanity of their apparel, as the Englishmen do at this present. Their coat must be made after the Italian fashion, their cloak after the use of the Spaniards, their gown after the manner of the Turks : their cap must be of the French fashion ; and at the last their dagger must be Scottish with a Venetian tassel of silk. I speak nothing of their doublets and hoses, which for the most part are so minced, cut, and jagged, that shortly after they become both torn and ragged. I leave off also to speak of the vanity of certain light-brains, which, because nothing should want to the setting of their fondness, will rather wear a Martin chain¹ the price of eight-pence, than they would be unchained. O what a monster and a beast of many heads is the Englishman now become ! To whom may he be compared worthily, but to Esop's crow ? For as the crow decked herself with feathers of all kind of birds to make herself beautiful, even so doth the vain Englishman, for the fond apparelling of himself, borrow of every nation to set forth himself gallant in the face of the world. He is an Englishman : he is also an Italian, a Spaniard, a Turk, a Frenchman, a Scot, a Venetian, and, at the last, what not ? He is not much unlike a monster called chimæra, which hath three heads, one like a lion, another like a goat, the third like a dragon." ? 1550.—Becon. *Jewel of Joy*, in *The Catechism*, &c. Parker Soc., 1844, p. 438. (This extract is continued at p. 255, below.)

p. 60. *Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion.*—Other articles of dress besides Cloakes were imported :—

"Behold, a most accomplish'd Caualeere,
That the world's Ape of Fashions doth appeare,
Walking the streets, his humors to disclose,
In the French Doublet, and the Germane Hose :

¹ *Martin chain* : of counterfeit or base metal. So also St. Martin's rings. "They are like rings and chaines bought at Saint Martin's, that were faire for a little time, but shortly after will prove alchimy or rather pure copper." Minshull, *Essays*, p. 23.

The Muffes Cloake, Spanish Hat, Toledo blade,
Italian ruffe, a Shooe right Flemish made :
Like Lord of Misrule, where he comes hee'le reuel,
And lie for wagers with the lying'st diuell."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, ed. 1874, Hunterian Club, p. 32.

"*Col. Tipto.* . . . I would put on
The Savoy chain about my neck, the ruff
And cuffs of Flanders, then the Naples hat,
With the Rome hatband and the Florentine agat,
The Milan sword, the cloke of Genoa, set
With Brabant buttons ; all my given pieces
Except my gloves, the natives of Madrid."

1629.—Ben Jonson, *The New Inn*, II. ii., *Works*, ii. 354, col. i.

" . . . but leather and cloth both cannot suffice us at this time, be it never so fine and costious, except we add thereto all kinds of silks and velvets. Against vain apparel But what do of these things? gold, silver, pearl, precious stones, and sumptuous ouches and what not, is now-a-days worn even of inferior persons, when the poor members of Christ have neither wherewith they may clothe themselves, nor yet comfort their hungry and thirsty bodies. O lamentable case !

Mark "And what shall I say of the manifold and strange fashions of the well garments that are used now-a-days? I think Satan studieth not so much to invent new fashions to bring Christian men into his snare, as the tailors now-a-days are compelled to excogitate, invent, and imagine diversities of fashions for apparel, that they may satisfy the foolish desire of certain light brains and wild oats, which are altogether given to new fangleness. O most vain vanity ! Some-times we follow the fashion of the Frenchmen. Another time we have a Nova placent trick of the Spaniards. Shortly after, that beginneth to wax naught : we must therefore now have the Italian fashion. Within few days after, we are weary of all the fashions that are used in Christendom ; we will therefore now, and God will, practise the manner of going among the Turks and Saracens : would God that with the Turks' apparel we were not also right Turks and infidels in our life, conversation and manners!" . . . ? 1540-50.—Thomas Becon, *The Nasegay*, in *Early Works* (Parker Soc.), p. 204.

p. 60. *Cloaks*.—See Fairholt's *Costume*, p. 419.

p. 61. *Boot-hose*.—Did these hose go inside the boot, or were they overalls, outside it, and so corresponding, more or less, to the Wife of Bath's 'foot-mantel' as shown in the Ellesmere MS? See the woodcut overleaf. Cotgrave (1611) has '*Triguehouse* : f. A boot-hose ; or a thicke hose worne in stead of a boot.'

p. 62. *Rapiers* : *silver hilts & velvet sheaths*.

"*Brainworm*. I assure you the blade may become the side or thigh of the best prince in Europe.



E. Knowell. Ay, with a *velvet scabbard*, I think.

Stephen. Nay, an't be mine, it shall have a *velvet scabbard*, coz, that's flat : I'd not wear it as it is, an you would give me an angel.

Brai. At your worship's pleasure, sir : nay, 'tis a most pure Toledo.

Stephen. I had rather it were a Spaniard. But tell me what shall I give you for it? An it had a *silver hilt*."

p. 62. On how the young men of and about this time spent their days, see Sir John Davies's *In Fuscum*, Epig. XXXIX., Marlowe's Works (stereo.), p. 269, quoted in *Harrison*, I. lxxx. ; also Marston's rebuke and ridicule of them in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 305-6. Compare too Rowlands :

"Epig. 7.

Speake, Gentlemen, what shall we do to day?
 Drinke some braue health vpon the Dutch carouse?
 Or shall we go to the *Globe*, and see a Play?
 Or visit *Shorditch*, for a bawdie house?
 Lets call for Cardes or Dice, and haue a Game,
 To sit thus idle, is both sinne and shame.

This speakes *Sir Reuell*, furnisht out with Fashion,
 From dish-crownd Hat, vnto th' Shooes square toe ;
 That haunts a Whore-house but for recreation,
 Playes but at Dice, to connycatch, or so ;

Drinke drunke in kindnes, for good fellowship ;
Or to the Play goes, but some Purse to nip."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 13. Again,

"*A Fantasticall Knaue.*

SIRRA, come hither, I must send you straight
To diuers places, about things of waight :
First to my Barber, at his Bason signe,
Bid him be heere to morrow about nine :
Next to my Taylor, and will him be heere
About eleuen, and his Bill Ile cleere :
My Shoomaker by twelue, haste bid him make
About the Russet Bootes that I bespake.
Stay, harke, I had forgot, at any hand,
First to my Laundresse for a yellow Band ;
And point the Feather-maker not to faile
To plume my head with his best Estridge tayle . . .
Step to the Cutler for my fighting blade,
And know if that my riding sword be made ;
Bid him trim vp my walking Rapier neat,
My dancing Rapiers pummell is too great" . . .

1613.—S. Rowlands, *A Paire of Spy-Knaues*, sign. B 3, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 8).

"But now of the contrarie let vs consider our exercises, and how we vse to reckon our faultes, and examine the whole day againe at night ere we go to rest, and slepe. Now are we occupied? Verily we kepe ioly cheare one with another in banquetting, surfeiting, and dronkenesse ; also we vse all the night long in ranging from town to town, and from house to house, with mummeries and maskes, dice-playing, carding, and dauncing, hauing nothing lesse in our memories than the day of death." 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing*, etc., ed. 1840, p. 15. See p. 265 below, on Parents' neglect.

WOMEN'S DRESS, FALSE HAIR, BARE BREASTS,
KISSING, &c., p. 64.

Schoolmaster Averell, in his *merualous Combat of Contrarieties*, 1588, quoted above on p. 239, says :—

"As for women, you make them through your pride in lookes like Lais, in fashions like Flora, in maners like Thais, more wauering then the wind, and more mutable then the Moone ; in Gate & iesture most daintie, in the Church most angelicall, in the streetes modest & amiable, abroad among men in finenes superficiall, but at home by themselves most sluttish and bestiall. Yet I meane not ail, but the worst, and such as entertaine your pride, who from the top

to the toe, are so disguised, that though they be in sexe Women, yet in attire they appeare to be men, and are like Androgini, who counterfayting the shape of either kind, are in deede neither, so while they are in condition women, and woulde seeme in apparrell men, they are neither men nor women, but plaine Monsters.

"Their heads set out with strange hayre, (to supply nature that waie defeated, or rather by their periwigges infected) do appeare like the head of Gorgon, sauing that they want the crawling Snakes of Medusa, to hang sprawling in their haire along their faces, & yet they retaine the propertie of this Daughter of Phorcus, for they turn a number of their beholders into stones, who while they affectionatlie gaze on their painted pride, doe lose the reason of men and become like stones, without anie feeling of a vertuous mind, the onelie Image of a man.

"But as they are Venerian Dames, euen so in their flatteries to beguile fooles, they imitate the nature of the Cyprian women, who comining into Syria, and seruing in y^e Court would coure downe and become footstoolles for the Ladies, thereby to ascend into their Coaches, for which cause they were called Climacidae, of Climaca, which y^e Assirians name a Ladder; but heerin onlie they differ, in that our Phrynae and Cytherean Damsels, become not Ladders for Women, but footstoolles, yea, and pillowes, for Men. And therefore it is not without cause that Tyresias saide, (being chosen an Arbiter betweene Iupiter and Iuno,) that there were *In viro, tres amoris uncia, in femina, nouem*, in a man three ounces of lust, in a woman nine; for what meaneth els their outward tricking and daintie trimming of their heads, the laying out of their hayres, the painting and washing of their faces, the opening of their breasts, & discouering them to their wastes, their bents of Whale bone to beare out their bummes, their great sleeues and bumbasted shoulders, squared in breadth to make their wastes small, their culloured hose, their variable shooes? and all these are but outward showes. As for the rest, least their rehearsall might rather hurt, then profit the honest eares, I will couer them with silence: but all these are your prouocations, these are the fruites of your pride, the signes of your waste, and the abridgment of my fare, for while you spend so freeleie upon your Backe, the least share falles to the Bellie, nay, I am faine oftentimes to fast, to beare out the prodigalitie of your pride, and then wanting nourishment to feede the members, I am complained on for your fault." Sign. B 1 & 2. See also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 170-2, and Latimer's address to his 'sisters, the women,' in his last Sermon before Edward VI, in 1550 (*Sermons*, Parker Soc., p. 252-4): 'Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean mens wives; they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degrees, whether their husbands will or no . . . Paul saith, that 'a woman ought to have a power on her head' . . . But this 'power' that some of them have, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it . . . But now here is a vengeance devil: we must have our 'power' from Turkey, of velvet; and gay it must be; *far fetched, dear bought*; and when it cometh, it is a false sign . . . It is a false sign when it covereth not their heads as it should do. For if they would keep it under the 'power' as they ought to do, there should not any such tussocks

nor tufts be seen as there be; nor such laying out of the hair, nor braiding to have it open . . . Of these tussocks that are laid out now-a-days, there is no mention made in scriptures, because . . . they were not yet come to be so far out of order as to lay out such tussocks and tufts." And see his (Latimer's) *Remains*, ed. 1845, p. 108.

"*Tactus* . . . five hours ago I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentlewoman; but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning, unpinning, unsetting, formings and conformings; painting blue veins and cheeks; such stir with sticks and combs, cascanets, dressings, purls, falls, squares, busks, bodies, scarfs, necklaces, carcanets, rebatoes, borders, tires, fans, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs, pusles, fusles, partlets, frisleets, bandlets, fillets, crosslets, pendulets, amulets, annulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she's scarce dressed to the girdle; and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk-points, shoe-ties, &c., that seven pedlars' shops,—nay, all Stourbridge fair—will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigged by far, than a gentlewoman made ready." ? 1602 (printed 1607), *Lingua*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 426. See the extract from Dekker's *Satromastix*, in the Notes for p. 150, below.

"*Sir Francis Ilford* . . . if thou wilt have their true characters, I'll give it thee. Women are the purgatory of men's purses, the paradise of their bodies, and the hell of their minds: marry none of them. Women¹ are in churches, saints; abroad, angels; at home, devils. Here are married men enough know this; marry none of them." 1607.—George Wilkins, *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 475.

The apparel of women "I pass over the light and wanton apparel of women now-a-days, partly because it is so monstrous, and partly because I have not been, nor yet am much acquainted with them, whereby I might be the more able to describe their proud peacocks' tails, if not at the full, which were an infinite labour, yet at the least somewhat to set it forth as a painter doth, before he do lay on colours. But of this am I certain, that they observe not in their apparel the rule of the holy scriptures. For Saint Peter saith, that 'the apparel of honest and virtuous women should not be outward with broided hair, and hanging on of gold, either in putting-on of gorgeous apparel'; . . . It is enough for chaste and pure maids to wear clean and simple apparel, as a Maids testimony of the uncorruption and cleanness both of their body & mind, without the flaring out and colouring of their hair, without the painting of their faces, without the putting-on of wanton and light array, whereby they be enticed rather to pride and whoredom than to humility, shamefacedness, and cleanness of life." ? 1550.—Becon, *Jewel of Joy*, in *The Catechism*, etc. (Parker Soc. 1844), p. 439.

Sir Thos. More reproves face-painting in his *Utopia*, p. 317, ed. Roberts, 1878. See the authorities referred to there, and in the *Supplemental Notes*, p. 402: '*The Loathsomenesse of Long Haire*; with an Appendix against painting spots, naked backs and breasts,' by Thomas Hall, B.D. London, 1654, 12mo., &c. [Painting] "is the badge of an harlot; rotten posts are painted, and

¹ 'See Mr. Steevens's note on *Othello*, Act II, sc. i. But compare Middleton's *Blurt, Master Constable*, 1602. *Works*, by Dyce, i. 280.'

256 Notes on p. 64. *Women's Face-painting, &c.*

gilded nutmegs are usually the worst . . . though I dare not say they are all harlots that paint, yet I may safely say, they have the harlot's badge, and their chastity is questionable."—T. Hall.

"Proud Gentlewomen.

Y^Ou gentle-puppets of the proudest size,
That are, like Horses, troubled with the Fashions,
Not caring how you do your selues disguise,
In sinfull, shameles, Hels abhominations,
You whom the Deuill (Prides father) doth perswade
To *paint your face*, & mende the worke God made.

You with the Hood, the Falling-band, and Ruffe,
The Moncky wast, the breeching like a Beare ;
The Perriwig, the Maske, the Fanne, the Muffe,
The Bodkin, and the Bussard in your heare ;
You Veluet-cambricke-silken-feather'd toy,
That with your pride do all the world annoy,
Ile Stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Look to it ; for, Ile Stabbe ye*, sign. D 2, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 28).

"The yong woman commeth, married to an old man.

The young woman. Another passeth on, passing portly, a sweete woman, she smelleth hither : and a rolling eye she hath, it turneth with a trice on both sides : a faire haire, if it be her owne : a rare face, *if it be not painted* ; a white skinne, if it be not plastered : a full breast, if it be not bolstered : a straitte backe, if it be not helped ; a slender waste, if it be not pinched ; a likely leg, if it be not lined ; a pretty foote, if it be not in the Shoomakers stockes ; a faire, rare, sweete, meete body, if it be not dishonest." 1613.—Anthony Nixon, *A Straunge Foot-Post*, E 1, back.

p. 64, 67, 78, &c. *Women's coquetry & dress.* — See *The Pedlers Prophecie*, 1595, attributed by the late R. Simpson to Robert Crowley, (who printed *Piers Plowman* and wrote the *Epigrams*, &c., and died on June 18, 1588,) on the strength of Greene's allusions, in his *Farwell to Folly*, 1591, to the Sexton of St. Giles Cripplegate [Crowley's Church], and "Theological poets which . . . get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses" [which the writer of *The Pedlers Prophecie* does not].

"Proud lookes, stretcht out neckes, and wanton eies,
Their frolike cheare, their fine walkes, and tripping,
With all their pleasures which they now do devise,
Their feasting, disguising, their kissing and clipping.
Rich showes, strange funerals, precious abilliments,
Golden collars, spangs, bracelets, bonnets and hoods,
Painted and laid-out haire, filides, and nether ornaments,
Their chains and sumptuous apparrell, that cost great goods,

Earing jewels, jemmies, to set out their faces,
Change of garments, cassocks, vales, launes fine,
Needles, glasses, partlets, fillets, and bungeaces,
With cullours curious, to make the face shine."

'In the interesting but extremely rare volume by John Dickenson, entitled "GREENE IN CONCEPT: new raised from his graue to write the Tragique Historie of Faire *Valeria of London*," 1598, he tells of the extravagance in costume, which is one token of her downward career:—

"She ware alwaies such ouersumptuous attyre, that many in desert and dignitie farre exceeding hir, were in this as farre behind hir. No common fashion could please hir fancie, but it must be strange and stately, drawing many eyes to gaze on hir, which aym'd wholly at singularitie, glorying to bee peerelesse in hir pompe. Neuer was any to hir power more lauish in variety of wastefull vanities: neuer any so peruerse in pride, and with such difficulty to be pleased: For were the least stitch in hir Attire not as shee would haue it, though the garment most fayre and costly, the Tailor most rare and cunning, yet would shee furiously fling it from hir, with purpose neuer to weare it; so that the sillye workeman set at his *non plus*, lost both his custome and the credit of his workmanship" (p. 24). Evidently, Petruchio knew the expensive habits of ladies in regard to their dressmakers, and by his captious objections to the hat and the "sleeves curiously cut," reads Katharina a lesson.' J. W. Elsworth, p. 1017, *Bagford Ballads*.

p. 64. *Face-painting*.—"Another point that plainly struck Shakspeare, and disgusted him [coming from the country], in London society, was, the fashion of women—the good, like the bad—painting their faces, and wearing sham hair,—which latter [tho' 'tis now happily gone out of fashion] has long offended many of us Victorian men too. He alludes to the face-painting, not only in this, his first play [*Love's Labours Lost*], IV. iii. 259, 'painting and usurping hair,' but in his *Sonnets* also, 67, l. 5: 68, l. 2-8, and again and again in his later plays.¹"—My *Leopold Sh. Introd.* p. xxiii. See the Montaigne note, p. 261 below

"*Maquerelle*. . . Do you know Doctor Plaster-face? By this curde, hee is the most exquisite in forging of veines, sprightning of eyes, dying of haire, sleeking of skinnies, blushing of cheekes, surphleing of breastes, blanching and bleaching of teeth, that ever made an old lady gracious by torch-light,—by this curd, law!" 1604.—Jn. Marston, *The Malcontent*, II. iv. *Works*, 1856, ii. 233.

See also Drayton's *Muses' Elysium* (A. D. 1630), Nymphal VII., *Works*, 1793, p. 626, col. 1, on the 'night-masks, plaster'd well within, to supp'e wrinkles,' the paper

"In which was painting, both for white and red;
And next, a piece of silk, wherein there lies
For the decay'd, false breasts, false teeth, false eyes."

¹ *Two Gent.* II. i. 55-58: *Meas. for Meas.* III. ii. 80; IV. ii. 38; *Ham'et*, III. i. 148; V. i. 201; *Ant. & Cleop.* I. ii. 18; *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii. 101, &c.

p. 67. *women's hair and painted faces.*

"These flaming heads with staring
haire,
These wyers turnde like hornes of
ram :
These painted faces which they
weare :

Can any tell from whence they
cam ?
Dan Sathan, Lord of fayned
lyes,
All these new fangeles did
devise."

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, 1866, p. 252.

p. 68 : *false hair* :—See Shakspeare, *Love's Labours lost*, IV. iii. 259 ; *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 92-6 ; *Henry V*, III. vii. 60 ; *Sonnets* 68, l. 2-8.

"I cannot tell the greate foole hee is wise,
Nor tell fowle ladies, they are wondrous faire ;
I ne're applaude aboue heauns-spangled skies,
The cur'd-worne tresses of dead-borrowd haire.
Like Northern blaste, I breathe my critick aire :
I am noe Mimyck ape ; I loathe and hate
Each light-braind giddy-head, to Imytate."

? 1611.—W. Goddard. A Satyricall Dialogue, sign. B, back.

p. 69, l. 3 : *cappe*.—See Petruchio's ridicule of the one brought for Katherine¹ ; and her 'gentlewomen wear such caps as these,' in the *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 63-70, and 81-5. And Kitely says in *Every Man in his Humour*, Ben Jonson's Works, i. 28, col. 1 (see the note there) :

"Our great heads
Within this city, never were in safety
Since our wives wore these little *caps* : I'll change 'em.
I'll change em straight in mine : mine shall no more
Wear three-piled acorns, to make my horns ake."

p. 69. *Cawles* :—

"These glittering cawles of golden
plate,
Wherewith their heads are richlie
dect,
Make them to seeme an angels mate

In judgement of the simple sect :
To peacockes I compare them
right,
That glorieth in their feathers
bright." (See p. 259, 271.)

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, 1866, iv. 252.

p. 70. *Ruffes, Starch, Supportasses* : see the woodcuts above.

"This starch, and these rebating props,
As though ruffes² were some rotten
house,
All this new pelfe now sold in
shops,

In value true not worth a louse ;
They are his dogs [the Devil's],
he, hunter sharp ;
By them a thousand he doth
warpe."

1595-6.—Stephen Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, iv. 253.

¹ "Why, this was moulded on a porringer ;
A velvet dish : fie, fie ! 'tis lewd and filthy :
Why 'tis a cockle or a walnut-shell,
A knack, a toy, a trick, a baby's cap."—64-7.

² See the long and interesting note in Hazlitt, *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 252-3.

Gosson's 'rebating props' were Stubbes's 'supportasses,' I suppose. The Ruffs were got into shape by *poking-sticks* :—

<p>"What lack ye? What lack ye? What is it you will buy? Any points, pins, or laces, Any laces, points or pins? Fine gloves, fine glasses, Any busks or masks? Or any other pretty things?</p>	<p>Come, cheap: for love, or buy for money. Any coney, coney-skins, For laces, points, or pins? Fair maids, come choose or buy. I have pretty <i>poking-sticks</i>, And many other tricks; Come, choose for love, or buy for money."</p>
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1598.—A. Munday and H. Chettle, *Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, viii. 161.

See the interesting extract from the Second Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie* about Poking-Sticks, Ruffs, &c., in my notes to *Captain Cox* or *Laneham's Letter*, 1575, p. 72-3 (Ballad Soc.). I've already noted from Stowe, in *Harrison*, II, 34*, that about the 16 Eliz., Novr. 1573-4, 'began the making of steele poking-stickes; and vntill that time all Lawndresses used setting stickes, made of wood or bone.'

p. 70, l. 1: *wanton Sempronians*.—There seems to be an allusion here to Sempronia, a Roman matron who took part in Cataline's conspiracy. Stubbes was perhaps thinking of Sallust's description of her, in some such words as these: '*libidine sic accensa Sempronia ut viros sapius peteret quam peteretur*.'—*Catalina*, xxv.—S.

p. 70-1: *ruffs*.—These seem to have been 'succeeded by falling bands, unless the following passage is a 'double entente.' (See p. 244 above.)

"*Maquarelle*. And by my troth, beauties, why do you not put you into the fashion? This is a stale cut; you must come in fashion. Looke yee, you must be all felt—fealt and feather—a fealt upon your bare hair. Looke ye, these tiring things are justly out of request now: and do ye heare? you must weare *falling bands*; you must come into the falling fashion. There is such a deal a pinning these ruffles, when a fine cleane *fall* is worth all; and agen, if you should chance to take a nap in the afternoone, your *falling band* requires no poting sticke to recover his forme. Believe me, no fashion to the falling, say I." 1604.—Jn. Marston, *The Malcontent*, V. iii. *Works*, 1856, ii. 284-5.

p. 71-2. Stubbes's story of the gentlewoman of Antwerp is alluded to in *Green's Tu Quoque*, by John Cooke.

"* * * for pride, the woman that had her ruff poak'd by the devil, is but a puritan to her."—Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Reed, 1780, vol. vii. p. 19.—S.

p. 71. *Women's fashions*.—"1611. Wm. Goddard. A/ Satire/call Dialo/gve or a shar/plye-invectiue conference, be/tweene *Allexander* the great, and/ that truelye woman-hater *Diogy/nos*. *Imprinted in the Lowcountryes for all/ such*

¹ Bargain, deal: A. Sax. *ceapian*.

gentlewomen as are not alto/gether Idle nor yet well OCVPYED. (I have this, & Goddard's other two known tracts in type, for private issue at a guinea each.)

[sign. E, back] "The gossiping vvines complaint
against hir riche chuilishe husband

<p>"Two things I loue; two usuall thinges they are; The firste, newe-fashiond cloathes I loue to weare, Newe tires, newe ruffes; I, and newe gesture too: In all newe fashions, I doe loue to goe. The second thing I loue, is this, I weene, To ride aboute to haue those newe cloathes seene: At eu'rye gossiping I am at, still, And euer wilbe, maie I haue my will, For, at ons owne house, praie, who is't cann see Howe fyne in newe-found fash'ond tires wee bee? Vnles our husbantes: faithe! but very fewe! And whoo'd goe gaie, to please a husbants veiue? Alas, we vvines doe take but smale delight Yf none (besides our husbants) sees that sight.</p>	<p>It toyes our heartes, to heere an other man Praise this or that attire, that we weare on. Wee iocund are, and think our selues much graste Yf we heare some one saie 'faire wenche, faithe, in waste This straight-girt gowne becomes you passing well; From other Taylors, yours doth beare the bell.' Oh, her that well cann acte-out such sweete partes, Throwes-up the lure which wynnys our verye hartes. When we are stubborn's't, then let men with skill Rubbes well with th' oyle of praise; and bend we will, That smoothe-fyne supple oyle of praise doth soften vs soe, As what ist then, we will not yield vnto? Meetings and brauerye were my delight."</p>
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p. 72: *starch*.—City Night Cap. *Old Plays*, vol. II, p. 309:—

"My chambermaid
Putting a little saffron in her starch,
I most unmercifully broke her head."—*Southey, Com. Pl. Bk. i. 514*.

p. 73: *wings*: starch, laundresses, &c.

"*Chloe* . . And will the ladies be anything familiar with me, think you?

Cytheris. O Juno! why, you shall see them flock about you with their puff-wings,¹ and ask you where you bought your lawn, and what you paid for it? who starches you? and entreat you to help 'em to some pure laundresses² out of the city." 1601.—Ben Jonson, *Poetaster*, IV. i. *Works*, i. 236, col. 2.

¹ "That part of their dress which sprung from the shoulders, and had the appearance of a wing, inflated or blown up." See p. 241 above

² "This is a hit at the Puritans, many of whom followed the business of tire-women, clear-starchers, feather-makers, &c. It is not a little singular that while they declaimed most vehemently against the idol, Fashion, they should be among the most zealous in administering to its caprice. Jonson notices this with good effect in his *Bartholomew Fair*; and Randolph ridicules it no less successfully in the commencement of his *Muses' Looking-Glass*. . ."

p. 73-5. *Women's Doublets, Gowns, &c.* The Farthingales worn by Elizabethan women are not denounc't here, though they were by Latimer :

"I think Mary had not much fine linen ; she was not trimmed up as our women be now-a-days. I think indeed Mary had never a vardingal ; for she used no such superfluities as our fine damsels do now-a-days ; for in the old time women were content with honest and single garments. Now they have found out these round-about ; they were not invented then ; the devil was not so cunning to make such gear, he found it out afterwards. Therefore Mary had it not . . . it is nothing but a token of fair pride to wear such vardingals ; and I therefore think that every godly woman should set them aside. St. Paul speaketh of such instruments of pride as was used in his time : *Non tortis crinibus*, 'Not with laying out the hair artificially ;' *Non plicatura capillorum*, 'Not with laying out the tussocks.' I doubt not but if vardingals had been used in that time, St. Paul would have spoken against them too, like as he spake against other things which women used at that time, to shew their wantonness and foolishness." 1552.—Latimer, Sermon at Grimsthorpe. *Remains*, 1845, p. 108.

"All high and more than humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poetical stile. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, use some of yuorie, and in stead of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay-on some artificiall hew ; and as they make trunk-sleeves of wyre, and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bumbasted verdugals, and, to the open-view of all men, paint and embellish themselves with counterfeitt and borrowed beauties ; so doth learning." 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essayes* (writ. 1580)—p. 301, ed. 1634.

Stubbes doesn't seem to notice the Fans, Busks, Stays, Hoops, and Aprons, which Gosson condemns, though Stowe says (*Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 34*) that "Womens Maskes, Buskes, Muffs, Fannes, Perewigs, and Bodkins," having been invented "in Italy by Curtezans," came thro' France into England about the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 24 Aug. 1572. So, as they were in use in Elizabeth's time, I print Gosson's stanzas about them :—

"This cloth of price, all cut in ragges,
These monstrous bones that compasse armes ;
These buttons, pinches, fringes, jagges,
With them he [the Devil] weaveth wofull harmes.
He fisher is, they are his baytes,
Wherewith to hell he draweth huge heaps."

Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, in Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. p. 254.

Fans. Gosson, p. 255.

"Were fannes and flappes of feathers fond,
To flit away the flisking flies,
As taile of mare that hangs on ground,
When heat of summer doth arrise,
The wit of women we might praise,
For finding out so great an ease ;

But seeing they are stil in hand,
In house, in field, in church, in street,

In summer, winter, water, land,
 In cold, in heate, in drie, in weet,
 I judge they are for wives such tooles,
 As bables are in playes for fooles.

Busks.

The baudie buske that keepest downe flat
 The bed wherein the babe should breed,
 What doth it els but point at that
 Which faine would have somewhat to feede;
 Where bellie want might shadow vae,
 The buske sets bellie all to sale . . .

[And] seeing such as whome they arme,
 Of all the rest do soonest yeeld,
 And that by shot they take most harme,
 When lustie gamesters come in field,
 I guess buskes are but signes to tell
 Where launderers for the campe do dwell."
 1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, 1866, p. 255 6.

Secret coats or stays.—Gosson, p. 256.

"These privie coates, by art made strong
 With bones,¹ with past, with such like ware,
 Whereby their backe and sides grow long,
 And now they harness gallants are;
 Were they for use against the foe,
 Our dames for Amazones might goe.

But seeing they doe only stay
 The course that nature doth intend,
 And mothers often by them slay
 Their daughters young, and worke their end,²
 What are they els but armours stout,
 Wherein like gyants, Jove they flout?"

¹ "Winifride . . . Oh, I could cracke my Whalebones, break my Buske, to thinke what laughter may arise from this." 1600 (ed. 1616), *Jacks Drum*, Act IV. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, ii. 182.

² John Bulwer in 1650 inveighs against the abuse of tight-lacing. Doctors and all sensible folk have done so ever since; but English women—whose God, Fashion is, and who regularly sacrifice to it their bodies and health, and often their souls—still immolate their daughters and themselves on their Demon's shrine.

"Another foolish affection there is in young Virgins, though grown big enough to be wiser, but they are led blind-fold by custome to a fashion pernicious beyond imagination; who thinking a *Slender-waste* a great beauty, strive all that they possibly can by streight-lacing themselves, to attain unto a wand-like smalnesse of Waste, never thinking themselves fine enough untill they can span their Waste. By which deadly artifice they reduce their Breasts into such streights that they soon purchase a stinking breath; and while they ignorantly affect an angust or narrow Breast, and to that end by strong compulsion shut up their Wastes in a Whale-bone

hoops, p. 257 (cp. crinolines, happily gone out of fashion, for ever, let us hope).

"These hoopcs, that hippes and haunch do hide,
And heave aloft the gay hoyst traine,
As they are now in use for pride,
So did they first beginne of paine :
When whores in stewes had gotten poxe,
This French device kept coats from smocks.

I not gainsay but bastards sprout
Might arses greate at first begin ;
And that when paunch of whore grew out,
These hoopcs did helpe to hide their sinne ;
And therefore tub-tailes all may rue,
That they came from so vile a crue.

*prison or little-ease ; they open a door to Consumptions, and a withering rottennesse.
Hence such are justly derided by Terence in Eunuch.*

*Haud similis virgo, est virginum nostrarum, quas matres student : Demissis
humeris esse, vincto pectore, ut graciles fient.*

— *si qua est habitior paulo, pugilem esse aiunt, aducunt cibum,
Tumet si bona est natura, reddunt curvatura juncos.*

So that it seems this foolish fashion was in request in the time that *Terence* lived.

"Paræus where he propounds Instruments for the mending such deformities, observes that the Bodies of young Maids or Girls (by reason they are more moist and tender then the bodies of Boyes) are made crooked in processe of time : Especially, by the wrenching aside, and crookednesse of the backbone ; the most frequent cause whereof is the unhandsome and undecent scituation of their bodies, when they are young and tender, either in carrying, sitting or standing (and especially, when they are taught to go too soon) saluting, serving, writing, or in doing any such like thing. In the mean while he omits not the occasion of crookednes, that happens seldome to the Country people, but is much incident to the inhabitants of great Towns and Cities, which is by reason of the straitnesse and narrownesse of the garments that are worn by them ; which is occasioned by the folly of Mothers, who while they covet to have their young Daughters Bodies so small in the middle as may be possible, pluck and draw their bones awry, and make them crooked."—*Anthropometamorphosis*: Man Transformed, or the *Artificial Changeling*, etc., by J.[ohn]. B.[ulwer], 1650

Bulwer also denounces the Absurd, tho' now happily abandons custom of swathing children in tight bands:—

"We in *England* are noted to have a most perverse custome of Swathing Children, and streightening their Breasts. Which narrownesse of Breast occasioned by hard and strict swadling them, is the cause of many inconveniences and dangerous consequences. For, all the bones of new-born Infants, especially the Ribs of the Breast, are very tender & flexible, that you may draw them to what figure you please ; which when they are too strictly swathed with Bands, reduce the Breast to so narrow a scantling, as is apt to endanger not only the health, but the life of children. For hence it is, that the greatest part of us are so subject to a Consumption and Distillations, which shorten our dayes, and bring us to an untimely Grave." 1650.—*Anthropometamorphosis*: Man Transform'd ; or, the *Artificial Changeling*, etc. J.[ohn]. B.[ulwer], p. 186.

If barreld bums¹ were full of ale,
They well might serve Tom Tapsters turne ;
But yeelding nought but filth and stale,
No losse it were, if they did burne . . ."

Aprons.

"These aprones white of finest thrid,
So choicelie tide, so dearlie bought,
So finely fringed, so nicelie spred,
So quaintlie cut, so richlie wrought ;
Were they in worke to save their cotes,
They need not cost so many grotes.

When shooters aime at buttes and prickes,
They set up whites, and shew the pinne ;
It may be, aprones are like tricks,
To teach where rovers, game may winne.
Brave archers soone will find the marke,
But bunglers hit it in the darke."

1595-6. Stephen Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*. Hazlitt's *E. E. Popular Poetry*, iv. 257-8.

p. 74. *Gown layed with lace, &c.*

"*Girtred*. . . O sister Mildred, though my father bee a low-capt tradesman, yet I must be a ladie, and I praise God my mother must call me 'Madam'. Does he come? Off with this gowne for shames sake ! off with this gowne ! let not my knight take me in the cittie-cut, in my hand ! . . . I tell you I cannot indure it ; I must bee a lady ! Doe you weare your quoiffe with a London licket, your stamen peticoate with two guardes, the buffin *gowne* with the tuff-taffitie cape and the *velvet lace* ? I must be a lady, and I will be a lady ! I like some humors of the Citty dames well . . . to eate cherries onely at an angell a pound, good ; to die rich scarlet, black, prety ; to line a grogarom gowne cleane through with velvet, tollerable ; their pure linen, their smocks of 3 li. a smock, are to be borne withall. But your minsing niceries, taffata pipkins, durance petticotes, and silver bodkins—Gods my life, as I shall be a lady, I cannot indure it." 1605.—Jn. Marston, *Eastward Hoe*, I. i., Works, 1856, iii. 9.

p. 75, l. 13. *Cost of dress*.—See Rowlands's "*To Maddam Maske and Francis Fan*," as to how woods are cut down, and tenants rackt, to provide money for women's dress, &c., in his *Knaue of Spades*, ? 1611 (Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 37). See too the extract from Bp. Pilkington in the Note for p. 81, below.

¹ An earlier satirist, Charles Bansley, in *The Pryde and Abuse of Women*, ab. 1550 (Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, iv. 229), says—

"Downe, for shame, wyth these bottell arste bummes,
And theyr trappyng trinkets so vayne !
A bounsinge packsadel for the devyll to ryde on,
To spurre theym to sorowe and payne."—p. 238.

Notes on pp. 75-7. *Parents' neglect of Children, &c.* 265

p. 75. *Parents to blame.* "Who seeth not how fondly fathers and mothers bring vp their children in cockering and pampering them? from their infancie they bee giuen to none other thing but to pride, delicious fare, and vain idle pleasures and pastimes.

"What prodigious apparel, what vndecent behauiour, what boasting, bragging, quarelling, and letting vp and down, what quaffing, feasting, rioting, playing, dauncing and diceing, with other like fellowship that is among them, it is a wonder to see: and the parents can hereat reioice and laugh with them, and giue libertie to their children to doe what they liste, neuer endeauouring to tame and salue their wilde appetites. What marueyle is it if they bee found thus naughtie and vicious, when they come to their full yeares and mans state, which haue of children been trayned and entered with such vice? . .

"Consider, I pray thee (good reader) what jolly yonkers and lusty [= lustfull] brutes, these wil be when they come to be citizens, and intermedlers of the common-welth, which by their fathers have beene thus wantonly cockered up, neuer correcting them, or chasting them for any faults and offences whatsoever? What other thing but this, is the cause that there be now so many adulterers, vnchast, and lewde persons, and idle rogues?—that we haue such plentie of dicers, carders, mummers, and dauncers? and that such wickednesse, and filthy liuers are spread about in euery quarter,—but onely naughty education and bringing vp. . .

"Also the slacknesse and vnreadinesse of the magistrates to doe and execute their office, is a great cause of this: if they that vse tauernes, playing and walking vp and downe the streetes in time of a sermon; if disobedient children to their parents, if dicers, mummers, ydellers, dronkerds, swearers, rogues, and dauncers, and such as haue spent and made away their liuing in belly cheare and vnthrifinesse, were straightly punished, surely there shud be lesse occasion giuen to offend, and also good men should not haue so great cause to complain of the manners of men of this age. Therefore, the magistrate must remember his office." Ab. 1577.—Jn. Northbrooke, *Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays and Interludes, &c.* (Shakespeare Soc. 1843), p. 11-12. See too the Note for p. 186, below.

p. 76-7. *Nether stockes, korked shooes, &c.*

"These worsted stockes of bravest die,
And silken garters fring'd with gold;
Thesecorked shooes to beare them hie,
Makes them to trip it on the molde:
They mince it with a pace so
strange,
Like untam'd heifers, when they
range.

To carrie all this pelfe and trash,
Because their bodies are unfit,
Our wantons now in coaches dash,
From house to house, from street to
street."

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes
for Vpstart Newfangled Gentlewomen*,
Hazlitt, 1866, p. 258.

"*Crispinell.* Nay, good, let me still sit; we lowe statures love still to sit, least when we stand, we may be supposed to sit.

Tissefew. Dost not weare high corke shooes—chopines? [Cp. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 447.]

Crisp. Monstrous on's. I am, as many other are, peec'd above, and peec'd beneath."—1605. Jn. Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, III. i. *Works*, 1856, ii. 147.

266 Notes on pp. 77, 78. *Women's Shoes, Scents, &c.*

p. 77, l. 2, *pinsnets*,? pumps, thin shoes. See p. 247-8 above. I don't know *pinsnet* except in Stubbes. *Pinson* is common in early writers: see Way's edition of the *Promptorium*, p. 400, col. 2, and his note 3, which ought to be 4: 'the pynson-showes, *les eschapins*—Duwes.' In the Articles ordained on Decr. 31, 1494, by Henry VII, in that 'As for the receaving of a Queene, and the Coronation of her,' "when masse is donne, [in Westminster Abbey, the barefooted Queen is] to come downe againe to the highe altar, and there to bee howselled, and then to goe into a closett, and the Abbott to putt St. Edwards *Pinsons* on her feete."—*Household Ordinances* (1791), p. 124. Mr. Herrtage has sent me the following: "A Pynson *hec* pedibromita.e. *dicitur* a pes, -dis, & brico, & mitos gutta."—*Catholicon*. Addit. MS. 15,562, Brit. Mus.

"Pedibomita / te. anglie (a pynson)."—f. p. [feminine, 1st. decl.] *Ortus Vocabulorum*. W. de Worde. 1532.

"*Calcearium*. A shoe, pinson, socke."—Withals. "A pinsone, *osa*."—*Manipulus Vocab.* "Pynson, sho, *caffignon*."—Palsgrave, p. 254, col. 2; but "*Cassignon*: m. a pump, or thin-soled shoe."—Cotgrave. "*Soccatus*. That weareth stertups or pinsons."—Elyot. "*Detrahere soccos alicui*: to pull off one's pinsons or his stertups."—Cooper. "*Calcearium*. A shoe, pinson, or socke." *Calceo*. To put on shoes, sockes, or pinsons.—ib.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot. *Pomanders*.

"1st. *Boy*. Your only way to make a good *pomander*, is this:—Take an ounce of the purest garden mould, cleansed and steeped seven days in change of motherless rosewater; then take the best ladanum, benzoin, both storaxes, ambergris, civet, and musk: incorporate them together, and work them into what form you please. This, if your breath be not too valiant, will make you smell as sweet as my lady's dog." 1602 (pr. 1607), *Lingua*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 419.—See the note there, referring to another recipe in Markham's *English Housewife*, p. 151, ed. 1631; also printed, from ed. 1675, p. 109, in Marston's *Works*, 1856, ii. 302. "Why, any sensible snout may wind Master Amoretto and his pomander." 1602.—*Lingua*, Dodsley, ix. 181.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot: *fragrant Pomanders*. "Perfumed paste, generally rolled into a ball, but sometimes moulded into other forms: it was carried in the pocket, or hung about the neck, and was considered a preservative against infection. A silver case filled with perfumes was sometimes called a pomander."—Dyce's *Webster*, ed. 1871, note on the *Malcontent*, V. i. p. 354.—S.

p. 78, l. 2: *droye*.—"Droil. A drudge, or servant. *North*.—See Malone's *Shakespeare*, xviii. 42; Tusser's *Husbandry*, p. 256."—*Halliwel's Dict.*—S.

p. 78, l. 3: *pussle*.—Compare "Pucelle or *puzzel*, dolphin or dogfish," 1 *Hen. VI*, l. iv. 107, Globe ed. "*Puzel* or *Pussel*, Dolphin or Dog-fish."—Fol. 1623. Ladislaus, king of Naples, fell in love with his physician's daughter, "a *puzell* verie beautifull."—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, iii. 545/152.—S. "Then, three pretty *puzels* az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie yeere old a pees." 1575.—*Laneham's Letter*, my ed. p. 23.

p. 78: *naked breasts*.—See *Harrison*, Pt. 1. p. 170. Cp. Ben Jonson's side-notes in his *The Devil is an Ass*, Works, ed. Cunningham, ii. 237, on the lines,

. . . . "since Love hath the honour to approach
These sister-swelling breasts and touch this soft
And rosy hand."

"Here he grows more familiar in his courtship." "Wittipol plays with her paps, kisses her hands," &c.; and in *Cynthia's Revels*, iii. 2, p. 168 (ed. Gifford), "Plays with his mistress's paps, salutes her pumps."—P. A. D.

"*Bellula*. Let pinching city-dames orecloud their eyes :
Our breasts lie forth, like conduits of delight,
Able to tice the nicest appetite.
Mistresse Pinckanie, shall I have this Fanne ?

Pink. Madam, not this weake, do what I can."
? 1590-1600, pr. 1610.—Peele & Marston, *Histrion-Mastix*, Act III. R. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, ii. 50.

"Then silly old Fops, that kiss but like popes,
And call us Night Walkers and Faries,
Go fumble old *Joan*, and let us alone,
And never come near our canary's :
We'll wear our breasts bare,¹ and curl up our hair,

¹ Mr. Ebsworth's note is, 'The immodest exposure of the bosom had been assailed, not alone by the Puritans, but by many satirists, who could scarcely be deemed righteous over-much. But none of these had exceeded the stern rebuke uttered by Dante in the *Purgatorio*, Canto xxiii. :—

"O dolce frate, che vuoi tu, ch' io dica ?
Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto,
Cui non sara quest' ora molto antica," etc.

'Thus rendered by H. F. Cary :—

"What wouldst thou have me say ? A time to come
Stands full within my view, to which this hour
Shall not be counted of an ancient date,
When from the pulpit shall be loudly warn'd
The unblushing dames of Florence, lest they bare
Unkerchief'd bosoms to the common gaze.*
What savage women hath the world e'er seen,
What Saracens, for whom there needed scourge
Of spiritual or other discipline,
To force them walk with covering on their limbs.
But did they see, the shameless ones, what Heaven
Wafts on swift wing toward them while I speak,
Their mouths were op'd for howling : they shall taste
Of sorrow (unless foresight cheat me here)."

* After the Restoration, in 1678, had appeared a pamphlet "*Just and reasonable Reprehensions of Naked Breasts and Shoulders*."

* On the Venetian courtesans' like undress, see Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611.

And shew our *Commodes* to the people;
But, as I'm a w——, if that you talk more,
We'll raise them as high as Bow-steeple."

"The Vindication of Top Knots and Commodes," To
the tune of *London Top Knot's*.—Bagford Collec-
tion, i. 124 (908, 967). Ballad Society, 1876.

Puppies and books were occasionally housed in the same soft receptacle as Stubbes's nosegays. Topsell's *Four-footed Beasts* (1607) says of the little Melitean or Sicilian dogs, "They are not above a foot, or half a foot long, and alway the lesser, the more delicate and precious. . . There be some wanton women which admit them to their beds, and bring up their young ones *in their own bosomes*, for they are so tender, that they seldom bring above one at a time, but they lose their life."—ed. 1658, J. Rowland, M.D., p. 128. And Mr. R. Roberts cites from Richard Brathwait's *The English Gentleman*, 1630, 4to, p. 28 :—

"But alas; to what height of licentious libertie are these corrupte times growne? When that *Sex*, where Modesty should claime a native prerogative, gives way to foment of exposed loosenesse; by not only attending to the wanton discourse of immodest Lovers, but carrying about them (even *in their naked Bosomes*, where chastest desires should only lodge) the amorous toyes of *Venus* and *Adonis*: which Poem, with others of like nature, they heare with such attention, peruse with such devotion, and retaine with such delectation, as no subject can equally relish their unseasoned palate, like those lighter discourses."

'So early as 1595, in *Pleasant Quippes for upstart new-fangled Gentlewomen*, Stephen Gosson had assailed a similar exposure, in Puritanical pride writing thus (Collier's Pref. to Gosson's *School of Abuse*, ed. 1841, p. xiii) :—

"These Holland smockes, so white as snowe,
and gorgets brave with drawne-worke wrought,
A tempting ware they are, you know,
wherewith (as nets) vaine youths are caught," etc.
"These perriwigges, ruffles armed with pinnes,
these spangles, chaines and laces all;
These naked paps, the Devils ginnes,
to worke vaine gazers painefull thrall:
[He fowler is, they are his nets,
Wherewith of fooles great store he gets.]"

'These satirists and cynics who are perpetually decrying immodesty of feminine apparel, are invariably themselves of impure dispositions. They have a prurient longing to offensively rebuke offence.

"Fie on thee! I can tell what thou would'st do
Most mischievous foul sin, in chiding sin:
For thou thyself hast been a libertine,
As sensual as the brutish sting itself:
And all the embossed sores and headed evils,
That thou with license of free foot hast caught,
Would'st thou disgorge into the general world."
As You Like It, Act ii. sc. 7.'

p. 78, l. 7 : *kissing*.—"I hold that the greatest cause of dissolutenesse in some women in England is this custome of kissing publiquely, for that by this meanes they lose their shamefastnesse, and at the very touch of the kisse there entreth into them a poison which doth infect them." [In Spain they don't do it] "because we are so wanton, that we need nothing to helpe our appetite, to make a thousand ill matches which would fall out if we should haue this occasion." 1623.—J. Minsheu, *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues*, p. 51-2. On p. 39 he notes the sodomising of pages by their masters (see *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 130), on which Marston has a long passage in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 256-7. That kissing (smick-smack) was apt to lead to something further, see *Lusty Iuuentus*, 1550, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ii. 85 :—

"What a hurly-burly is here !
Smick smack, and all this gear !
You will to tick-tack,¹ I fear,
If you had time :

Well, wanton, well :
Iwis I can tell
That such smock-smell
Will set your nose out of tune."

See Beatrice's protest against the custom of indiscriminate kissing, in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* (1605), Act III. sc. i ; *Works*, 1856, ii. 144. She's one of Sir Herbert's daughters, and says, "boddy a beautie ! tis one of the most displeasing, injurious customes to ladyes ; any fellow that has but one nose on his face, and standing collar, and skirtes also lined with taffety sarcenet, must salute us on the lipps as familiarly. Soft skins save us ! There was a stub-bearded John-a-stile, with a ploydens face, saluted me last day, and stroke his bristles through my lippes : I ha spent ten shillings in pomatum since, to skinne them againe," &c. &c. A. D. 1792, "there are many practices openly made use of betwixt the sexes which with us [the French] are considered as marks of the greatest familiarity. On the stage the actor applies his lips to those of the actress, when he salutes her ; the same is practised by the people in general ; the kiss of love, and the kiss of friendship are impressed alike on the lips." H. Meister (Swiss by birth). *Letters on England*, englisht 1799, p. 287-8.

p. 78. *Sweet smells of musks, &c.*

"Their odorous smelles of Muske so sweete,
Their waters made of seemely sent,
Are lures of Luste, and farre unmeete,
Except where needes they must be spent."

1579.—W. A., *A speciall Remedie against . . lawlesse Love*. Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 237.

"*Mercatore*.—[I do] lack some pretty fine toy, or some fantastic new knack ;
For da gentlewomans in England buy much tings for fantasy . . .

Geronthus . . . As musk, amber, sweet-powders, fine odours, pleasant perfumes, and many such toys,
Wherein I perceiue consisteth that country[']s gentlewomen's joys.

¹ See *Meas. for Meas.*, I. ii. 196.

Besides, I have diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, smaradines, opals, onacles, jacinths, agates, turquoise, and almost of all kind of precious stones,

And many mo fit things to suck away money from such green-headed wantons."

1584.—R. W., *The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi. 330.

Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, is more reasonable than Stubbes :—

"*What smells sweete ?*

Muske, Ciuet, Amber, and a thousand thinges
Long to rehearse, from which sweete odours springes :
Flowers are sweete, and sweetest in my minde,
For they are sweete by nature and by kinde.
Faire Women that in bosoms nose-gays weare,
Kisse bvt their lippes, and say what sent they beare,
Their breath perfume, their flowers sweetly smell,
Both ioyned to her lippes, do exceeding well."

1600.—*Quips upon Questions* . . . By Clunnyco de Curtanio Snuffe. F 4, back. I do not trust the evidence that has induced Mr. Ouvry, in his reprint, 1875, to assign the tract to John Singer : "Mr. Collier informs me that the name J. Singer was written in his own autograph [?] on the title-page of the volume."

p. 78-9. *Feathers, wide-gowns, face-painting.*

"*Epigram.*

W^Hat feather'd fowle is this that doth approach
As if it were an Estredge in a Coach?
Three yards of feather round about her hat,
And in her hand a bable like to that :
As full of Birdes attire, as Owle, or Goose ;
And like vnto her gowne, her selfe seemes loose¹,
Cri 'ye mercie, Ladie, lewdnes are you there?
Light feather'd stuffe befits you best to weare." (Sign. B 2, p. 11.)

1608.—S. Rowlands, *Humors Looking-Glasse* (Hunterian Club, 1872)

"A Gentleman, a verie friend of mine,
Hath a young wife, and she is monstrous fine :
Shee's of the new fantastique humor right,
In her attire an angell of the light.
Is she an Angell? I : it may be well,
Not of the light, she is a light Angell.
Forsooth his dome must suffer alteration,
To entertaine her mightie huge Bom-fashion.
A hood's to base, a hat, which she doth make

¹ "*Tailor*. Inprimis, a loose-bodied gown :

Grumio. Master, if euer I said loose-bodied gowne, sow me in the skirts of it, and beate me to death with a bottome of browne thred : I said a gowne." —? 1596-7.—Shakspere, *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 135-8. Folio, p. 224, col. 2.

With brauest feathers in the Estridge tayle,
 She scornes to treade our former proud wines traces,
 That put their glory in their o[w]n fair faces ;
 In her conceit it is not faire enough,
 She must reforme it with her painters stufte ;
 And she is neuer merry at the heart,
 Till she be got into her leatherne Cart.
 Some halfe a mile the Coach-man guides the raynes,
 Then home againe ; birladie, she takes paines.
 My friend, seeing what humours haunt a wife,
 If he were loose, would lead a single life."

The Humors that haunt a Wife (ib. B 3, back, p. 14).

p. 79. *Looking-glasses : mirrors in hats, &c.*

"*Amorphus* . . . Where is your page? call for your casting-bottle, and place your mirror in your hat,¹ as I told you : so !" 1600.—Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, II. i.

p. 79 : *bracelets, rings, &c.*

"and now, my honie Loue,
 Will we returne vnto thy Fathers house
 And reuell it as brauely as the best,
 With silken coats and caps, and golden *Rings*,
 With Ruffes and Cuffes, and Fardingales and things ;
 With Scarfes and Fannes, & double change of brau'ry,
 With Amber *Bracelets*, Beades, and all this knau'ry."

? 1596-7.—Shakspeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 52-8. Folio, p. 223, col. 2.

p. 80. *Masks, face-painting, &c.*

"Peace, Cynick ; see, what yonder doth approach !
 A cart ? a tumbrell ? No a badg'd coach.
 What's in't ? Some man ? No, nor yet woman kinde,
 But a celestiall angell, faire, refine.
 The diuell as soone ! Her *maske* so hinders me,
 I cannot see her beauties deitie,
 Now that is off, she is so vizarded,
 So steep in lemons iuyce, so surphuled,
 I cannot see her face. Under one hoode
 Two faces : but I never understood
 Or saw one face under two hoods till now :
 'Tis the right semblance of old Janus brow.
 Her *maske*, her *visard*, her loose-hanging gowne
 (For her loose-lying body), her bright spangled crowne,

¹ Both sexes wore them publicly ; the men, as brooches or ornaments in their hats, and the women at their girdles (see *Massinger*, vol. iv. p. 8), or on their breasts ; nay, sometimes in the centre of their fans, which were then made of feathers, inserted into silver or ivory tubes. Lovelace has a poem on his mistresses's fan, 'with a looking-glass in it.' Gifford, in *Works*, i. 160, col. 2.

Her long slit sleeves, stiffe buske, puffed verdingall,
Is all that makes her thus angelicall.
Alas ! her soule struts round about her neck ;
Her seate of sense is her rebato set ;
Her intellectuall is a fained nicenesse,
Nothing but clothes and simpring precisenesse.

Out on these puppets, painted images,
Haberdashers shops, torch-light maskeries,
Perfuming pans, Dutch ancients, glowe-worms bright
That soyle our soules, and dampe our reasons light !
Away ! away ! hence ! coach-man, goe inshrine
Thy new-glas'd puppet in port Esqueline ! "

599.—Jn. Marston, *Scourge of Villanie*. Works, 1856, iii. 283.

p. 80. *Visors made of velvet*: Of Masks, Gosson says, *Pleasant Quippes*, E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 254 :—

<p>" . . on each wight, now are they seene, The tallow-pale, the browning-bay, The swarthie-blacke, the grassie-greene, The pudding red, the dapple graie, So might we judge them toyes aright To keepe sweet beautie still in plight.</p>	<p>What else do maskes but maskers show? And maskers can both dance and play : Ourmasking dames can sport, you knowe, Sometime by night, some time by day : 'Can you hit it'¹ is oft their daunce, Deuse-ace² fals stil to be their chance."</p>
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"*Higgen*. We stand here for an epilogue
Ladies, your bounties first ! the rest will follow ;
For women's favours are a leading alms :
If you be pleas'd, look cheerly, throw your eyes
Out at your *masks*.

Prigg. And let your beauties sparkle ! "

1622.—Fletcher. *The Beggars Bush*, Works, i. 231.

p. 81 : *makers of new fashions*.—Compare Massinger, in his *Picture*, 1629-30. Act II, sc. ii, p. 220, col. 1, Moxon's ed.—

"*Eubulus*. . . . There are some of you,
Whom I forbear to name, whose coining heads
Are the mints of all new fashions, that have done
More hurt to the kingdom by superfluous bravery,
Which the foolish gentry imitate, than a war
Or a long famine. All the treasure, by
This foul excess, is got into the merchant,
Embroiderer, silkman, jeweller, tailor's hand,
And the third part of the land too, the nobility
Engrossing titles only."

¹ Compare Rosaline: 'Thou canst not hit it, my good man,' *L. L. Lost*, IV. ii. ; Ritson's *Robin Hood*, ii. 213 ; *Wily Beguill'd* (1602-3), in Hazlitt, p. 254-5, and p. 371.

² A male's genitals.

p. 81. *Heathen women an example to Christian ones.*

"And all dainty dames may here learn of these gentlewomen to set more by working at God's house than by trimming of themselves. Would God they would spend that on the poor members of Christ and citizens of this spiritual Jerusalem, that they wastefully bestow on themselves, and would pity their poverty something like as they pamper themselves! St. Peter biddeth them leave their 'gold and frizzled hair, and their costly apparel' and so modestly behave themselves that 'their husbands, seeing their honest behaviour, may be won' to the Lord by them; for so Sara and other holy women did attire themselves, &c.

"But it is to be feared, that many desire rather to be like dallying Dinah than sober Sara. And if the husband will not maintain it, though he sell a piece of land, break up house, borrow on interest, raise rents, or make like hard shifts, little obedience will be shewed. Placilla the empress, the worthy wife of Theodosius the emperor would visit the sick folks in their houses herself, and help them; would taste of their broths, how they were made, bring them dishes to lay their meat in, and wash their cups; and if any would forbid her, she said she offered her labour for the empire, to God that gave it. And she would oft say to her husband, 'Remember what ye were, and who ye be now, and so shall ye always be thankful unto God.' It were comfortable to hear of such great women in these days, where the most part are so fine that they cannot abide to look at a poor body, and so costly in apparel that that will not suffice them in jewels, which their elders would have kept good hospitality withal. When Moses moved the people to bring such stuff as was meet for the making of God's tabernacle and other jewels in it, the women were as ready as the men, and they 'brought their bracelets, ear-rings, rings, and chains, all of gold;' and the women 'did spin with their own hands' both silk and goats hair: they wrought and brought so much willingly, that Moses made proclamation they should bring no more.

"Compare this people's devotion with ours that be called Christians, and ye shall find that all that may be scratched is too little to buy jewels for my mistress, though she be but of mean degree; and if anything can be pulled from God's house, or any that serveth in it, that is well gotten, and all is too little for them. God grant such costly dames to consider what metal they be made of! for if they were so fine of themselves as they would seem to be, none of these glorious things needed to be hanged upon them to make them gay withal. Filthy things need washing, painting, colouring, and trimming, and not those that be cleanly and comely of themselves: such decking and colouring maketh wise men to think, that all is not well underneath: content yourselves with that colour, comeliness, and shape, that God hath given you by nature, and disfigure not yourselves with your own devices; ye cannot amend God's doings, nor beautify that which he hath in that order appointed." . . . 1575.—Bishop Pilkington on Nehemiah (pr. 1585), *Works* (Parker Soc. 1842), pp. 385-387.

p. 82, l. 10 from foot. *In High Germany the Women use in effect one kind of apparel, &c.*—Munster (*Cosmography*, bk. iii, p. 325, ed. 1550) says that when he was a boy (circa 1497) his countrymen dressed plainly now they follow foreign

fashions, but the German women have returned to the ancient frugality in apparel which distinguished the men. "Hæ depositis multiplicibus & plicatissimis peplis, quibus grandia olim faciebant capita, unico tantum hodie uelantur, modestiusque incedunt. Satis honestus hodie est quarundam mulierum uestitus, nisi quòd superne nimium excauatur."—S.

p. 87. *Women's dress : its motive :—*

"For, why is all this rigging and fine tackle, mistress,
If your neat handsome vessels, of good sail,
Put not forth ever and anon with your nets
Abroad into the world? It is your fishing.
There, you shall choose your friends, your servants, lady,
Your squires of honour. I'll convey your letters,
Fetch answers, do you all the offices
That can belong to your blood and beauty."

1616.—Ben Jonson. *The Devil is an Ass*, Act II. sc. i. p. 352, col. 2.

p. 87.—*How the day's spent by Women :—*

"Daily till ten a clocke a bed she lyes,
And then againe her Lady-ship¹ doth rise,
Her Maid must make a fire, and attend
To make her ready; then for wine sheele send,
(A morning pinte) she sayes her stomach's weake,
And counterfeits as if shee could not speake,
Vntill eleuen, or a little past,
About which time, euer she breakes her fast;
Then (very sullen) she wil pout and loure,
And sit downe by the fire some halfe an houre.
At twelue a clocke her dinner time she keepe,
Then gets into her chaire, and there she sleepe
Perhaps til foure, or somewhat thereabout;
And when that lazie humour is worne out,
She cals her dog, and takes him in her lap,
Or fals a beating of her maid (perhap)
Or hath a Gossip come to tell a Tale,
Or else at me sheele curse, and sweare, and rale,
Or walke a turne or two about the Hall,
And so to supper and to bed: heeres all
This paines she takes; and yet I do abuse her!
But no wise man, I thinke, so kind would vse her.² . . ."

1609.—S. Rowlands, *A whole crew of kind Gossips, all met to be merry*, sign. D 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 29). See the rest of this amusing piece, on the faults the Six Wives find with their Husbands, and the latters' answers finding fault with their Wives.

¹ Ironical. She has no title.

² See S. Rowlands's sketch of a *Jealous husband*, in his *Diogenes Lanthorne*, 1607, sign. B 3 (ed. 1873, p. 13).

p. 87. And see in Rowlands's *Locke to it: for, Ile Stabbe ye*, 1604, the *Idie-huswife*, sign. E, back, p. 34, of the Hunterian Club reprint, 1872:—

“**F**ine, neate, and carious mistris Butter flie,
The Idle-toy to please an Idiots eye,
You that wish all Good-huswines hang'd for why;
Your dayes work's done each morning when you rise,
Put on your Gowne, your Ruffe, your Masske, your Chaine,
Then dine & sup, & go to bed againe.
You that will call your Husband ‘Gull & Clowne,’
If he refuse to let you haue your Will:
You that will poute and lowere, and fret and frowne,
Vnlesse his purse be lauish open still,
You that will haue it, get it how he can,
Or he shall weare a Vulcans brow, poore man,
Ile Stabbe thee.”

Compare too an older complaint in *The Schole-House of Women*, 1541 (ed. 1572), in Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 111-112:—

<p>“¶ Wed them once, and then adue, Farwel, all trust and huswifery; Keep their chambers, and them self mew, For staining of their fisnamy [complexion], And in their bed all day doo lye; Must, once or twice every week, Fain them self for to be sick.</p> <p>¶ Send for this, and send for that; Little or nothing may them please; Come in, good gossip, and keep me chat, I trust it shall do me great ease; Complain of many a sundry disease; A gossips cup between vs twain, Til we be gotten vp again.</p>	<p>¶ Then must she haue maidens two or three, That may then gossips together bring; Set them to labour to blere the eye; Them self wil neither wash ne wring, Bake ne brue, ne any thing; Sit by the fire, let the maidens trot, Brew of the best in a halpenny pot.</p> <p>¶ Play who wil, the man must labour, And bring to house all that he may; The wife again dooth nought but glamour, And holde him vp with yea and nay; But of her cup he shall not assay, Other she saith, it is to thin, Or els, iwis, there is nothing in.” &c.</p>
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p. 87, l. 10 from foot. *Othersome spende the greatest parte of the daie, in sittynge at the doore.*—“They [Englishwomen] sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by.” Emanuel van Meteren's *History of the Netherlands*, in Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 72; Harrison, Pt. I, p. lxiii.—S.

“*Butler.* I am now going to their place of residence, situate in the choicest place of the city, and at the sign of the Wolf, just against Goldsmiths' Row [see Harrison, Part II, Forewords, § 1], where you shall meet me; but ask not for

me, only walk to and fro; and, to avoid suspicion, you may spend some conference with *the shopkeepers' wives*: *they have seats built a purpose* for such familiar entertainment." 1607. — G. Wilkins, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 537-8.

That tradesmen us'd their wives as lures, seems certain. Compare, in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* (1605), Act III. sc. i. (*Works*, 1856, ii. 155). Mistress Mulligrub speaking to Lionell, the man of Mister Burnish, a Goldsmith, about his master and mistress:—

"An honest man hee is, and a crafty. Hee comes forward in the world well, I warrant him; and his wife is a proper woman; that she is! Well, she has ben as proper a woman as any in Cheape. She paints now, and yet she keeps her husbands old customers to him still. In troth, a fine-fac'd wife, in a wain-scot-carv'd seat, is a worthy ornament to a tradesmans shop, and an attractive, I warrant: her husband shall find it in the custome of his ware, Ile assure him." And at p. 157, Master Mulligrub says,

"All thinges with me shall seeme honest that can be profitable.
He must nere winch, that would or thrive or save,
To be cald nigard, *cuckold*, cut-throat, knave!"

And in his Satyre I, 1598, *Works*, iii. 215, Marston says:—

"Who would not chuck to see such pleasing sport,
To see such troupes of gallants still resort
Unto Cornutos shop? What other cause
But chast Brownetta, Sporo thether drawes?"

Machiavelli's *Instructions to his Son* how to make money and get on in life,—which, if not meant as a Satire, is an utterly base and mean-in-spirit, tho' worldly-wise book—says on this subject:—

"If that thy wife be faire, and thou but poore,
Let her stand like a picture at thy doore,
Where, though she do but pick her fingers ends,
Faire eies, fond lookes, will gaine a world of friends.
Taske her not to worke, if she be prettie;
Bid her forbear; her toyle makes thee pittie;
Shee may with ease, haue meanes for greater gaines,
With rich rewards, and pleasure for her paines.
Play at bo-peepe, see me and see me not;
It comes off well, that is so closely got;
And euermore say, 'aye! well fare the vent
That paie the charges of the house, and rent!'
Come, come, tis no matter, be rul'd by this,
The finest Dames doth some times do amisse,
Yet walke demure, like puritants indeede,
And earely rise to a Sermon for a neede,
And make great shew of deuoutest praier,
When she only goes to meete her louer.

Turning backe, poore foole desires the text ;
 Shee tels him any thing that cometh next ;
 And turning o're the leafe to reade the verse,
 Scarce for laughing, one word can rehearse,
 But prettily turnes it off with some iest :
 He beares with all ; he knowes it is his best.

If that thy wife be olde, thy Daughters yong,
 And faire of face, and of a fluent tongue,
 If by her sutors, siluer may be had,
 Beare with small faults ; the good will help the bad.
 Be not too seuer, time may mend their faults ;
 He is a foole, before a cripple haults ;
 Or he that findes a fault where gaine comes in,
 Tis pittie but his cheekes should e're look thin :
 What though thou knowst that vice doe gaine it all ;
 Will vertue helpe, when thou beginst to fall ?
 This is no world for vertuous men to thriue ;
 Tis worke enough to keepe thy selfe aliue.
 Let Wife and Daughters loue to make thee wealthie ;
 Thou knowst that gold will seeke to make thee healthie.

If thy maid-seruants be kinde-hearted wenches,
 And closely make kinde bargins on the benches,
 Let them haue libertie, loue and pleasure ;
 All these are helps to bring in thy treasure ;
 Let them laugh and be merrie ; it yeelds content ;
 Thei'le humor all, till all their coyne is spent.
 If by their pleasures, may thy profit grow,
 Winke at a wanton who hath not beene so."

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiuil's Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 13-14.

"The Answer to Machiavel's Vncasing" says, *ib.* sign. F 2, back :—

"An honest minde in euery trade doth well,
 The winde blowes ill, that blowes the soule to hell.
 Doe not before the Diuell a Candle hold,
 Seeke no corrupt meanes for siluer or gold.

If that thy wife be faire, be thou not foule,
 To let her play the Ape, and thou the Owle.
 Winke at no faults ; it is but misery,
 By bestiall meanes to releue necessity.
 If thou bee a Husband, gouerne so thy wife,
 That her peeuish meanes worke not thy strife ;
 Giue her not too much lawe, to run before ;
 Too much boldnesse doth bring thy ouerthrow ;
 Yet abridge her not too much by any meane ;
 But let her still be thy companion.

And to thy daughter proue a better sire,
Then [= than], like a hacknie, let her out to hire.
What a greuous case were this for thee,
To extoll thy selfe to prosperity
By such insatiate meanes ! a heauy sense
Deseruing nought but hell for recompence."

Then the Answer goes on to advise that austerity and distance between Father and Child which is in such marked contrast with our modern notions and practice, but is recommended in *King Solomon's Book of Wisdom*, in my *Adam Davie* (E. T. Soc., 1878), and other early books on the treatment of children (see my *Babes Book*, &c., E. E. Text Soc.) :—

"Like a kinde father, loue thy children deare,
Yet to outward view let not loue appeare,
Least too boldly they, presuming on thy loue,
By audacious meanes doe audacious proue.
Seeme not a companion in any case
To thy children : learne them know who's in place,
That due obedience to thee be done ;
The end must nedes be good, that's well begonne.
Thus may thy children be at thy commaund,
With willing heart, still helpefull at thy hand.
Familiarity, contempt doth breed ;
By no meanes doe thou stoope vnto thy seede :
Whilst the twig is yong, bend it as thou list ;
Once being growne, thei'll stubbornely resist,
Caring not for parents nor their talking,
Commending their owne wits ; age is doting.
Looke well to youth and how their time is spent,
Least thou by leasure afterwards repent . . .
Vse no corrections in an angry vaine,
Which will but vex thee much, increase thy paine . . .
The greefe is thine, when children goe astray ;
Giue them not too much liberty to play,
Least that they doe to a custome bring it,
And euer after forbear to leaue it."
* * * * *
[sign. G 2] "Machiauels rules, let Machiauels reade ;
Loue thou thy God ; his spirit be thy speede."

p. 87-8. The following applies to a woman who keeps a shop herself :—

"Tell mistris minkes, shee that keepes the shop,
Shee is a Ship that beares a gallant top ;
Shee is a Lady for her louely face,
And her countenance hath a Princes grace,
And that her beautie hath intralld thee soe,

Except shée yeelds remorse, shée workes thy woe ;
 Then cast thine eye vpon her beautionous cheekes,
 Protesting that thou neuer saw'st the like :
 Her smooth forehead and her comly dressing ;
 Her louely Breasts, cause loues increasing ;
 Her Iuorie teeth, her lip and chin ;
 Her snow white hand, the like was neuer seene ;
 Her leg and foote, with her gate so comlie,
 Her apparel's worne so neate and seemely :
 Thus o're-worne with care thou mai'st seeme to be,
 Till thou hast made her proude herselfe to see ;
 Then she nods the head with smiling fauor,
 That thou shouldst bestow such loue vpon her.
 Then bite the lip, winke and hang the head,
 And giue a sigh, as though thy heart were dead ;
 And shew strange passions of affections sence,
 That she may pittie loue sirreuerence,
 Wishing her selfe worthie of thy fauor,
 Which is a meanes to gaine some thing by her.
 Thus let the issue of this cunning be,
 That from her purse, some profit come to thee,
 A peece of Sattin, Fustian, or some Stuffe,
 A Falling-Band, or a three Double-ruffe ;
 A Hat, a Shirt, a Cloack-cloath or a Ring,
 Kniues, Purses, Gloues, or some such prettie thing,
 Some-what hath some sauour, 'tis this gaine
 That still inuention giues his sweetest vaine."

1615.—*The Vncasing of Machinils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 11-12.

p. 88, l. 8: *thei haue Gardens, &c.*—Compare the description of Angelo's garden in *Measure for Measure*, IV. i. 28—33. In it was a garden-house, V. i. 212. Corisca says, "I haue a couch and a banqueting-house in my orchard, Where many a man of honour has not scorn'd To spend an afternoon."—Massinger's *Bondman*, ed. Gifford, 1840, Act I. sc. iii. p. 93, col. 1.—S.

"This yeare is like to proue fatall to such as followe the *Garden Alleyes*, for, as some haue gone before, so the rest are like to followe, and marre their drinking with an hempen twist vnlesse they leaue Harlotte-hunting, with more good will then Millers haue minde to morning prayer if the winde serue them in any corner on Sundaies." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, *The Black Yeaere*, C 3, back.

In *Skialetheia*, 1598, mention is made of an old citizen,

"who, comming from the.
 Curtaine [in Shoreditch] sneaketh in
 To some odde garden noted house of sinne ;"

and West, in a rare poem, *The Court of Conscience*, 1607, tells a libertine,

"Towards the Curtaine then you must be gon,

The garden alleyes paled on either side ;
Ift be too narrow walking, there you slide."

(See p. 308 below.) Halliwell's *Illustrations*, p. 38.

Also in 1606, *No-Body and Some-Body*, Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 352 :—

"*Somebody* doth maintaine a common strumpet
Ith Garden-allies, and undid himselfe."

FORNICATION AND ADULTERY.

p. 89, 90. *Harlots & Brothels*.—See S. Rowlands's *Doctor Merrie-Man*, 1609, sign. C 3 (p. 21, Hunt. Club, 1877), and the fun she makes of the men she takes in :—

"I am a profest Courtezan,
That liue by peoples sinne :
With halfe a dozen Punccks I keepe,
I haue great comming in.
Such store of Traders haunt my house,
To finde a lusty Wench,
That twentie Gallants in a weeke,
Doe entertaine the *French* ;
Your Courtier, and your Citizen,
Your very rustique Clowne,
Will spend an Angell on the Poxe,
Euen ready mony downe.
I striue to liue most Lady-like,
And scorne those foolish Queanes,
That doe not rattle in their Silkes
And yet haue able meanes
I haue my Coach, as if I were
A Countesse, I protest,
I haue my daintie Musicke playes
When I would take my rest.
I haue my Seruing-men that waite
Vpon mee in blew Coates ;

I haue my Oares that [do] attend
My pleasure, with their boates :
I haue my Champions that will fight,
My Louers that do fawne :
I haue my Hat, my Hood¹, my Maske,
My Fanne, my Cobweb Lawne ;
To giue my Gloue vnto a Gull,
Is mighty fauour found,
When for the wearing of the same,
It costs him twentie pound.
My Garter, as a gracious thing,
Another takes away :
And for the same, a silken Gounne
The Prodigall doth pay. . . .
Another lowly-minded youth,
Forsooth my Shooe-string craues,
And that he putteth through his eare,
Calling the rest, bace slaues.
Thus fit I Fooles in humours still,
That come to me for game,
I punish them for Venerie,
Leauing their Purses lame."

And see Macilente's chaff of Fastidious Brisk in prison, brought there by buying presents for smart ladies :

"What, do you sigh? this it is to *kiss the hand of a countess, to haue her coach sent for you, to hang poniards in ladies' garters, to wear bracelets of their hair, and for every one of these great favours, to give some slight jewel of five*

¹ "*Alice*. The poor common whores can haue no traffic for the priuy rich ones ; your *caps and hoods of velvet* call away our customers, and lick the fat from us." 1616.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iii. *Works*, ii. 192, col. 1.

hundred crowns or so : why, 'tis nothing ! Now, monsieur, you see the plague that treads on the heels o' your foppery : well, go your ways in, remove yourself to the two-penny ward quickly to save charges." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, V. vii. ; *Works*, I. p. 138, col. 2.

p. 97, l. 13 : *huggle*, to embrace closely.

"Lye still, lye still, thou little Musgrave,
And *huggle* me from the cold."

Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard, ll. 61-2. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.—S.

p. 97. *Cottages in every lane end*. Against this evil was passt, in 1589, the Act 31 Eliz. c. 7. "An acte againste erectinge and mayntayninge of Cottages. For the avoydinge of the great Inconveniencs whiche are founde by experience to growe by the erectinge and buyldinge of great nombres and multitude of Cottages, which are daylie more and more increased in manye partes of this Realme : Be it enacted . . . That . . . noe person shall, within this Realme of England, make buylde or erect . . . any manner of Cottage for habitacion or dwelling, nor convert or ordeyne anye Buyldinge or Howsinge . . . as a Cottage for habitacion or dwellinge, unlesse the same person doe assigne and laye to the same Cottage or Buyldinge fower acres of Grownde at the least . . . beinge his or her owne Freehold and Inheritaunce lienge nere to the said Cottage, to be continually occupied & manured therewith, so longe as the same Cottage shalbe inhabited." The Penalty for breaking the Act was £10, and 40s. a Month for keeping such a Cottage.

p. 98. *Whoredom to be punisht*.

"In this Treatise (louing countrimen) you shall see what . . . inconuenience may come by following flattering strumpets. I know not, I, what should be the cause why so innumerable harlots and Curtizans abide about London, but because that good lawes are not looked vnto : is there not one appointed for the apprehending of such hell-moths, that eat a man out of bodie & soule? And yet there be more notorious strumpets & their mates about the Citie and the suburbs, than euer were before the Marshall was appointed : idle mates, I meane, that vnder the habit of a Gentleman or seruing man, think themselues free from the whip, although they can giue no honest account of their life." 1602.—S. Rowlands, *Greene's Ghost haunting Coniecatchers*, sign. A 2, back (Hunterian Club, 1872, p. 4-5).

Compare in C. Bansley's *Pryde and Abuse of Women*, ab. 1550, Hazlitt's *E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 233 :

<p>"Take no example by shyre townes, Nor of the Cytie of London : For therein dwell proude wycked ones, The poyson of all this region.</p>	<p>For a stewde strumpet can not so soone Gette up a lyght lewde fashyon, But everye wanton Jelot wyll lyke it well, And catch it up anon."</p>
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And Latimer's 6th Sermon, in 1549, before Edward VI. : "O Lord, what whoredom is used now-a-days . . . how God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of London ; yea, the Bank [Southwark], when it stood, was never so common ! . . . It is wonderful that the city of London doth suffer such whoredom

unpunished . . . There is some place in London [the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand], as they say, 'Immunity, impunity : ' what should I call it ! A privileged place for whoredom. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there ; the sheriffs, they cannot meddle with it ; and the quest, they do not inquire of it : and there men do bring their whores, yea, other men's wives, and there is no reformation of it." *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196. See the further extract in the note for p. 174, on p. 317 below.

But that the complaint was in the country too, see the "manifolde Enormities" in Lancashire and Cheshire, about 1590 :

"XXV. Sundrie notoriowse vices abowndinge, by meanes of y^e former confusion in y^e Ecclesiastical state.

1. Vnlawfull and vnreasonable vsurie, in no Cuntrie more Common.

2. *fornication and Adulterie in all sortes shamefully prostituted.* [? practist.]

3. Drunkennes maintayned by the multitude of Alehouses, and vnreasonable strength of Ale soulede with owte sise of Statute : a vise altogether vnpunished, and not any way punishable that we knowe. (See the old Exeter regulations against it in Mr. A. Hamilton's *Quarter-Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne.*)

4. Seditiowse and mutinowse talkinge vppon the Alebench, and openly in their street assemblies, tendinge to the depravinge of Religion and the ministerie now established, and to the advancement of Poperie and Popishe practises.

5. Continuall sweringe and Blaspheminge the name of god in the mouthe of owide and young, Riche and poore ; no way punished or punishable."

Remains, Hist. & Lit. Chetham Soc. 1875, p. 12.

p. 99 : *punishment for Whoredom.* Compare Latimer, last Sermon before Edward VI., in 1550 :—"I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death ; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not be then so much adultery, whoredom, and lechery in England as there is . . . I would wish that adultery should be punished with death . . . If this law were made, there would not be so much adultery nor lechery used in the realm as there is. Well, I trust once yet, as old as I am, to see the day that lechery shall be punished : it was never more need, for there was never more lechery used in England than is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle ; but it is a sad matter, and an earnest matter, for lechery is a great sin." *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 244 : and see the note there from Sir T. More and Dr. Legh. Harrison would have made adulterers slaves : I. 326.

p. 100, l. 9. *There was a man whose name was W. Ratsurb.*—"On the third of Februarie [1583-4] being sundaie, William Bruistar habardasher (a man of more than threescore yeares old) being lodged ouer the south-west porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstreet, with a woman named Marie Breame (whome the same Bruistar had bailed out of Bridewell) were both found smothered to death, in maner following. On the same sundaie in the morning, a marriage being solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt, which was thought to haue bene the burning of old shoos or such like, in some gentlemans chamber there about, thereby to supresse the infection of the plague. But in the afternoone before euening praier, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of Bruistars chamber, and therevpon

made hast to the dore, which they found fast locked, and were forced to breake it open, but could not enter, till they had ripped vp the lead and rooffe of the chamber to let out the smothering stench : which being doone, they found Bruistar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in his apparell and close trussed) his right thigh & right arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire of a small pan of coales that stood before him, but now being cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke of aire. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether part of hir bodie before to hir brest, and behind to the shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but the bottome of the settle whereon Bruistar sat."—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, p. 1353, coll. 1 & 2, ll. 60—15. There were various surmises about this affair, but it was never explained. Pamphlets were written on it.—S. Holinshed's account is, as usual, from Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1173. Stow adds: "Marie Breame had bene accused by her husband to be a nice [foolish, bad] woman of her bodie, but her husband being a bad man, and hauing spent faire and large possessions and all whatsoever, hauing but two pence left in his purse, hung himselfe on a tree, against a stone wall at Marten abbey in Surrey about Whitsontide, in Anno 1592."

p. 101.—See the fourth Gossip's complaint of her stingy gambling Husband, in S. Rowlands's *Crew of kinde Gossips*, 1609, sign. B 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 13):

"Looke, heere's the best apparrell that I haue,
The very wedding Gowne my Father gaue.
He [my Husband] neuer gaue me yet a paire of Gloues,
I am beholding more to others loues
Then vnto him,—in honest manner tho, [*irony*]
And (Gossips) I beseech you take it so.—
There are kinde Gentlemen, some two or three,
And they indeed my louing Kinsmen be,
Which will not see me want, I know it, I :
Two of them at my house in Terme time lye,
And comfort me with iests and odde deuice,
When as my Husbands out a nights at Dice.
For if I were without a merry friend,
I could not liue a twelue-month to an end ;
One of them gaue me this same Ruffe of Lawne,—
It cost three pound, but last week in the Pawne,—
Do y' thinke my husband would haue bin so free ?
Alas he neuer made so much of mee."

(See the rest, about the Hat she sees in church, and the Husband's answer, p. 28.)

p. 101. *Wives live by whoredom.*

"*Knockem.* . . I'll provide you a coach to take the air in.

Mrs. Littlewit. But do you think you can get one?

Knockem. O, they are common as wheelbarrows where there are great dunghills. Every pettifogger's wife has 'em ; for first he buys a coach that he

may marry, and then he marries that he may be made cuckold in't; for if their wives ride not to their cuckolding, they do them no credit." 1614.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iii. *Works*, ed. Cunningham, ii. 192, col. 2.

GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.

p. 102 : *glutton*.—"What good can the great gloton do w^t his bely standing a strote, like a taber, & his noll toty with drink, but balk vp his brewes in y^e middes of his matters, or lye down and slepe like a swine. And who douteth but y^e the body delicately fed, maketh, as y^e rumour saith, an vnchast bed." d. 1535, Sir T. More, *Works* (1557), p. 100.—R. Roberts.

"London, look on, this matter nips thee near :
Leave off thy riot, pride, and sumptuous cheer ;
Spend less at board, and spare not at the door,
But aid the infant, and relieve the poor ;
Else, seeking mercy, being merciless,
Thou be adjudg'd to endless heaviness."

Lodge & Greene's *Looking-Glass for London & England*,
pr. 1594; p. 120, col. ii., ed. Dyce.

p. 102. *Gluttony* : see the 'Glutton' in Rowlands's *Ile Stabbe yee*, 1604 (1872, p. 36); S. Rowlands, 'To a Gormandizing Glutton', in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 35; his *Letting of Humours Blood* (1600), ed. 1874, p. 85. See too W. Averell, in 1588, on Gluttony and Drunkenness :—

"What should I speake of your two greatest Gods πολυφασία and πολυποσία, gluttonous feeding and excessiue drinking, by which you make a number, not men but beastes, that haue their soules but in stedde of salt, to keepe their bodies from noysome stincke, who, though they appeare men, are indeede but Ventres, that place their pleasure in long feeding, and their delight in strong drinking.

"I [the Back] am not so changable in fashions, as you [the Belly] are choyse in dishes: what boyling, what baking, what roasting, what stewing, what curious and daintie conseruing, what Syrropes, what sauces, with a thousand deuices to moue an appetite without necessitie, and charge nature without neede. I talke not of other effects that accompany your gluttonous bellie when it is fant wth wine. What lasciuiousnes in wordes, what wantonnes in gestures, what filthines in deedes, what swearing and blaspheming, what quarrelling and brawling, what murder and bloodshed, nay what wickednes is not vntemperat belly subiect to, and most readie to accomplish?

"Besides, howe doth your gluttonie chaunge Natures comelines into foule deformednes? how do the eyes flame with fierines, the face flush with rednes, the hands shake wyth vnstedfastnes, and the feete reele through drunkenenes? the head swimmes, the eyes dazell, the tongue stammers, the stomack is ouercharged, the body distemperd, and the feeble legges ouerburdened, which beeing not able

to beare an vnraile Lord, doo lay him in y^e durt like an ouer ruled slaue ; and so through your distemperature, your selfe not alone weakened, but the other members so diseased, as to reckon vpe the sicknesses and sores of which the Bellie is cause, were to purge the stables of Ankea king of Elis, or to sette them downe which were neuer knowne to Auicen, Galien, Hippocrates, nor all the Phisitions that euer liued, so that by these meanes it may be saide, that a gluttonous Bellye makes rich Phisitions and fat Churchyardes."—*A meruailous combat of contrarieties*, by W.[illiam] A.[verell] 1588, sign. B 2, back, B 3.

p. 102. *Drunkard*: see S. Rowlands' sketch of one in his *Ile Stabbe yee*, 1604, C 3, p. 21 ; *Diogines Lanthorne*, 1607 (ed. 1873, p. 7-8) ; also his Epigrams 21 and 22 in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600 (ed. 1874, p. 27-8) ; and his praise of good liquor in *Letting*, &c., p. 76-8. On 'How to make Drunken folk Sober,' see Sir Wm. Vaughan's *Naturall and Artificiall Directions for Health*, 1603. Compare also the Act :—

A.D. 1606-7. 4 James I, chap. v. "An Acte for repressinge the odious and loathsome synne of Drunkenes. Whereas the loathsome and odyous Synne of Drunkennes is of late growen into common use within this Realme, beinge the roote and foundation of many other enormous Synnes, as Bloodshed, Stabbinge, Murder, Swearinge, Fornicacion, Adulterye, and such lyke, to the great dishonour of God and of our Nacion, the overthrowe of many good Artes and Manuell Trades, the disablinge of dyvers Workmen, and the generall ympoverishing of many good Subjectes abusievely wasting the good Creatures of God : Be it therefore enacted . . . That all and every person or persons which, after Fortie Dayes next followinge the end of this present Session of Parliament, shalbe drunke, and of the same Offence of Drunkennes shall be lawfullie convicted, shall for every such Offence forfeite and loose Fyve Shillinges . . . to be paid within one week next after his her or their Conviccion thereof, to the Handes of the Churchwardens of that Parish where the Offence shalbe commytted, who shalbe accompable therefore to the use of the Poore of the same Parische. "

§ III puts a Penalty of 3s. 4d., or the Stocke, on Persons found tippling, on View of any Mayor, Justices, &c. (On Church-Ales, &c., see p. 307-9 below.)

See too in Lupton's *Sirguila* (Aliquis), 1580, p. 57-60, the judgment on a rich drunkard and a poor one, in *Nusquam* or Nowhere, Lupton's 'Utopia':—

"A, thou churle, more churlish than a hog or swine ! for though Niggardly sometimes they driue their fellows from the meat, and eate by and drunken churles worse than swine. themselves, yet when they haue filled themselves sufficiently, they goe awaye, and leaue the reste, eate it who wil. But thou, greedie cormorant, when thou hast taken more than is sufficient, thou dost not only consume more on thy selfe, but also the rest thou keepest from the poore hungrie brother, and wilt not leaue anye thing for him, as the swine doth. And now, seeing Gods lawe cannot moue thee to go vnto Heauen, I will see if our law can stay thee from Hel. Therefore, bycause thou hast so much welth that thou canst not tel how to bestow the same wel, and more liuing than thou art worthy of ; therefore I wil, according to the lawe made for drunkards, that thou shalt giue yerely during thy life, a prechers stipend to a godly learned man, for his better maintenance ; who shall

A good iudgement giuen vpon a drunkarde.

[1. To pay a
Preacher to
preach to him
3 times a week.] be bounde euery weeke, three times, during thy life, not only to attend vpon thee one halfe houre at a time, then instructing thee (by the Scriptures) thy dutie to God and man, and the way to saluation, perswading thee also from drunkennesse, and shewing

also howe detestable it is before God, and what is the gaine thereof; But also shall preache three dayes euery weeke in the parishe Church where thou dwellest. And thou shalt sitte also three market dayes in the open Market, with a pot in thy hand, & a wryting on thy forehead, as followeth: '*This is the Drunkarde that*

[2. to sit for 3
market days
with a pot in
his hand, &
"Drunkard"
on his forehead.] *spende as muche daily at the Tauernes and for wine, as tenne of his nexte neyghbours did spende daylye in their houses.'* And this being ended, thou shalt remayne one halfe yeare in prison, and

3. go to prison
for half a yeare. there thou shalt be taught to fast for thy long excesse: for euery dinner thou shalt be allowed not aboue a grote, in breade,

drinke, and meate: and thou shalt be allowed nothing but breade and drinke at night in steade of thy supper, whiche shall not be aboue the value of a penny.

The poor man who is a drunkard is to "sitte in the open market as the riche man did, but he shal not be imprisoned, . . he must not drinke in anye Tipling-house or Tauerne the space of one whole yeare after. And bycause he may be knowen, he shall weare on his bosome the picture of a swine, al that while, whensoever he shall be out of his owne house. . . and euery Sondaie during that yere, he shal sit before the Pulpit al the Sermon tyme, to heare the word of God, and learne to auoyde drunkenesse." Then, after complaining of the richer drunkards in England, *Siquila* says "And the poorer sort, thoughte they are not so able as they (the rich), nor can not so conueniently as they, yet on the Sundaie at the furthest they wyll bee euen wyth them, (if one days drinking will serue) for they wyll so tippie almost al the daye, and perhaps the next night, that all their whole weekes worke will scantly paye their Sundayes shotte: but some of them (not worth verye much) if they worke one day, they will loyter and drinke three for it, (I will not saye they will be drunk two and a halfe of the same.)"

See also the extract on drunkards from Bullein in my *Babees Book*, p. 247, and Andrew Boorde's *Introduction*, my edn., p. 147, 149, 337-8.

"And I wold to God, that in our time also wee had not iust cause to complaine of this vicious plant of unmeasurable Boalling [bowl-ing] . . . For it is not sufferable in a Christian Countrie, that men should thus labour with great contention, and strive, for the maistrie (as it were) to offende God, in so wilfull waste of his gracious benefits." 1570-1601.—W. Lambarde. *Perambulation of Kent*, 1826 reprint, p. 320-1.

"Awake, thou noblest drunkard Bacchus; thou must likewise stand to me, if thou canst for reeling. Teach me, you sovereign skinker, how to take the German's upsy-freeze, the Danish rousa, the Switzer's stoop of rhenish, the Italian's parmizant, the Englishmans healths, his hoops, cans, half-cans, gloves, frolics, and flapdragons, together with the most notorious qualities of the truest tosspots, as, when to cast, when to quarrel, when to fight, and where to sleep: hide not a drop of thy moist mystery from me, thou plumpest swill-bowl; but, like an honest red-nosed wine-bibber, lay open all thy secrets, and the mystical hieroglyphic of rashers o' th' coals, modicums, and shoeing-horns, and

why they were invented, for what occupations, and when to be used." 1609. T. Dekker. *Guls Hornboock*, Præmium, ed. 1862, p. 4.

My friend Prof. Paul Meyer, in his interesting Preface to his edition of *Le Débat des Hérants d'Armes* (ab. 1545), and John Coke's Answer to it (1550), for his *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 1877, notes, that among the kindly remarks on England of the French Middle-Age writers—for France and England were then nearly one,—the only reproach was that *Anglia potat*¹, or *Li mildre buveor en Angleterre*,² though William of Normandy says in his *Bevant*³ that Pride has married in England her 3 eldest daughters, Envy, Lechery, *Drunkenness*. The most fertile source of early chaff against the English was the legend of their having tails, being *Anglii caudati*, as their apostle St. Augustine bare witness. See the article *caudati* in Du Cange; A de Montaignon, *Angiennes Poesies Françaises* VI, 347, &c. P. Meyer. See also Robert of Brunne's *Chronicle*.

p. 103. *England better in old times*.—See the other side of the question, in S. Rowlands's "*Twas a merry world in the old time*" in his *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot*, 1614 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 28-9).

p. 103 : *rough fare of our Forefathers : roots, pulse, herbes, &c.* Compare the Ploughman's food in Will's *Vision*, Text B, Passus VI, l. 282, 321, p. 107-110, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Skeat, bearing out this assertion, more or less. In Edward VI.'s time, Wm. Forrest says in his *Plasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise* (Starkey's *Life & Letters*, E. E. T. Soc. 1878, Extra Series, ed. Herrtage):—

MS. Reg. 17 D III. lf 61 (dated, on lf 8, A. D. 1548).

"So, for that Oxe whiche hathe beene the like solde,
for ffortie shealingis nowe takethe hee fyue pownde :
yea, **seauyn** is more, I haue herde it so tolde :
hee cannot els lyue ; so decaere is his grownde.
Sheepe, thoughte they newauer so plentie abownde,
suche price they beare whiche shame is to here tell,
that sace the pooareman can bye a morsell.

Twoe pense (in Beeif) hee cannot haue serued,
other in **Mutton**, the price is so hye :
vndre a groate hee can haue none kerued :
so goethe hee (and his) to bedde hungrelye,
and risethe agayne withe bellies emptie,
whiche turnethe to tawnye their white english skyn,
like to the swarthie coelored Fflawndrekyn.

Where they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy & stowte, [If 61, back.]
to shoote, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate :
to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte,
as hitherto (manlye) they holde the chief seate ;

¹ *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Wright & Halliwell, i. 5 (Cotton MS. Vesp. B xiii).
Archives des Missions, 2nd series, iii. 183 (Digby MS. 53, Bodleian Library).

² Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Proverbes*, ii. 281.

³ ed. Martin, l. 2000-3 : cp. the editor's note on this passage.

if they bee pinched and weyned from meate,
I wisse, O kynge, they, in penurye thus pende,
shall not bee able thye Royalme to defende.

Owre Englische nature cannot lyue by Rooatis,
by water herbys, or suche beggerye baggage,
that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis ·
geeue Englische men meate, after their olde vsage,
Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage ;
and then I dare to this byll sett my hande :
they shall defende this owre noble Englande."

TREATMENT OF THE POOR, USURY, &c.

p. 105. *Stinginess of the Rich to the Poor.*—"The poore with vs, woulde thinke themselves happy, if they mighte haue a messe of potage, or the scraps that come from the Rich mens tables, two or three houres after they begin their dinner or supper, and to haue the same giuen them at their doore. But many of the wicked and the saide rich greedie guttes, caring for nothing, but for the hilling cruel vsing of and filling of their owne backe and bellie, can not be content to the poore. goe by their poore pitifull brethren and giue them nothing, but they will moste vncharitably and vnchristianly rebuke them, chide them, rattle them, yea, and threat them, that the poore, being checkt of them that shoulde chearishe them, are almost driuen to despaire." 1580.—T. Lupton. *Sirquilla*, p. 28-9.

p. 116. *Neglect of the poor.*—See Robert Copland's most interesting account of the Beggars, Ne'er-do-weels, and Unthrifths of Henry VIII's time in his *Hyw Way to the Spyttel Hous* (The folk who come to St. Bartholomew's Hospital), about 1532-5 A.D., in Hazlitt's *Popular Poetry*, iv. 17-72. On the poor dying in the streets, and vagrants lying there, he says, p. 30-1 :—

' . . . I haue sene at sondry hospytalles
That many haue lyne dead without the walles,
And for lacke of socour haue dyed wretchedly,
Unto your foundacyon, I thynke, contrary.
Moche people resort here, and haue lodgyng ;
But yet I maruell greatly of one thyng,
That in the nyght so many lodge without :
For in the whatche whan that we go about,
Under the stalles, in porches, and in doores,
(I wote not whither they be theues or hoores,
But surely,) euery nyght ther is found
One or other lyeng by the pound,
In the shepe-cootes, or in the hey-loft ;
And at Saynt Barthylmews chyrch dore full ofte.

And euen here by this brycke wall
 We do them fynd, that do bothe chyde and brall ;
 And lyke as bestes togyder they be throng,
 Bothe lame, and seke, and hole, them among,
 And in many corners wher that we go,
 Wherof I wondre greatly why they do so,
 But oftymes when they vs se,
 They do reyne a great deal faster than we."

p. 116. *Inclosures.* See the series of extracts on this subject in my *Ballads from MSS*, Part I, Ballad Society; the *Supplications* edited by Mr. J. M. Cowper and me for the E. E. Text Soc., 1871, and his edition of Starkey's *England in Henry VIII's Time*, E. E. Text Soc. 1871; *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 306-7, &c. &c. And let us always remember that Shakspeare, before he died, "told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe", the open landbrow—since enclosed—whence one best sees his Stratford. (*Leop. Sh. Introd.*, p. cix.)

"Where, by the way, the country Rook deplor'd
 The grip and hunger of his ravenous lord,
 The cruel Castrel, which, with devilish claws
 Scratcheth out of the miserable jaws
 Of thee, poor tenant, to his ruin bent,
 Raising new fines, redoubling ancient rent,
 And, by th' inclosure of old common land,
 Racks the dear sweat from his laborious hand ;
 Whilst he that digs for breath out of the stones,
 Cracks his stiff sinew, and consumes his bones . .
 and when he can no more,
 The needy Rook is turn'd out of the door,
 And lastly doth his wretchedness bewail,
 A bond-slave to the miserable jail."

1604.—M. Drayton, *The Owl*. Works, 1793, p. 568, col. 2.

p. 117. *Lawyers.*—See *Harrison*, Part I. p. 204-7; *Father Hubbard's Tales* (1604) in the last volume of Dyce's *Middleton*, &c. The complaint starts from long before *Piers Plowman* (Text B, Prol. l. 214-15, ed. Skeat), and even still continues, more or less.

"Oh, the innumeryl wyles, craftys, sotyltes and delays, that be in the lawe, which the lawyers wil neuer spye, because of their priuate luces sake ; wherby the comon welth is robbed. Thei be almost as euyl as the wicked bissshops and prestes of Antichryst, saue only that thei robbe us but of our temporal goodys, and not of our fayth." Ab. 1542.—Hy. Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, E. E. T. Soc. 1874, p. 21.

p. 118. *Dearth* (dearness, cost).—See my Stafford's *Compendious Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints*, 1581. New Shakspeare Soc. 1876.

"What saies the craftie Clowne in clowted shooes,
 Time was ordain'd to get, and not to loose.

What though the poore lye staruing in the ditch ?

It is the dearth of Corne makes Farmers rich."

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiuis Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 8.

p. 119, l. 12 from foot. *Notwithstanding some merclesse tygers, &c.*—"Sivgila. I knewe one that was empouerished bothe by the losse of the Sea, and by suretiship, yet notwithstanding he was caste into prison of his cruel Creditors, who hauing not sufficient lefte to satisfie them, offered to giue them all that he hadde, and to leaue himselfe nothing in the worlde but the simple clothes he went in (which were not worth the value of a Noble), and yet these merclesse wretches wold not release him out of prison, but kept him there, saying, they woulde make Dice of his bones, if they hadde nothing else."—Thomas Lupton's *Sivgila*, p. 35. 1580.—S. See p. 293 below.

p. 119. *Covetous men buying up poor men's land.*

"Cormerauntes, gredye gulles, yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & chylren, are the causes of Sedition ! They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leauię great (yea, vnreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens ! . . we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue . . . In the cuntry we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues, and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vnsaciable beastes haue all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allyes, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea, whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that they were wythin these .xii. yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garden grownd fre from them." 1550.—R. Crowley, *The Way to Wylth*. Select Works, E. E. T. S., 1872, p. 132-3.

Hear also Becon, who died in 1570:—"The cause of all thys wretchednesse Gentlemen and beggery in the common weale are the gredy Gentylnen, whyche Shepmongers. are shepemongers and grasyars. Whyle they study for their owne priuate commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable pryce. No meruayle, for these forstallars of the market, as they vse to saye haue gotten al thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their pryce, or else miserably staue for hongar, and wretchedly dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde true in them that S. Paul wrighteth. Al seke their own aduantage, *P. ulip. ii. [21]* and not those thinges which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche in tymes past wer wont to be fathers of the contry, are now pollers and pyllers of the contry. They which in times past wer wont to be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroięrs of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserued, are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as seme by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vtterly to subuert the common weale, and to procure y^e final destruction of the same. They are insatiable woulfes. They know no measure. So they may reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care not who

fal to the grounle. So they may be enriched, they care not who be enpouერished. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had rather slea his brother Abel, than he should haue any part with him of worldly possessions. The wyse *Gene. iii.* man sayeth the bread of the nedy is the life of the pore, he y^t *Eccle. xxxiii.* [21] defraudeth him of it, is a mansleare. Do not these ryche worldynges defraud the pore man of his bread, whereby is vnderstand al things neces- Bread what it sary for a mans lyfe, which through their insaciable couetousnes sel signifeth. al things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where to dwell! What other are they than, but *Marke well.* very manslears? They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they gredely gripe." Becon, *Jewel of Joy. Works*, 1564, Vol. II. fol. xvi. back—fol. xvii.—S. J. Herrtage.

'*Les gros poissons mangent les petis*: Pro. Justly applied to the vniust world, wherein the rich deuoure the poore, the strong the weake, the mightie the meane.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 119: *misers, or rich men, adding land to land*.—"Though all put their trust in God, with you, the most put their trust in themselues with vs: for if they did not, thei would not so greedily gather their goods together, & lay lands to lands, houses to houses, and riches to riches, as they do. Some that are worth thousands, though they loke euery day to die, (being of such extreame age) haue so little trust and confidence in God, that gaue them all they haue, that they are so sparing to themselues, so niggardly to theyr neighbours, and so pinching to the pouertie, as though they should liue here euer, or else as though they had not ynough to finde themselues one day." 1580.—T. Lupton. *Sirquila*, p. 70-1.

"What mettayle is this money that makes men so mad?

What mischief is it thereby is not wrought?

What earthly thing is not therefore to be had?

What hath been so loved, but money hath bought?

What vertue, or goodness, of us so much sought?

'Who doth not wish for money,' each one doth say.

How many for money have been robbed and murdered?

How many false witnesses, and for money perjured?

How many wives from their husbands have been enticed?

How many maydens to folly for money allured?

How many for money have spirits and diuells coniured?

How many friends, for money have beene mortall foes?

Mo mischieues for money then I can disclose!

How many kings and princes for money have been poisoned?

How many betrayers of their country for money every day?

How many for money from true iudgment are led?

Did not the prophet Balaam curse God's people for money?

Did not Iudas, for money, his master Christ betray?" &c. &c.

1578.—T. Lupton, *All for Money*, in Halliwell's *Lit. of 16th & 17th Centuries*,

p. 107. He also gives the other side of the question:

"*Pleasure*. In what case were the worlde, were it not for money?

Without ioye and pleasure, better be dead then aliue:

To liue like dome [dumb] goddes, who would not be wearie ?
 To satisfie mans nature with pleasures, I can contrive,
 But I conteyne them at this time and hower,
 Hawking and hunting, shooting and fishing,
 Eating and drinking, dysing and carding,
 Riding and running, swimming and singing,
 Daunsing and leaping, with all kinde of playing,
 Banketing with fine meates, and wine of all sortes,
 Dallying with faier women, with other kinde of sportes :
 All fine apparell that makes the heart ioye.
 With musicall instruments, both with man and boye.
 Thus no sporte or ioye wherein man hath solace,
 But I doe conteyne them, though money bring them to passe.”
 1578.—T. Lupton. *All for money*, sign. B.j.

p. 123. *Usury*. See *Harrison*, I, p. 242. Also S. Rowlands, ‘To Mr. Money-bag the Vsurer’ in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 26 ; and his sketch of Usury in his *Diogenes Lanthorne*, 1607 (Hunt. Club, 1873, p. 6-7).

See the description of Avarice in *Piers Plowman*, Text B, Pass. v. p. 67-73, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. Soc., and specially lines 257-9 :

“Hastow pite on pore men, þat mote nedes borwe ?
 ¶ I haue as moche pite of pore men, as pedlere hath of cattes,
 þat wolde kille hem, yf he cacche hem myzte, for coveitise of here
 skynnes.”

“*Simplicity*. O that vild Usury ! he lent my father a little money ; and for
 breaking one day,

He took the fee-simple of his house and will quite away ;
 And yet he borrowed not half a quarter as much as it cost ;
 But I think, if it had been a shilling, it had been loste,
 So he kill’d my father with sorrow, and undoe’d me quite.”

1584.—*The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt’s Dodsley’s *Old Plays*, vi. 259.

See the list of books against Usury in 5th Series of *N. & Q.*, x. 423, and xi. 63.

p. 123. *Every Begger almost is called Maister*.—See Lancelot’s “MAISTER Launcelet” in the *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 51, and the extract illustrating it from Sir Thomas Smith’s *Commonwealth of England*, bk. I, ch. 20 (founded on *Harrison*, I, 133, 137), which I printed in *New Sh. Soc.’s Trans.* 1877-9, p. 103-4. Also Shakspeare getting his “yeoman” father arms, and making him a “gentleman” in 1596 (*Leopold Shakspeare Introduction*, p. ciii) ; and p. 237, above.

p. 124. *Usury allowed by Law*. The Act 13 Elizabeth, c. 8—which revived the 37 Hen. VIII, cap. 9, that had been repeald by 5 & 6 Edward VI, cap. 20—authorized the taking of 10 per cent. interest for money lent on loan or mortgage. The rate was reduced to 5 p. c. by the 12 Anne, St. 2, ch. 16.

p. 126-7. *Prisoners for debt*.

“*Fallace* . . . if he come with his actions upon you, Lord deliver you ! you are in for one, half-a-score year ; he kept a poor man in Ludgate once twelve

year for sixteen shillings." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, V. vii., *Works*, i. 137, col. 2.

"I am, Sir, a Keeper of the Counter, and there are in our wards above a hundred poore prisoners, that are like nere to come forth without satisfaction." 1606.—*No-Body and Syme-Body*. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 307. In *The Play of Stucley*, 1605, *ib.* p. 228, the prison stink or plague is mentiond :

"Will you so much annoy your vital powers
As to oppress them with the prison stink ! ?
You shall not, if you love me, come so near.
The place is mortally infected lately."

"A prison . . is a Fabricke built of the same stuffe the Keepers of it are made of, stone and iron : It is an vnwholesome full-stuffed humorous body, which hath an Hole in the posteriors of it, whence it vents many stinking, noysome and vnsauory smels, which is the onely cause there is such a perpetuall sicknesse and disease in it . . when Epimetheus opened Pandora's box, there did not more mischiefes and maladies flie out of it into the world, then there is in this cursed place, for it hath more sicknesses predominating in it, then there are in twenty French Hospitals, or at the Bathe, in the spring or fall of the leafe." 1617.—Wm. Fennor, *The Compters Common-wealth, or A Voyage made to an Infernall Island long since discovered by many Captaines, &c.*, Sign. C. (Fennor had been arrested for a debt of £100, and confined in the Compter. He describes interestingly the place, the exacting jailers, the occupants of the two sides of the prison—those who could afford to pay well for food and drink, and those who couldn't—how they went on, how young men were duped and led into debt, &c. The 2nd edition in 1619 was calld *Miseries of a Faile, or A True Description of a Prison.*)

p. 127. *I will make dice of his bones.* The same phrase is used by Lupton (p. 290, above), and Rowlands :

"Greedy Vsurer.

THOU Fur-gown'd slaue, exceeding rich and olde,
Ready to be deuowred of the Graue :
Thou that wilt sell a soule, to purchase Gold,
And gold, still gold, nothing but golde dost craue :
Thou most extreame hard-harted cruell wretch,
Whome Hell gapes for ; the Deuill comes to fetch.
Thou that wilt not forbear an howers time,
But wilt a forfayture seuereely take :
Thou that by crueltie to wealth dost clyme,
And threatnest, *Dice, of poor mens bones to make,*
Hauing that rustie gold vpon thy hand,
For which, there's thousandes perish in the land,
Hee stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Looke to it : for, Hee Stabbe ye*, sign. B 3 ; p. 13, ed. 1872.

1 "See Bacon, Nat. Hist. Cent. X. no. 914. Besides the well-known black assizes at Oxford in 1577, there was a similar outbreak at Exeter in 1586. See Holinshed, IV. 868, and Leicester Correspondence, 224."

“Rayse Rentes apace, builde Houses, purchase Landes,
 Be alwayes raking with Oppressions handes.
 Thinke all is lawfull purchase, thou can’st catch
 from thy distressed friendles needy wretch,
 Buye thy poore neighbours House ouer his head,
 Turne him and’s children out to begge their bread.
 Deale cruelly with those are in thy debt,
 And let them at thy handes no fauour get,
 Send them to Prison ; there in all distresse,
 To taste the mercie of the mercillesse.
 Ile shackle thee, for stirring handes or feete,
 Within a Coffin and a Winding-sheete.”—*Ib.* p. 43-4.

“Thou that vauntest, and wilt make *dice of thy debtor’s bones* ; be these the words of a man ?”—Of Creditors, Minshul’s *Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners*, 1618, ed. 1821, p. 29.—S.

p. 128. *Scriveners.* See T. M.’s *Father Hubbard’s Tales* in Dyce’s *Middleton’s Works*, vol. v.

SWEARING.

p. 129. *Swearing.* On this in 1303, see my Roberde of Brunne’s *Handlyng Synne*, pp. 23-7, 88-92. In 1550, R. Crowley’s *Epigrams*, p. 19. On the *hunting oaths*, 1544, see the Supplication to Henry VIII. in *Four Supplications*, E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 53 : “What commessacyon / dronckenes / destable swearinge by all the partes of Christes bodye (and yet callynge them in scorne *huntinge othes*) extorcyon / pryde / couetuousnes / and suche other detestable vyce, raigne in this yowr realme /”

In 1542, Andrew Boorde said in his *Dyetary*, my ed. p. 243, “in all the worlde there is not suche odyble swearinge as is vsed in Englande, specyally amonge youth & chyl dren, which is a detestable thyng to here it, and no man doth go aboute to punyssh it.”

p. 131. *Swearing.* It was the fashion for gallants, not only to swear generally all round, but for each to have oaths special to himself. In Ben Jonson’s *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), I. i., *Works*, i. 73, “be sure you mix yourself still with such as flourish in the spring of the fashion, and are least popular [= vulgar] : study their carriage and behaviour in all ; learn to play at primero and passage ; and even [when you lose] *have two or three peculiar oaths to swear by, that no man else swears.*” And in *Every Man in his Humour*, I. iii., Cob says : “Well, should they do so much to me, I’d forswear them all, *by the foot of Pharaoh !* There’s an oath ! How many water-bearers shall you hear swear such an oath ? O, I have a guest [Bobadil]—he teaches me—he does swear the legiblest of any man christened : ‘By St. George ! the foot of Pharaoh ! the body of me ! as I am a gentleman and a soldier !’ such dainty oaths !” Ben Jonson’s *Works*, i. 12.

“*Il iure comme vn Gentilhomme.* He sweares after a thousand pound a yeare.” *Il iure comme vn Abbé* [viz. extreamly], *chartier ; gentilhomme ; prelat* [A Huguenot’s comparison]. Like a Tinker, say we.’ 1611.—Cotgrave.

“Old Jack of Paris-garden, canst thou get
 A faire rich sute, though foully run in debt?
 Looke smug, smell sweet, take up commodities,
 Keepe whores, fee bauds, *belch impious blasphemies*,
 Wallow along in swaggering disguise,
 Snuffe up smoak-whiffs, and each morne, 'fore she rise,
 Visit thy drab? Canst use a false cut die
 With a cleane grace and glib facilitie?
Canst thunder common oathes, like th' rattling
 Of a huge, double, full-charg'd culvering?
 Then, Jack, troupe among our gallants, kisse thy fist,
 And call them brothers.”

1599.—Jn. Marston, *Scourge of Villanie*, Works, 1856, iii. 295; and see on p. 281:—

“What, meanst thou him that in his swaggering slops
 Wallowes unbraced, all along the streete? . . .
 What! that ringo roote!
 Means't that wasted leg, puffed bumbast boot?
 What, he that's drawne and quartered with lace;
 That Westphalian gamon clove-stuck face?
 Why, he is nought but *huge blaspheming othes*,
 Swart snout, big looks, mishapen Switzers clothes.
 Weake meager lust hath now consumed quite,
 And wasted cleane away his martiall spright;
 Infeebling riot, all vices' confluence,
 Hath eaten out that sacred influence
 Which made him man.”

p. 133, ll. 1, 2. *Christes blessed bodie, no parte thereof shalbe left untorne.*

“Our blisful Lordes body thay to-tere.”

CHAUCER, *Pardoneres Tale*, l. 12. Bell's ed. iii. 73.—S.

R. Copland says of the Beggars at their Suppers in Henry VIII's time, ab. 1532-5, *Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous*, Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, iv. 43:—

“And there they reuell as vnthyfty braggers,
 With horyble othes swerynge as they were wood, [By Gods]
 Armes, nayles, woundes, herte, soule, and blood,
 Deth, fote, masse, flesshe, bones, lyfe, and body,
 With all other wordes of blasphemy,
 Bostynge them all in dedes of theyr myschefe,
 And thus passe the tyme with daunce, hore, pipe, thefe.
 The hang-man shall lede the daunce at the ende,
 For none other ways they do not pretende.”

p. 135, l. 9. *There was a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire, &c.*

—A copy of Stubbes's poem here referd to, is in the Lambeth Library, and was reprinted in the old Shakespeare Society's Papers, 1849, iv. 73-88. See my *Forewords* above.

296 Notes on p. 136. *Sunday beartaiting, &c.*

p. 136, l. 13. *There was also a woman in the Citie of Muniidnol [= Londinum], &c.*—"The 11. of February, Anne Aueries, widow, for swearing her selfe for a little money that she should haue paid for sixe pound of towe, at a shop in Woodstreete 1576. of London, fell immediatly downe speechlesse, casting vp at her God punish-eth perjury. mouth in great abundance, and with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should haue bene voided downewards, till she died : a terrible example of Gods iust iudgement vpon such as make no conscience of falsly swearing against their brother."—Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1152.—S.

SUNDAY SPORTS AND SABBATH-BREAKING.

p. 136. *Keeping of Sunday* (the Christian) as identified with the Sabbath (Jewish).

As to Stage-plays, see the extract from Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* under Theatres, below. As to Fairs and Markets, *Harrison*, I, p. 344, and the passage, ab. 1584, quoted by Mr. J. M. Cowper in his *Crowley's Select Works*, E. E. T. Soc., 1872, p. xxiv :—

"Go to alehouses on the Saboth daies : there is as well sold all kinde of loosennesse as vitayles. Go to Greenes : there is myrth that would wounde a Christian mans heart with heauinesse. Goe to Fayres : there is a shewe and traffike, as well of all lewdnesse as of wares. Yea, goe to all other places, both in City and countrey ; and what shall you see, but so many euils that prouoke God to the powryng forth of most fearefull iudgements, the Theaters, Parish garden, Tauernes, streetes, fieldes, all full and prophanely occupied, and this chiefly on the Saboth day."—*The Vnlawfull Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, &c.*, sign. B 3, back. See p. 310, below.

Crowley himself says in his *One and thyrtye Epigrammes*, 1550 (ed. 1872, p. 9) :—

"How hallow they the Saboth, that do the tyme spende In drynkinge and idlenes tyll the daye be at an ende, Not so well as he doeth, that goeth to the plowe, Or pitcheth vp the sheues from the carte to the mowe."	128 132
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And at p. 16-17 "of Bearbaytynge," he writes :—

"What follye is thys, to kepe wyth daunger A greate mastyfe dogge and a foule ouglye beare? And to thys onely ende to se them two fyght Wyth terrible tearynge : a full ougly syght. And yet me thynke those men be mooste foles of all, Whose store of money is but verye smale, And yet <i>euerye Sondaye</i> they will surely spende One peny or two, the bearwardes lyuyng to mende. At Paryse garden, <i>eche Sundaye</i> , a man shall not fayle To fynde two or thre hundredes for the bearwardes vaile. One halpenye a piece they vse for to giue, When some haue no more in their purse, I belieue."	376 380 384 388 392 396
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Notes on p. 136-7. *Sunday Dancing and Baiting.* 297

So too Arthur Golding, in his 'Discourse upon the Earthquake' on April 6, 1580: "The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the . . . speciall occupyng of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing, and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage-plays, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessarie consuming of mannes substances, which ought to be better employed." (From Collier's *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 118, and my *Captain Cox*, p. 68.)

The Dancing on Sunday had Queen Elizabeth's countenance. This is how Sunday, July 10, 1575, was spent at Kenilworth, during Leicester's entertainment of the Queen there:

"On Sunday: the forenoon occupied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and vacation from woork, & in diuine seruise & preaching at the parish church: The afternoon in excelent muzik of sundry swet instruments, and in *dauncing of Lordes and Ladies*, and oother woorschipfull degrees, vttered with such liuely agilltee & commendabl grace, az, whither it moought be more straunge too the eye, or plezunt too the minde, for my part indeed I could not discern: but exceedingly well waz it (me thought) in both." P. 12 of my edition of *Captain Cox*, or *Laneham's Letter*, Ballad Soc. 1871.

Laneham's capital description of the bearbaiting at Kenilworth (*ib.* p. 16-17) is well known, but J. Hooker's lifting of part of it—"It waz a sport very plezunt" to "a goodly releef"—bodily into his continuation of Holinshed's *Chronicle*, ed. 1587, vol. iii. p. 1582, col. 1, I have not seen noted.

p. 137. *Beare bayting on the Saboth day.*

<p>"What else but gaine and Money gote maintaines each Saboth day The bayting of the Beare and Bull? What brings this brutish play? What is the cause that it is borne,</p>	<p>and not controlled ought, Although the same of custome be on holy Saboth wrought? Now sure I thinke tys gaine or spite gainst good and godly lyfe."</p>
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1569, E. Hake. *Newes out of Powles Churchyard*, sign. E. 6, back, ed. 1579.

The Sabbath day, says Kethe's Sermon at Blandford, 1570, "the multitude call their revelying day; which day is spent in bulbeatings, bearebeatings, bowlings, dicynge, cardynge, daunsynges, drunkennes and whoredome . . . in so much as men could not keepe their servauntes from lyeinge out of theyr owne houses the same sabbath-day at night." Hazlitt's *Brand*, i. 158, note 1. See p. 301 below.

p. 137. *What comes of being at Church when you ought to be at Bear-baiting.*—"Of sayeng seruice, quod I, this is much like as at Beuerlay late, whan much of the people beyng at a bere baytyng, the church fell sodeinly down at euensonge tyme, and ouerwhelmed some that than were in it: a good felow, that after herde the tale tolde, 'lo quod he, now maie you see what it is to be at euensong whan ye should be at the bere baytynge.' How be it, the hurt was not ther in beinge at euensonge, but in that the church was falsely wrought."—*Sir T. More* (died 1535), *Works*, p. 208, ed. 1557.—R. Roberts.

Compare Dr. M. Busch's *Bismarck in the Franco-German War*, 1870-1, i. 221-2 (1879):—

"And the 'keeping holy the Sabbath-day,' said the Chief [Bismarck], that

is a perfectly horrible tyranny. I remember, when I first went to England, and landed in Hull, that I began to whistle in the street. An Englishman, whom I had got acquainted with on board, told me that I must not whistle. 'Pray, sir, do not whistle!' 'Why not; is whistling forbidden here?' 'No,' said he, 'it is not forbidden; but it is the Sabbath!' This so disgusted me that I at once took my ticket by another steamer going to Edinburgh, [out of the frying-pan into the fire, eh?] as I did not choose not to be able to whistle when I had a mind to."

p. 137. *Bearbaiting, &c., on Sundays.*—See the Act 1 Car. I [A.D. 1625], Ch. I. An Acte for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lordes day called Sunday. "Forasmuch as . . . the holy keeping of the Lordes day is a principall part of the true Service of God, which in very many places of this Realme hath beene and now is profaned and neglected by a disorderlie sort of people, in exercising and frequenting Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes, and other unlawfull exercises and pastimes uppon the Lordes day; And for that many quarrelles, bloodsheddēs and other great inconueniences have growen by the resort and concourse of people going out of their owne Parishes to such disordered and unlawfull exercises and pastimes, neglecting Divine service both in their own Parishes and elsewhere; Be it enacted . . . that from and after fortie dayes next after the end of this Session of Parliament there shalbe no meetings assemblies or concourse of people out of their owne Parishes on the Lordes day within this Realme of England, or any the Dominions thereof, for any sportes or pastimes whatsoever; nor any Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes or other unlawfull exercises or pastimes used by any person or persons within their owne Parishes, and that every person and persons offending in any the premisses, shall forfeit for every offence three shillings foure pence, The same to be employed and converted to the use of the poore of the Parish where such offence shall be committed . . ." (This Act was confirmed and continued by later ones.)

p. 137. *Prophanation of the Saboth.*

About 1542, says Henry Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, E. E. T. Soc., 1874, p. 62-3, after the Latin service, "the people depart the church as empty of all sprytual knowledge as thei came thether. And the rest of the day thei spend in all wanton and vnlawful gamys, as dyse, cardys, dalyeng with wemen, dansing, and such lyke." The fact that Sunday amusements were inheritances from Popery, no doubt made them doubly offensive to the Reformers and the Puritans.

22 July 1566—22 July 1567.

laeye Recevyd of **Alexandre laeye** for his lyncense for pryntinge of a ballett *the abuse of y^e sabooth of the lorde &c* **iiij^d**
Arber's Transcript of the Stationers Registers, i. 328.

(1578-9.) 28 Februarij.

Jhon hynde Lycenced vnto him vnder thandes of the wardens ij ballades. thone Dialogewise betwene William Wax-wise and Walter Wold-be-wanton *concerning thabuse of the Sabothe Daye*. thother *the lamentacon of a synner troubled in consyence* **vij^d**
(*Ib.* ii. 348.)

"For further proof wherof, I call to witness the Theaters [Burbage's], Curtines [in Shoreditch] Heaving¹ houses, Rifling booties, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely [= specially] the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter destruction of youth." 1579.—T. F., *News from the North*, ed. 1585, sign. F 4, quoted in my Thynne's *Animadversions*, E. E. T. Soc., 1875, p. cxxxv. (Mr. Collier absurdly attributed the *News* to Francis Thynne.)

God worst served on the Sabbath daies "And trust me, I am of that opinion, that the Lord is neuer so il serued as on the holie-daies. For then hel breakes loose. Then wee permit our youth to haue their swinge; and when they are out of the sight of their maisters, such gouernment haue they of themselves, that what by il companie they meete withal, & il examples they learne at plaies, I feare me, I feare me, their harts are more alienated in two houres from vertue, than againe maie wel be amended in a whole yeare." 1580.—*A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters* (ed. Hazlitt, 1869), p. 135.

Fairs. Harrison, in Part II. p. 101, complains that the "paltre fairs . . . tendeth to the corruption of youth . . . whereby they often spend, not onelie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbaoth in great vanitie and riot." See too the notes on p. 152, &c., that follow below.

Fairs & Markets on Sundays. Compare the then expired Act, 22 Hen. VI. cap. 5 (englisht). "Considering the abominable Injuries and Offences done to Almighty God, and to his Saints, always Aiders and singular Assisters in our Necessities, because of Fairs and Markets upon their high and principal Feasts, as in the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord . . . in the Day of Whitsunday, in Trinity Sunday, with other Sundays . . . and on Good Friday accustomably and miserably holden and used in the Realm of England; in which principal and festival Days, for great earthly Covetise, the People is wilfully more vexed, and in bodily Labour toiled, than in other ferial Days, as in fastening and making their Booths and Stalls, bearing and carrying, lifting and placing their Wares outward and homeward, as though they did nothing remember the horrible Defiling of their Souls in buying and selling, with many deceitful Lyes, and false Perjury, with Drunkenness and Strifes, and so specially withdrawing themselves and their Servants from divine Service: the . . . King . . . hath ordained That all Manner of Fairs and Markets in the said principal Feasts and Sundays, and Good-Friday, shall clearly cease from all shewing of any Goods or Merchandises, necessary Victual only except, upon Pain of Forfeiture of all the Goods aforesaid . . . the Four Sundays in Harvest except . . ."

Sabbath Doings. See in 1579, T. F.'s *News from the North*. Cap. 14. . . "For I haue partly shewed you heer, what leaue and libertie the common people, namely² youth, haue to follow their own lust and desire in all wantonnes and dessolution of life. For further proof wherof, I call to witness the Theaters,

¹ Robbing: "*to heue a bough*, to robbe or rifle a boeweth [booth]."
² specially.

300 Notes on pp. 139, 141. *Keeping of Sunday.*

Curtines¹, Heauing houses, Rifling bootheres, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely² the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter destruction of youth" (ed. 1585, sign. F. 4). With other extracts, in my edition of F. Thynne's *Animal-versions*, p. cxxxv.

"But what is he that may not on the Sabbath-day attend to hear God's word,
But he will rather run to bowls, sit at the alehouse, than one hour afford,
Telling a tale of Robin Hood, sitting at cards, playing at skittles, or some
other vain thing,

That I fear God's vengeance on our heads it will bring."

1584. *The Three Ladies of London*. Hazlitt's Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vi. 28.

p. 139, l. 13. *it chaunced that a certaine Jewe*.—"In this yere [43 Hen III.] fell that happe of the Jewe of Tewkysbury, whiche fell into a gonge vppon the Saterdaye, and wolde not for reuerence of his sabbot day be plucked out; wherof heryng the Erle of Glouceter, that the Jewe dyd so great reuerence to hys sabbot daye, thought he wolde do as myche to his holydaye, which was Sondaye, and so kept hym there tyll Monday, at which season he was found dede."—*Fabyan*. Quoted in *Prompt. Parv.*, s. v. Goonge. According to Munster (*Cosmography*, bk. III. p. 738, ed. 1550) this happened in Germany in 1270. Respect for the Sabbath made the Jews reject their unfortunate brother's entreaties to be released. Munster says that it was Conrad, bishop of Magdeburg, earl of Sternenberg, "Judæis multum fuit infestus," who indulged in this vile jest, which the Jew seems to have survived.—S.

p. 141, l. 7 from foot. *Theopompus mingled Moyses law with his writings*.—He [Demetrius Phalereus] told him [Ptolemy Philadelphus] that "Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them [the Jewish laws], but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause. Nay, indeed, he further saw a dream, that his distemper befel him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when, in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction."—Whiston's *Josephus*, Antiq. XII. ii. § 13, vol. ii. p. 148, ed. 1818.—S.

¹ See note for p. 144 on p. 304 below.

² specially.

PLAYHOUSES, THEATRES, AND ACTORS, &c.

p. 140, &c. *Stage-Plays, Bear-baiting, &c., on Sundays.*

"The Sabbath days and holy days ordained for the hearing of God's word to the reformation of our lives, for the administration and receiving of the Sacraments to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behoofeful for body or soul at God's hand by Prayer, for the minding of his benefits, and to yield praise and thanks unto him for the same, and finally, for the special occupying of ourselves in all spiritual exercises, is spent full heathenishly, in taverning, tippling, gaming, playing and beholding of Bear-baiting and Stage plays to the utter dishonour of God, impeachment of all godliness, and unnecessary consuming of men's substances which ought to be better employed."—*Liturgical Services*, time of Queen Elizabeth, p. 574, Parker Soc.

p. 144. *Theaters & curtens.* James Burbage's "Theatre" in Finsbury Fields, near Bishopsgate St.,—built ab. 1577, and said to have been the first regular theatre built (but see *Harrison*, I, Appendix I to Forewords, p. liv),—and the *Curtain*, built before 1579, in or near the present *Curtain Road* close by.

p. 140-6. Here are a few extracts from a rare tract in the Lambeth Library, made before Mr. Hazlitt reprinted it in his Roxburghe Library (1869), *English Drama and Stage*, 1543-1664.

"A second and third blast¹/ of retrait from plaies/ and Theatres:/ the one whereof was sounded by a reuerend Byshop dead long since²;/ the other by a worshipful and/ zealous Gentleman/ now aliue:/ One showing the filthiness of plaies in/ times past; the other the abomination off/ Theaters in the time present:/ both expresly proving that the Common-weale is/ nigh vnto the curse of God; where-/in either plaiers be made of, or/ Theaters main-/tained./ Set forth by Anglo-phile Eutheo./ Ephes. 5, verse 15, 16./ Take heede therefore that ye walke circumspectlie, not/ as vnwise, but as wise, redeeming the time,/ because the daies are euil./ Allowed by auctoritie/ 1580

"*Evils of travelling players*—Since the reteining of these Caterpillers[Players], the credite of Noble men hath decaied, & they are thought to be couetously permitting their seruants, which cannot liue of themselves, and whome, for neerenes they will not maintaine, to liue at the deuotion or almes of other men, passing from cuntry to cuntry,³ from one Gentlemans house to another, offering their seruice, which is a kind of beggerie. Who in dede, to speake more trulie, are become beggers for their seruants. For commonlie the goodwil men beare to their Lordes, makes them drawe the stringes of their purses to extend their liberalitie to them, where otherwise they would not.

"By such infamous persons much time is lost; and manie daies of honest trauel are turned into vaine exercises. Wherein is learned nothing but abuse; poore men

¹ Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* was the first.

² Salviano, Bp. of Massilia, ab. 470. *De Gubernatione Dei*, bk. vi.

³ county to county.

living on their handie labor, are by them trained vnto vnthriftines ; schoolers, by their gaudes are allured from their studies.

" Thus the people are robbed ; youth corrupted ; the Sabbath profaned : and of all these euils, who are counted the vpholders, but the Noble, who of right should establish the lawe of the *Roman Traiane*, who commanded that no plaier, iester, nor iugler, should be admitted in his Common-weale to pick the purses of his subiects, but that they should either learne some occupation to mainteine themselves in their owne houses, or otherwise be banished out of *Rome*. But now, such like men, vnder the title of their maisters, or as reteiners, are priuiledged to roaue abroad, and permitted to publish their *Temples* mametree¹ in euerie Temple of God, and that throughout England, *profaned with plaies.* vnto the horrible contempt of praier. So that now the Sanctuarie is become a plaiers stage, and a den of theeues and adulterers." p. 75-8. *A second and third blast of reitrait from plaies and Theaters*, 1580.

" Whosoever shal visit the chappel of Satan, I meane the Theater, shal finde *Theaters the chappels of Satan.* there no want of yong ruffins, nor lacke of harlots, vtterlie past al shame : who presse to the fore-front of the scaffoldes, to the end to shoue their impudencie, and to be as an obiect to al mens eies.² Yea, such is their open shameles behauior, as euerie man may perceauie by their wanton gestures, wherevnto they are giuen ; yea, they seeme there to be like brothels of the stewes. For often, without respect of the place, and company which behold them, they commit that filthines openlie, which is horrible to be done in secret ; as if whatsoeuer they did, were warranted. For neither reuerence, iustice, nor anie thing beside, can gouerne them " (ed. Hazlitt, p. 139).

(p. 110.) " As I haue had a saieing to these versi-fieng Plaie-makers, so must I likewise deale with shameles inactors. When I see by them yong boies, inclining of themselves vnto wickednes, trained vp in filthie speeches, vnnatural and vnseemlie gestures, to be brought vp by (p. 111) these Schoolemasters in bawderie, and in idlenes, I cannot chuse, but with teares and grieve of hart lament.

" O with what delight can the father behold his sonne bereft of shamefastnes, & trained vp to impudencie ! How proane are they of themselves, *Plaiers the schoolemaisters of sin in the schoole of abuse.* and apt to receiue instruction of their lewde teachers, which are the Schoolemasters of sinne in the schoole of abuse ! what do they teach them, I praie you, but to foster mischiefe in their youth, that it maie alwaies abide in them, and in their age bring them sooner vnto hel ?

" And as for those stagers themselves, are they not commonlie such kind of men *Disposition of plaiers for the most part.* in their conuersation, as they are in profession ? Are they not as variable in hart, as they are in their partes ? are they (p. 112) not good practisers of Bawderie as inactors ? Liue they not in such sort

¹ maumetrie, idolatry.

² Cp. the ironical *Actors Remonstrance* in 1643 : " we shall for the future promise never to admit into our six-penny-rooms those unwholesome enticing Harlots that sit there meerely to be taken up by Prentizes or Lawyers Clerks, nor any female of what degree soever, except they come lawfully with their husbands or neere allies." (Hazlitt, *ib.* p. 65.)

themselves, as they giue precepts vnto others? doth not their talke on the stage declare the nature of their disposition? doth not euerie one take that part which is proper to his kind? doth not the Ploughmans tong walke of his plough; the Sea-faring man of his mast, cable, and saile: the Soldier of his harnes, speare, and shield; & bawdie mates of bawdie matters? Aske them, if in their laieng out of their partes, they choose not those partes which is most agreeing to their inclination, and that they can best discharge? And looke what euerie of them doth most delight in, that he can best handle to the contentment of others. If it be a roisting, bawdie, and lasciuious part, wherein are vnseemelie (p. 113) speeches, & that they make choise of them as best answering, & proper to their manner of plaie: maie we not saie, by how much he exceeds in his gesture, he delightes himselfe in his part? & by so much it is pleasing to his disposition and nature? If (it be his nature) to be a bawdie plaier, & he delight in such filthie & cursed actions, shal we not thinke him in his life to be more disordered, and to abhor virtue? . . .

"If the good life of a man be a better instruction to repentance than the tong, or words, why do not plaiers, I beseech you, leaue examples of goodnes to their posteritie? But which of them is so zealous, or so tendereth his owne saluation that he doth amend himselfe in those pointes, which, as they saie, others should take heede of? Are they not notoriouslie known to be those men in their life abroad, as they are on the stage, roisters, brallers, il-dealers, bosters, louers, loiterers, ruffins? So that they are alwaies exercised in plaieng their parts, and practising wickednes; making that an art, to the end they might the better gesture it in their partes. For who can better plaie the ruffin than a verie ruffian? who better the louer, than they who make it a common exercise? To conclude, the principal end of all their interludes is, to feede the world with (p. 116) sights & fond pastimes; to wriggle in good earnest the monie out of other mens purses into their owne hands. What shall I saie? They are infamous men." (End of the *Blast* extracts.)

"Those also haue offended in wantonnesse, that giue themselves libertie to be present at, and see, such things as bee practises of wantonnesse, as *stage-playes*, which serue for nothing but to nourish filthinesse; and where they are most vsed, there filthinesse is most practised; where the man is clothed with womans apparell; and that ordinarily is put in vse, which the Lord condemneth as an hainous abomination. Deut. (22. 5.) This is a way to breede confusion of sexes, and it is a plaine belying of the sexe." 1615. [R. Cleaver] *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, p. 299.

On the 'light-taylde huswiues' at the Globe in 1600, see John Lane in my *Tell-Troth* volume, 1876, p. 133, and the note on p. 199; also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. lxxix, lxxx.

"as enterlude-plaiers, you shal now see them on the stage, play a King, an Emperor, or a Duke; but they are no sooner off the stage, but they are base rascals, vagabond abjects, and porterly hirelings, which is their naturall and originall condition." 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essayes* (French, 1580), ed. 1634, p. 140.

"Players shal haue libertie to be as famous in pride and idlenes, as they are dissolute in liuing, and as best in their marriages for communitie, as vnhappie in

304 Notes on pp. 144—147. *Men and girls at Theatres.*

their choyces for honesty." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, *The Black Yeaere*, C 3. "There shall be also as much strife among Players, who shall haue the greatest *Auditory*, as is warre among the foure knaues at Cardes, for superioritie." *Ib.* B 2, back.

p. 144, at foot.—Gosson has an amusing passage in his *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579 (old Shakesp. Soc., 1841, p. 25), on men's behaviour to girls at the theatre or play-house, and their making it a place for picking one another up on Sundays :

"In our assemblies at playes in London, you shall see suche heaving and shooving, suche yatching and shouldering, to sytte by women ; suche care for their garments that they be not trode on ; suche eyes to their lappes, that no chippes lighte in them ; such pillowes to their backes, that they take no hurte : suche masking in their eares, I know not what ; suche geving them pippins¹ to passe the time ; such playing at foote saunt without cardes ; such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home when the sportes are ended, that it is a right comedie to marke their behaviour, to watch their conceates, as the catte for the mouse, and as good as a course at the game it selfe, to dogge them a little, or follow aloofe by the printe of their feete, and so discover by slotte where the deare taketh soyle.

"If this were as well noted as il seene, or as openly punished as secretly practised, I have no doubt but the cause woulde be seared, to drye up the effect, and these prettie rabbets verry cunninglie ferretted from their borrowes. For they that lacke customers all the weeke, either because their haunt is unknowne, or the constables and officers of their parish watch them so narrowly that they dare not queatche, to celebrate the Sabboth, flocke too theaters, and there keepe a generall market of bawdrie. Not that any filthinesse, in deede, is committed within the compasse of that ground, as was once done in Rome, but that every wanton and [his] paramour, every man and his mistresse, every John and his Joane, every knave and his queane, are there first acquainted, and cheapen the marchandise in that place, which they pay for else where, as they can agree. These wormes, when they dare not nestle in the pescod at home, find refuge abroad, and ar hidde in the eares of other mens corne."

p. 144-5. *playhouse*.—See chapter vi. of Dekker's *Guls Hornbooke*, 1609, "How a Gallant should behave himself in a Playhouse."

LORDS OF MISRULE, MAY-GAMES, CHURCH-ALES, &c.

p. 146. *Lords of Misrule*.—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 272-8 (Stubbs is the chief authority), and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 272-281 : the latter has several valuable fresh extracts.

p. 147. *Lords of Misrule in the Churchyard*.

"Whether the minister and churchwardens have suffered any lords of misrule or summer lords or ladies, or any disguised persons, or others, in Christmas or

¹ See the extract from Gosson's *Playes confuted* (ab. 1580) in *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. lxxx : 'they give them pippines ; they dally with their garments,' &c.

at May-games, or any morris-dancers, or at any other times, to come unreverently into the church or churchyard, and there to dance or play any unseemly parts, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures or ribald talk, namely [= specially] in the time of Common Prayer. . . ."—1576. Arch-Bishop Grindal, *Articles for the Province of Canterbury, Remains*, p. 175, Parker Soc. 1843.

" that their churches and chapels be kept clean and decently, that they be not loathsome to any, either by dust, sand, gravel, or any filth; and that there be no feasts, dinners, or common drinking kept in the Church; and that the Church-yard be well fenced, and cleanly kept, and that *no folks be suffered to dance* in the same."—1571-2. Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains*, 1843, p. 135.

p. 148-9. *Maie games.* See the latter part of the extract from Northbrooke, in the note for p. 155, below, p. 314. Compare Herrick's kindlier account:

"Come, my Corinna, come; and comming, marke
How each field turns a street; each street a parke
Made green, and trimm'd with trees: see how
Devotion gives each house a bough,
Or branch: each porch, each doore, ere this,
An arke, a tabernacle is
Made up of white-thorn neatly enterwove;
As if here were those cooler shades of love.
Can such delights be in the street,
And open fields, and we not see't?
Come, we'll abroad; and let's obay
The proclamation made for May:
And sin no more, as we have done, by staying;
But, my Corinna, come, let's goe a Maying.
There's not a budding boy, or girle, this day,
But is got up, and gone to bring in May.
A deale of youth, ere this, is come
Back, and with White-thorn laden home.
Some have dispatcht their cakes and creame,
Before that we have left to dreame:
And some have wept, and woo'd, and plighted troth,
And chose their priest, ere we can cast off sloth:
Many a green-gown has been given;
Many a kisse, both odde and even:
Many a glance too has been sent
From out the eye, love's firmament:
Many a jest told of the keyes betraying
This night, and locks pickt, yet w'are not a Maying."

Herrick's Hesperides (1869), p. 70.

I remember getting up before sunrise, forty years ago, on the First of May and eight succeeding mornings, and washing my face in dew to take away freckles, for which washing in May-dew nine mornings together was said to be a cure.—R. Roberts.

p. 149. *Mummings*. Stafford, in 1581, says that these, and wakes, revels, wagers at wrestling, &c., had been 'layde downe now', p. 16 of my N. Sh. Soc. edition. He can have meant only 'partly disused.'

"*Littlewit*. He was a baker, sir, but he does dream now, and see visions; he has given over his trade.

Quarulous. I remember that too: out of a scruple he took that, in spiced conscience, those cakes he made, were served to bridales, maypoles, morrices, and such profane feasts and meetings. His christian name is Zeal-of-the-land." 1614.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, I. i.; *Works*, ed. Cunningham, ii. 152, col. i.

"Well, syr, after theez horsmen, a liuely *morisdawns*,¹ according too the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmarion, and the fool." 1575.—Laneham's *Letter*, p. 22 of my edition.

p. 150. *Church-Ales*, or Whitsun-Ales.—See Brand's *Pop. Antig.* i. 157-161, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 156-172. 'For Scot-Ales, Give-Ales, Sect-Ales, Bride-Ales, Clerk-Ales, &c., see *Archæologia*, xii. 11-17.'

Church-Ales on Sundays: 'by an order made in July, 1595, at a Sessions held in the Chapter House . . . It is declared that all "Church or parish ales, revels, May-games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the *Sabbath day* and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities are there perpetrated and committed, to the great profanation of the Lord's 'Saboth,' the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy, and of dissolute life, and of very many other mischiefs and inconveniences, to the great hurt of the commonwealth." It is therefore ordered that these assemblies shall be abolished on the Sabbath; that there shall be no drink "used, kept or uttered" upon the Sabbath, at any time of the day, nor upon any holiday or festival in the time of divine service or preaching of the Word; nor at any time in the night season; nor yet that there shall be "any Mynstralsy of any sort, Dauncying, or suche wanton Dallyances," used at the said May-games,' &c. 'In January 1599, the justices took a long step further, and having discovered that many inconveniences "which with modestie cannot be expressed," had happened in consequence of these gatherings, they ordered that parish ales, church ales, and revels should thenceforth be utterly suppressed. A market which had been held on the "Saboth" at East Budleigh, was also abolished.' 1878.—A. H. A. Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne*, p. 28-9.

And under James I 'An order of Easter 1607 declares that church ales, parish ales, young men's ales, clerks' ales, sextons' ales, and all revels, are to be utterly suppressed. Yet we find as late as 1622 that the war against them was still being carried on.' *Ib.* p. 73.

"An other sorte of blynde shauelings . . . preache muche holynes and Gods seruice to stande in their holy oyle / holy creame / holy water / holy ashes / hal-

¹ See Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, Vol. i, pp. 50, 51, 52, and Chappell's *Popular Music*, pp. 130-135.—W. C.

lowed bedes / mumblynge of a numbre of psalmes in Laten / keepinge of church
ales, in the whiche, with leappyng / daunsyng / and kyssyng / they maynteyne the
profett of their church (to the honoure of God, as they both saye and thyncke)."
1544.—*A Supplication to . . . Kyng Henry the Eyght*. E. E. T. Soc. 1871, p. 41.

p. 150. *Ale sold in Churches, &c.*

"Item, whether upon the holy-days there be kept in the Church or Church-
yard any market, buying or selling, with such doings as becometh neither the
day nor the place." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, *Injunctions* (?), in his *Later*
Writings (Parker Soc.), p. 142.

"Item, that the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming,
outrageous noises, tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth, in the church,
church-porch or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or
reading of the homily." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, *Later Writings* (Parker
Soc.), p. 129.

"Ye shall not keep, or suffer to be kept, in your parsonage or vicarage
houses, any alehouses, tippling-houses, or taverns, nor shall sell ale, beer or
wine." . . . 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Clergy*, p.
130, Parker Society.

"The Churchwardens shall not suffer any pedler, or others whatsoever, to set
out any wares to sale, either in the porches of churches or in the church-yards,
nor any where else on holy days or Sundays, while any part of divine service is
in doing, or while any sermon is in preaching." 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal,
Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains, p. 138, Parker Society.

p. 150, l. 19. *Hufcap*.—See Harrison, I. 295: "there is such headie ale &
beere in most of them [markets], as for the mightinesse thereof, among such as
seeke it out, is commonlie called *huffcap*, the mad dog, father whoresonne,
angels food, dragons milke, [go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, (1587)]
&c. . . It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs
should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be
not able to wag."

I thought at first that the *hustie-tustie* of Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain in
1600, was this *Huf-cap*: but the extract below, from T. Nash, in his *Haue with*
you to Saffron Walden, sign. L 4, shows that Snuffe used the word for an exclama-
tion, "jolly," or the like. "Who's the Foole now?" asks Snuffe, and answers,
his drunken friend who got robbd on his way to the Curtain theatre in Shoreditch:

"My friend was pleasant, drinking all the day,
With *hustie-tustie*, let vs all be merrie,
Forgetting how the time did passe away:
Such is mans folly, making himself wearie.
But now attend, and I will tell the rest,
How my friends follie he could scarce digest.

When he was beaten with a Brewers washing bittle
Or had in deed almost quite burst his thombe,
Or had behelde the Diuell, where he did tipple,

Or (the old word) was drunke, marke what did come.
Thus it fell out, as he him selfe did say,
He to the Curtaine went, to see a Play.

His friendes went with him, and as wise as hee,
Yet wiser as it chaunst, for he went reeling ;
A tottering world it was, God wott, to see
My friend disguise thus without sense or feeling.
Here a fell downe, and vp againe, God wott,
Backward and forward staggering like a sott.

A soberer man than he, or girle or boy,
I know not who—for he him selfe not knowes—
Begins to looke into this goodly toy,
And, to teach him wit, this deede at pleasure shoves :
Into his pocket diues, and being alone,
Purse, hat, cloake, from my drunken friend was gone.”
1600.—*Quips upon Questions*, sign. B 4, back, and C 1.

huffy tuffy, adv. bravely, finely.

“I haue a tale at my tungs end if I can happen vpon it, of his hobby horse
reuelling & dominering at Audley-end, when the Queene was there : to which
place Gabriell [Harvey] (to doo his countrey more worship & glory) came ruffling
it out *huffy tuffy* in his suite of veluet.” 1596.—T. Nashe, *Haue with you to
Saffron-walden*, sign. L 4, back.

(I've unluckily mislaid my other extracts on the names for being drunk.)

p. 150. *Church-ales*. “There were no rates for the poor in my grand-
father's days¹; but for Kington St. Michael (no small parish) the church-ale at
Whitsuntide did the business. In every parish is (or was) a church-house, to
which belonged spits, crocks &c., utensils for dressing provision. Here the house-
keepers met, and were merry, and gave their charity. The young people were
there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts &c., the ancients sitting
gravely by and looking on. All things were civil and without scandal. This
church-ale is doubtless derived from the *ἀγάπαι*, or love-feast, mentioned in the
New Testament.”—Aubrey's *Introduction to the Survey of Wiltshire*, in his
Miscellanies (Library of Old Authors), pp. 216-17.—S.

p. 150. *Church-Ales & Dancing*. Compare the *Bride-Ales*:

“Early in the morning the wedding people begynne to excedé in superfluous
eating & drinkyng | wherof they spytte vntill the halfe sermon be done. And
whan they come to the preaching | they are halfe dronke | some alltogether |
therefore regard they nether the preaching ner prayer | but stonde ther onely
because of the custome. Such folkes also do come vnto the Church with all
maner of pompe and pryde | & gorgiousnesse of rayment and Iewels. They
come with a greate noyse of basens & drommes | wher-with they trouble the

¹ Say about 1600. Aubrey was born in 1626, and died about 1697.

whole church | & hindre them in matters pertayninge to god. They come in to the lordes house | as it were into an house of merchaundise | to lay forth theyr wares & offre to sell themselves vnto vyce and wickednesse. And euen as they come to the Church | so go they from the Church agayne | lyght | nyce | in shamefull pompe and vayne wantonnesse." (Fol. 50.) Fol. lvi, ed. 1552.

"After the bancket and feast | there begynneth a vayne | madd | and vnmanerly fashion. For the bryde must be brought in to an open dauncing place. Then is there such a renninge | leapinge | and flynging amonge them | then is there such a lyfinge vp and discoveringe of the damesels clothes and of other wemens apparell | that a man might thinke | all these dauncers had cast all shame behinde them | and were become starke madde, and out of theyr wyttes | and that they were sworne to the deuels daunce. Then must the poore bryd kepe foote with all dauncers | & refuse none | how scabbed | foule | droncken | rude and shameles soeuer he be. Then must she oft tymes heare and se much wickednesse | & many an vncomely word. And that noyse and rombling endureth euen tyll supper.

"As for supper, looke how much shameles and dronken the evening is more then the morning, so much the more vice, exces, and misnurture is vsed at the supper. After supper, must they begin to pype and daunce again of anew. And though the young persons (being weary of the bablyng noyse and inconvenience) come once towards their rest, yet can they haue no quietness. For a man shall find vnmanerly and restles people that wyll first go to their chamber doore, and there syng vicious and naughty balates, that the devil may have his whole triumphe now to the vttermost." 1541.—Miles Coverdale, *The Christian State of Matrimonye*, fol. 51 (sign. H i, Fol. lvii, ed. 1552).

"fye vpont, what a miserable thing tis to be a noble Bride! there's such delays in rising, in fitting gownes, in tyring, in pinning Rebatoes, in poaking, in dinner, in supper, in Reuels, & last of all in cursing the poore nodding fiddlers for keeping Mistris Bride so long vp from sweeter Reuels,—that, oh I could neuer endure to put it vp without much bickering." 1602.—T. Dekker, *Satiromastix*. Works, 1873, i. 186.

"As for matrimony, that hath also corruptions too many . . . Other petty ^{Abuses} things out of the book we speak not of, as that women, contrary to the accidental rule of the Apostle, come, and are suffered to come, bareheaded, with bagpipes and fiddlers before them, to disturb the congregation; and they must come in at the great door of the church, else all is marred." 1570-1600.—Archbp. Whitgift, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 353, Parker Soc.

p. 152. *Wakes and Feasts*.—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ii. 1-10, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ii. 1-10, iii. 7-8, ed. Hazlitt, 1870.

'*Wakes*: a very old English custom. The 35th of Elfric's Canons is: "ye ought not to make merry over dead men, nor to hunt after a corpse, unless ye be invited to it. When ye are invited, forbidd the heathenish songs of laymen, and thear loud cackling, and do not eat & drink over the body in their heathenish manner." (Quoted from Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. i, p. 255, by Chappell, in his Introduction to *Old English Duties*, p. 81.)'

The above are the real Irish wakes, not those on the eve of Saints' Days when the people danced in the churches or church-yards through the night.—W. C.

p. 152. *wakes, &c.* See *The Chetham Miscellanies*, Vol. V. Ed. F. R. Raines (Chetham Society). The *Athenaeum Review*, August 12, 1876, says: "The first article in the collection is a Report on 'The State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the county of Lancaster,' made by certain of the clergy about 1590.¹ . . . The authors of the Report were for the most part men of Puritan leanings, but there is nothing particularly strange or grotesque in the complaints they make. We know from many other sources that the rough-and-ready manner in which the Reformed doctrines and discipline had been planted in the county palatine of Lancaster had cruelly wounded the feelings of many, and that the first result of a change so violent was an alarming amount of godlessness. Almost every clause of this old paper shows that the bonds of authority had become terribly relaxed, and that there was no strong public opinion on the side of moral order to keep loose persons in check. Not only do we find that the mediæval custom of holding fairs and markets on Sunday was still usually retained, and that 'wackes, ales, greenes, maigames, rushbearinges, bearebaites, doveales, bonfires, [and] all maner vnlawful gaming, pipeinge, and daunsing, and such like, ar in all places freely exercised vppon y^e Sabboth,' but that the persons who professed to conform to the worship of the English Church frequently did so in such a manner as to show their contempt for her ritual, some walking about and talking, others laughing during prayers,² while the more devout evinced their adherence to the

¹ "The manifolde Enormities of the Ecclesiasticall state in the most partes of the Countie of Lancaster; and many of them in som partes also of Cheshire [about the year 1590] . . .

"V. Faires and Marketes in most Townes ar vsually kepte vppon the Sabboth: by occasion whereof diuine Service in the Forenoone is greatly neglected.

"VI. Wackes, Ales, Greennes, Maigames, Rushbearinges, Bearebaites, Doveales, Bonfiers, all maner vnlawfull Gaming, Pipeinge and Daunsinge, and suche like, ar in all places frely exercised vppon y^e Sabboth."

² Compare Sir Thomas More's complaint of the *Irreverent behaviour at Prayer* in his Popish day: he died in 1535. *Works* (1557), p. 1359. "Out of al, most true is y^e old said saw, that the outward behauior & continuaunce is a plain expresse mirror or ymage of y^e minde, in asmuche as by y^e eyes, by y^e chekes, by y^e eye liddes, by y^e browes, by y^e handes, by y^e fete, & finally by y^e gesture of y^e whole body, right well appereth, how madly & fondly y^e minde is set & disposed. For as we litle passe how smal deuocion of hart we come to pray withal, so dooe we litle passe also howe vndeoutli we go forward therin. And albeit we wold haue it seme, y^t on y^e holye daies we go more gorgeously appparelled then at other times onely for y^e honor of god, yet y^e negligent fashion y^t we vse, a greate mainy of vs, in y^e time of our praier, doth sufficiently declare, (be we neuer so lothe to haue it so knowen & apparaunte to the world) y^t we do it altogether of a peuysh worldly pride. So carelessly do we euen in y^e church somewhiles solemnely iet to & fro, & other whiles faire & softly sette vs down again. And if it hap vs to kneele, then either do we knele vpon y^e tone knee, & lene vpon y^e tother, or els will wee haue a cushion layd vnder them both, yea & sometime, namely if we be any thyng nyce & fine) we cal for a cushion to beare vp our elbowes to, & so, like an olde rotten ruynouse house, be we fain therwith to bee staide & vnderpropped. And then further do we euery way discouer,

suppressed religion by crossing themselves, beating their breasts, and telling their beads in secret. At the time when service was going on, it was common for the unreclaimed people who remained without, to assemble in the churchyard or the streets hard by, and to amuse themselves with clamorous shouting and throwing stones upon 'the leades of the churche.'¹

"The ancient burial customs seem to have been retained almost without alteration, as far as the change of circumstances would permit. When the body was laid out preparatory to burial, it was surrounded, by night and by day, with burning candles, the church bells were rung to warn the neighbours to pray for the soul of the departed, and all the neighbours who visited the corpse were wont to say a *Pater Noster* or a *De Profundis*. The wayside crosses, which have now nearly all been swept away either by the reforming zeal of our predecessors or the carelessness of more modern times, seem then to have been common; for these Lancashire clergy tell us that at funerals 'they carie the corse towardse the churche all garnished with crosses, which they sett downe by the way at everie crosse, and there all of them devowtly, on their knees, make prayers for the dead.'

"This custom of affixing small crosses to the bier or the pall lingered long. We have heard of it being followed late in the last century. 'The Obsequy of faire Phillida,' a ballad in the Roxburghe collection (Ballad Soc. ix. 345), is adorned with a woodcut of a funeral, which, from the dresses of the bearers and grave-digger, cannot be much older than 1640. There we find the coffin or bier, (it is not easy to say which it is), covered with a tight-fitting pall, on which are fastened in an irregular manner seventeen small crosses in circles.

"The intense dislike of the Roman Catholic population for the English burial service is shown by the fact that when the body was brought to the churchyard, they were accustomed to 'overtreat the minister to omitt the service,' and bury the body themselves without religious rites. If, however, the clergyman insisted upon performing his duty, the friends were in the habit of going away, as they refused absolutely to join in or be present at the service.

"Secret marriages and baptisms are complained of, though the memorialists do not seem to have felt the evil of them so bitterly as they did many other things of less consequence. To us, for whom all these things are but matters of history, these unregistered marriages and baptisms are of far more import than the ceremonial which gave so much pain to the compilers of the Memorial. It is well known that throughout the whole of the north of England in the sixteenth and

how far wide our mind is wandring from god. We clawe our head, we pare oure nailes, we picke our nose, & say therwhiles one thing for an other, sith what is said or what is vnsaid both hauing cleane forgotten, we be fain at al adventures to ayme what we haue more to say. Bee we not ashamed thus madly demeaning our selves both secretly in our hert, & also in our doings openly in such wise to sew for soucor vnto god, being in so gret danger as we be, & in such wise to pray for pardon of so many horrible offences, & ouer y^t in suche wise to desire him to preserue vs from perpetuall damnacion? so y^t this one offence so vnreuerently to approach to y^e high maiesty of God, al had we neuer offended him before, wer yet alone wel worthy to bee punished."—R. Roberts.

¹ The next page was set by the compositor in mistake, but is let stand.

seventeenth centuries the more devout among the Roman Catholics were wont to have these rites performed by their own priests. One consequence is that now they are, in many cases, entirely incapable of proof. The Bodleian list of Yorkshire Roman Catholics in 1604 furnishes numerous examples of these secret marriages, and is in some instances the only evidence we have that such marriages were ever contracted. They usually took place far from home, before a few chosen and faithful witnesses only. Here is an instance, notable as relating to one of the higher gentry of the county of York :—‘Secret mariage. Richard Cholmley, Esquier, maryed with Mary Hungate, in the presence of John Wilson, William Martin, Hugh Hope, and Christopher Danyell, in a fell with a Popish priest.’ The lady and her lover dare not be wedded at home, for fear of spies ; so they met by appointment at some wild place on the moorlands, where a priest, at the risk of his life, was found ready to perform the marriage rite. . . .

“In the volume are the letters of Randal Holme and Leonard Smethley, the deputy heralds who acted in Lancashire and Cheshire in the reign of James the First. . .

“Both master and man were constantly in trouble with the gentry in their dominions on the subject of fees. When the Herald’s College was incorporated, it took upon itself not only the regulation of arms, but also the ordering of those sumptuous funerals in which the bad taste of our forefathers delighted. If a great man died, the body was sometimes kept lying in state for weeks. More frequently, however, the remains were privately interred, without pomp or heraldic display, and some time afterwards a magnificent hearse was erected in the church, hung round with the arms, crest, and motto of the dead and his ancestors, and the family retainers went at night by torch-light to hear a funeral sermon in praise of the virtues of the deceased. For all this display, heraldic knowledge was needed ; yet so perverse were the gentry around that, instead of employing Holme and Smethley to superintend the pageant and paint the banners, they often engaged what the senior deputy herald calls ‘poor snaks, hedge-paynters, and, I take it, plasterers,’ to do their blazonry for them. This was unbearable to the men in authority, who were defrauded of their fees ; and long and bitter were their complaints to the authorities in St. Paul’s Churchyard, urging that sharp measures should be taken with the arms-painters, and that the people who had these stately funerals provided for their relatives should be compelled to pay the accustomed fees to Messrs. Holme and Smethley, whether they availed themselves of their services or not.”

As to Sabbath-keeping in early days in Arbroath and Scotland, note :—“It is the common opinion that the strict observance of Sunday, for which the Scotch people are remarkable, came in with the Reformation, and that the practice, so far from having become more stringent as time went on, has been relaxed in modern days. This is, of course, a mistake. In 1564, we find the council of the town ordering that ‘thair be na mercats upon the sabouith day before aucht [eight] hours, noder flesh nor uder merchandeis on pain of viij^s.’ Mr. Hay truly remarks that we should think it passing strange were a town council nowadays to give tacit consent to holding public markets at any hour on the Sunday. It is curious, too, at so early a date to find Sabbath used to indicate the *dies dominica*. Inaccurate, however, as the term is, the Reformation is not responsi-

ble for coining it, but only for bringing it into common use. The town records of Beverley in 1456—ninety-eight years before this—contain a memorandum of how a certain John Johnson was fined fourpence because he housed corn on the Sabbath—'Hospitabat frumentum . . . die Sabbati.' (Poulson's Beverlac. I. 219.) It was, as the author points out, a considerable time after the establishing of the reformed faith before the custom of holding markets and other such assemblies on Sunday was discontinued.

"We have come across many instances in England of parish meetings being held, and churchwardens' accounts audited, on Easter Sunday late in the reign of Elizabeth, and far down into that of her successor. Though the Scotch did not enter on their course of strictness so early as some have thought, they certainly did at length surpass in that particular all other people on earth, unless it were some of the New England settlements. It would, we should imagine, be impossible to parallel the following from the records of the most Protestant town in Germany, Holland, or Scandinavia :—

"On the 5th December, 1732, the barbers in the Town compeared before the session in answer to their citation ; and record bears, " Being accused of profaning the Sabbath-day by shaving people and dressing their wigs before and in time of the sermon,[they] confessed their faults, upon which they were exhorted to reform, under the pain of being publicly censured." "—*Athenæum*, August 19, 1876, on G. Hay's *Hist. of Arbroath*.

In Messrs. Cotton and Woolcombe's *Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records relative to the City of Exeter*, 1877, there are many convictions during the Puritan time for baking on the Lord's Day, and for heating an oven on it. Travelling on Sunday was forbidden, and punished with the stocks ; and a barber was brought up for " tryng a man on the Lords Day, about tenn o'clocke in the forenone in sermon time."—*Athenæum*, September 15, 1877, p. 332.

p. 154. *Dancing*.—See p. 297 ; T. F.'s *Newses from the North*, 1597, as to the Dancing School ; and Northbrooke's Treatise [against] Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds, 1577, old Sh. Soc. reprint, 1840, p. 113-148.

p. 155 : *kissing*. See note on this at p. 269, above.

p. 155 : *dancing*.—Busino, of the Venetian Embassy at Jas I's Court in 1617—1618, speaks thus of the dancing before the King :—*Quart Rev.* Oct. 1857, p. 424. *Harrison*, Part II., p. 58*. "The masque began. [Ben Jonson's *Pleasure reconciled to Virtue*, Twelfth Night, 1617-18]. . . At last twelve cavaliers in masks, the central figure always being the prince, ' chose their partners and danced every kind of dance, the last being the Spanish dance in single pairs, each cavalier with his lady ; and at length, being well nigh tired, they began to flag, whereupon the king, who is naturally choleric, got impatient, and shouted aloud, " Why don't they dance ? What did you make me come here for ? Devil take you all ; dance ! " On hearing this, the Marquis of Buckingham, his majesty's most favoured minion, immediately sprang forward, cutting a score of lofty and minute capers with so much grace and agility, that he not only appeased the ire of his angry sovereign, but, moreover, rendered himself the admiration and delight of everybody. The other

314 Notes on pp. 155, 171. *Dancing. Bawdy Songs.*

masquers, being thus encouraged, continued successively exhibiting their prowess with various ladies; finishing in like manner with capers, and by lifting their goddesses from the ground."

See also a tract of 19 leaves in the Lambeth Library: "A Treatise of Daunses wherin it is shewed that they are as it were accessories and dependants (or thinges annexed) to whoredome; where also by the way is touched and proved that Playes are joyned and knit togeather in a rancke or rowe with them . . . Anno 1581." Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 137. Also "A Dialogue agaynst light, lewde, and lascivious dauncing: wherein are refuted all those reasons which the common people vse to bring in defence thereof. Compiled and made by Christopher Fetherston. Eccle. 9. 4. Use not the companie of a woman that is a singer and a dauncer, least thou be intrapped in her snares. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, 1582." 8vo. 46 leaves. Bodleian (Douce). Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 195.

"*Age*. What woulde these fathers say nowe, if they were presently alieu, to see the wanton and filthie daunces that are now vsed, in this cleare day and light of the Gospell? What Sabboth dayes, what other dayes are there, nay, what nightes are ouerpassed without dauncing among a number at this time? In summer season, howe doe the moste part of our yong men and maydes, in earely rising and getting themselues into the fieldes at dauncing? what foolishhe toys shall not a man see among them? what vnchast countenances shall not be vsed then among them? or what coales shall there be wanting that may kindle Cupid's desire?—truly none. Through this dauncing, many maydens haue been vnmaydened, whereby I may saye, it is the Storehouse and nurserie of bastardie. What adoe make our yong men at the time of May? Do they not vse night watchings to rob and steale yong trees out of other men's groundes, and bring them home into their parishe with minstrels playing before? and when they haue set it vp, they will deck it with floures and garlandes, and daunce round (men Exod. 32, 6. and women together, moste vnseemly and intolerable, as I haue 1 Cor. 10, 7. proued before) about the tree, like vnto the children of Israell, that daunced about the golden calfe that they had set vp," &c. 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing, Dancing,* etc., ed. 1840, p. 175-176.

p. 171: *bawdy songs*.

"He hath all that to villany belongs,
The hugest number of such bawdy songs,
You euen would wonder (Gossips, this is plaine)
That any man could beare them in his braine.
He hath a song cald, *Mistris, will you do?*¹ [1]
And *My man Thomas did me promise to*, [to is too] [2]

¹ Mr. Ebsworth kindly identifies these songs:—

<p>(2) "My man Thomas Did me promise He would visit me this night. <i>Thomas.</i> 'I am here, love; Tell me, dear love; How I may obtain thy sight.</p>	<p><i>Maid</i>] Come up to my window, love; Come, come, come! Come to my window, my dear; The wind nor the rain Shall trouble thee again, But thou shalt be lodged here."</p>
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He hath the *Pinnacle rigd with silken saile*, [3]
 And *pretty Birds*, with *Garden Nightingale*, [4, 5]
Ile tye my Mare in thy ground a new way, [6]
 Worse then the Players sing it in the Play, [? what Play]
Besse for abuses, and a number more, [7]
 That you and I haue neuer heard before.
 And these among those wenches he doth learne,
 Which by actiuity their liuings earne.
 His Crownes vpon them frankly he bestowes,
 Not caring for his wife, or how she goes."

1609.—S. Rowlands, *A Crew of kind Gossips*, sign. C 2 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 19).

On 2, 3, 6 of these Mr. Wm. Chappell says:—"See my *Popular Music*, p. 738, for *My Man Thomas*, *A Pinnacle riggd*, and *I'll tie my mare* :—

'A pinnacle rigg'd with silken sail,
 What is more lovely than to see?
 But still to see, is small avail;
 I must aboard, as thinketh me.'

It is full of double meanings." In *Pop. Mus.*, p. 738, are 6 lines and the music of

Two other verses are elsewhere sung by Old Merrythought :

"Go from my window, love, go;
 Go from my window, my dear:
 The wind and the rain
 Will drive you back again,
 You cannot be lodged here.

Begone, begone, my juggy, my puggy,
 Begone, my love, my dear!
 The weather is warm
 'Twill do thee no harm;
 Thou can'st not be lodged here."

(3). "A pinnacle rigg'd with silken saile" is extant in an early MS. (time noted, before 1609), belonging to a friend of mine. I will print it soon in *The Amanda Group of Bagford Poems*, for the Ballad Society.

"A pinnacle rigg'd with silken saile,
 What is more lovely then to see?
 But still to see is small availle:
 I must aboard, as thinketh mee.
 To see is well,
 But more to tell
 Lackes more then sight, you will agree."
 (etc. four other verses.)

(6) I have the Catch "I'll tye my Mare in thy ground." There is also another,

"Tye the Mare, Tom, boy!" of early date. (1) I have (certainly of 1601) "Mistress, since you so much desire;" probably resembling "Mistress will you do?" (7) I believe that "Besse for abuses" I also have a clue to; and I know of one "Pretty Nightingale," of date 1575,

"Little pretty nightingale,
 Among the braunches greene,
 Geue us of your Christmase ale,
 In the honour of Saint Steven."

But *this* is a "Mock" to the original which I possess from an early MS., beginning thus :—

"The lytyll pretty nyghtyngale,
 Among the levys grene,
 I wolde I were with hur all nyght,
 But yet ye wot not whome I mene,"
 etc., etc.

(4) I have also one song beginning "Ye *pretty birds* that chirp and sing;" but its date is much later in the 17th century :—the author was not scrupulous in availing himself of elder suggestions, and occasionally would "convey, the wise it call!"—J. W. Ebsworth.

My man Thomas, of which 12 lines were sung in Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*, Act III. sc. iii (B. & F.'s *Works*, 1839, i. 481, col. 1). See too the note for p. 185, below, p. 319.

Compare the following cancelld entry in the Stationers' Registers, Arber's *Transcript*, ii. 576:

7. marcij [1590-1]

<p>Thomas Gosson Cancelled out of the book, for the vndecentues of it in Diuerse verses.</p>	<p>Entred for his copie <i>a ballad of a yonge man that went a waying</i> &c. Abell Jeffes to be his printer hereof Provyded alwayes, that before the publishinge hereof the vndecentnes be reformed vj^d</p>
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GAMES, SPORTS, AND FOOTBALL.

p. 173: *games and sports*. Here is a list of them in 1600:—

“Man, I dare challenge thee to throw the sledge,
To iumpe or leape ouer a ditch or hedge,
To wrastle, play at stooleball, or to runne,
To pitch the barre, or to shoote off a gunne:
To play at loggets, nine holes, or ten pinnes,
To trie it out at foot-ball by the shinnes;
At Ticktack, Irish, Noddie, Maw, and Ruffe;
At hot-cockles, leape-frogge, or blindman-buffe;
To drinke halfe pots, or deale at the whole canne;
To play at base, or pen-and-Ynk-horne sir Ihan:
To daunce the Morris, play at barly-breake:
At all exploytes a man can thinke or speake:
At shoue-groute, venter-poynt, or crosse and pile:
At beshrow him that's last at yonder style.”

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vaine*, D 4, back (ed. 1874, p. 64). On these and other games see Hazlitt's *Brand*, vols. i., ii. Also Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. The Act 33 Hen. VIII., ch. 9, § 8, says: “noe manner of person . . shall for his or their gayne, lucre or lyvinge, kepe . . . or maynteyne any common house, alley or place of bowlinge, Coytinge, Cloyshe, Coyles, halfe bowle, Tennys, Dysing, Table, or Cardinge, or any other manner of Game prohibite by anye estatute heretofore made, or any unlauffull newe game nowe invented or made, upon payne to forfeit and paye for everie day kepinge . . or sufferinge any suche Game to be . . playde . . fourtie shillings . . .” By § 11 “noe manner of Artyficer or Crafter man of any handy crafte or occupacion, husbandman, apprentice, laborer, *servazante* at husbandrye, jorneyman or *servaunte* of artyficer, mariners, fysshermen, watermen, or any *servyngman*, shall . . playe at the Tables, Tennys, Dyce, Cardes, Bowles, Clashe, Coytinge, Logatinge, or any other unlawfull, Game, out of Christmas, under payne of twentye shillings to be forfeyt for everie

tyme, And in Christmas to playe at anye of the said Games [only] in their maisters houses or in their maisters presence: and also that noe manner of person shall at any tyme playe at any bowle or bowles in open places out of his garden or orcharde, under the payne for everie tyme so offendinge to forfeyt vjs. viiij*d*."

§ 15 and 16 provide for Servants playing Cards Dice & Tables by License of their Masters, & give Noblemen, & Landholders of £100 a year, power to license their Servants to play in their Houses, Gardens or Orchards 'Cardes, Dyce, Bowles or Tennys.' 33 Henry VIII was from 22 April 1541 to 21 April 1542.

p. 174. *Dicing*. "O how happie were it for your Posteritie, if the Innes of the Court were farre from the Dycing-houses, or Dicyng-houses with their Originall, the Deuill . . . These Houses (outwardly) are of the substance of other Buildings, but within are the Botches and Byles of abhomyntation: they are lyke vnto deepe Pittes, couered with smoothe Grasse, of which, men must be warned, or els they can hardly auoide that their eye can not discover." 1586. —Geo. Whetstone, *The Enemy to Vnthyrfynesse . . . A Perfect Mirrour for all Maiestates*, A 3, back. (A very disappointing book, which professes to discover 'the vn sufferable Abuses now raining in our happie English common wealth,' but only quotes the abuses in Rome which Alexander Severus tried to put down, and gives no details of them in England. He had brothels shut from sunseet to sunrise, that the frequenters of them might be seen, &c.)

Latimer, in his 6th Sermon before Edward VI, in 1549, says:—"There be such dicing houses also, they say, . . . where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also . . . Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves . . . were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting; but now it is turned into [bolling, 1562] glossing, gulling and whoring within the house. The art of shooting . . . hath been Gods instrument whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies; but now we have taken up whoring in towns, instead of shooting in the fields." *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196-7.

p. 175. *Football*. Cp. Laneham's Letter, 1575, on the sports, &c., at Kenilworth Castle: the bridegroom is 'lame of a leg, that in his youth was broken at football,' p. 27. "*Fatal Accident at a Football Match*.—An inquest was held yesterday evening by Mr. Bedford, the coroner for Westminster, at the Board-room, Eburybridge, Pimlico, touching the death of Mr. Sydney James Henniss Branson, aged 21, a medical student, residing at 7, South Eaton-place, Eaton-square, which occurred under the following sad circumstances:—Mr. Maurice Chilton, medical student, deposed that he resided with the deceased at the above house, and on the afternoon of Wednesday week last they were, with a great many others, taking part in a football match at Battersea-park; and at about four o'clock a young gentleman named Bailly had seized the football and was running with it swiftly across the ground, when the deceased immediately ran after him, but had scarcely reached him when he stumbled and fell to the ground. He caught hold of Bailly's leg and dragged him down upon him, the latter falling with considerable force upon deceased's chest and stomach. Deceased was picked up by his companions and taken in an insensible state to the porter's lodge, where he remained an hour, and was afterwards taken home in a cab with witness's assistance. In witness's

opinion Mr. Baily's falling was quite the consequence of deceased pulling him. Mr. Charles Henry Baily, sub-lieutenant, Royal Naval College, Greenwich, was called, and stated that deceased was a stranger to him. On that afternoon he scarcely knew deceased was running after him, but recollected being caught suddenly round the legs, and falling with his knees on deceased. Mr. Bertram Pink, surgeon, stated he lived in the same house, and saw deceased when brought home. Without doubt he had an internal rupture, and some injury to the abdomen. He had him put to bed, inflammation (the result of the injury) set in next day, from which he died on Monday. The jury returned a verdict of 'Accidental Death,' agreeing with the coroner that it was deceased's own imprudence which had caused the death."—*Daily News*, March 19, 1875.

"*Shocking Football Accident at Derby.*—On Saturday afternoon a match took place at Derby, under the Rugby rules, between the Derby Wanderers and a Birmingham football club. The ground was hard, owing to the frost of the previous night. During the play, one of the Birmingham players named Matthew Wilcox made a 'charge,' but missed his mark and fell. Before he could recover himself another player fell across him, and he became insensible. Various means used to recover him failed, and he was conveyed upon a shutter to the infirmary, where it was discovered that the lower cervical vertebrae were dislocated. Under surgical treatment he recovered consciousness, and his friends were telegraphed for, but the case is considered hopeless."—*Daily News*, March 20, 1876.

"*Football and the Rugby Rules.*—The accident to Mr. Matthew Wilcox, of Birmingham, in a football match at Rugby, having terminated fatally, an inquest was held yesterday. The deceased was a jeweller of Handsworth, and was twenty-five years of age. He was one of the (Birmingham) Moseley Club, who played the Derby Wanderers at Parker's-field Ground last Saturday. Mr. Thomas Hill, solicitor, deposed that deceased picked up the ball, and, running with it towards the goal, was collared by an opponent named Champion, and both fell, deceased, who appeared to turn a somersault, being undermost, with the whole weight of his opponent on the back of his neck. He tried to rise, but could not. Mr. Iliffe, surgeon, directed him to be taken to the Infirmary. Mr. Andrew Champion (Wanderers), and Thomas Bent and W. Matthews (Moseley Club), gave similar evidence. The house surgeon at the Infirmary stated that deceased was suffering from complete paralysis arising from dislocation of the lower cervical vertebrae. He lingered until 11.30 on Sunday night, when he died. A verdict was returned of 'Accidental Death.' The sad affair has created a profound impression in Derby, where football is much played. In connection with this matter, Mr. T. Budworth Sharp, of Smethwick, a friend of the deceased, writes to the *Birmingham Daily Post*, giving the following list of serious injuries sustained, owing to the Rugby rules, in one Birmingham Club (the Handsworth) in one season alone:—'1. A broken thigh and leg, bent to an angle of about 45 degrees. We put the player into a cab, sent him off to the hospital, where he remained some months. 2. Some dislocations about the collar-bone. 3. A broken collar-bone. 4. Some serious internal ruptures, necessitating the use of a truss and gentle exercise for some years. 5. Some broken bones in the ankle: sent to hospital for some weeks, and since on

crutches. 6. Injuries to the chest. 7. Serious injury to the knee-joint; laid up for three weeks. Nos. 4 and 5 are brothers; Nos. 1 and 6 are twin brothers; and No. 7 is the writer.' Mr. Sharp adds that this list was written in April, 1875, and was then put aside at the request of certain members of the club, one of whom was the unfortunate Matthew Wilcox."—*Daily News*, March 22, 1876. Other deaths, and lots of accidents, have been reported since. Here's the last, from the *Echo*, Feb. 10, 1879, p. 3, col. 1:—

"*Killed at Football*.—Yesterday a youth died at Tunstall from a kick received at a football match played between the Tunstall and Goldenhill (North Staffordshire) teams, at Tunstall, a few days before. Play was very rough, and Herbert Whitedock, one of the Goldenhill team, was kicked in the stomach. He was conveyed from the ground in a state of unconsciousness, and succumbed after much suffering. It is not known who made the fatal foul."

p. 175. On gaming and dice, leading to robbery. — See S. Rowlands's 'All's Fish that comes to net' in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 14; also his *Satyres*, p. 59, in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, ed. 1874; and the extract from Latimer in Note for p. 174, above, p. 317.

p. 177. *Bearbaiting*.—See the extracts above, p. 296-8, 301.

p. 179. *Accident at the Bear-Garden*. Stowe says—*Annales*, *Eight persons killed by the fall of a scaffold at the Bear garden*, 1605, p. 1173—"The same 13. day of Januarie, being sonday, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the old and vnderpropped scaffold round about the Beare garden, commonly called Paris garden, on the Southside of the riuier of Thamis ouer against the citie of London, ouercharged with people, fell suddenly downe, whereby, to the number of eight persons, men and women, were slaine, and many others sore hurt and bruised, to the shortening of their liues. A friendly warning to such as more delight themselves in the crueltie of beasts then in the works of mercie, the fruits of a true professed faith, which ought to be the sabboth daies exercise."

p. 184: *wrestling* in the City of London:—"On Bartholomew day, for the Wrestling. So many Aldermen as doe dine with the Lord Maior, and the Sheriffes, are apparelled in their Scarlet Gownes lined; and after dinner, their horses are brought to them where they dined. And those Aldermen which dine with the Sheriffes, ride with them to the Lord Maiors house, for accompanying him to the Wrestling. When as the Wrestling is done; they mount their horses, and ride backe againe thorow the Fayre, and so in at Aldersgate, and then home againe to the Lord Maiors house.

The next day (if it be not Sunday) is appointed for the Shooting, and the service performed as upon Bartholomew day; but if it bee Sunday, the ing day. Sabbath day, it is referred to the Monday then following." 1633. Continuation of Stowe's *Survey*, p. 651, col. 2.

p. 185: *bawdy songs*, &c. (See p. 314-16, above.)

"... our own children ... the first words
We form their tongues with, are licentious jests:
Can it call 'whore,' cry 'bastard'? O then, kiss it!

A witty child ! can't swear ? The father's darling !
Give it two plums. Nay rather than't shall learn
No bawdy song, the mother herself will teach it ! "

1598-1601.—B. Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, II. iii. *Works*, i. 22, col. 1.

p. 185. *Bableries*, &c. " & in truth, what leasings will not make-shyfts inuent for money ? What wyl they not faine for gaine ? Hence come our babling Ballets, and our new found Songs and Sonets, which euery rednose Fidler hath at his fingers end, and euery ignorant Ale knight will breath forth ouer the potte, as soone as his braine waxeth hote. Be it a troth which they would tune, they enterlace it with a lye or two to make meeter, not regarding veritie, so they may make vppe the verse ; not vnlike to Homer, who cared not what he fained, so hee might make his Countrimen famous . . . sith they obtaine the name of our English Poets, and thereby make men to thinke more baselie of the wittes of our Countrey, I cannot but turne them out of their counterfet liuerie, and brand them in the foreheade, that all men may know their falshood." 1590.—T. Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, B 4.

p. 186 : *putting good Lawes into practice. Idle fellows and rascals.*
Queene E. "Queene Elizabeth in the xiii and xviii yeres of hir gracious reygne,
an. 14 & 18 two actes were made for ydle, vagrant, and maisterlesse persons, that used to loyter, and woulde not worke, shoulde, for the first offence, haue a hole burned through the gristle of one of his eares, of an ynche compasse ; and, for the seconde offence committed therein, to be hanged.

"If these and such lyke lawes were executed iustlye, truly, and seuerely, (as they ought to be), without any respect of persons, fauour, or friendshippe, this dung and filth of ydleness woulde easily be reiected and cast oute of thys common wealthe ; there would not be so many loytering, ydle persons, so many ruffians, blasphemers, and swinge bucklers, so many drunkardes, tossepottes, whooremaisters, dauncers, fydlers, and minstrels, diceplayers, and maskers, fencers, theeves, enterlude players, cut purses, cosiners, maisterlesse seruantes, jugglers, roges, sturdye beggars, counterfaite Egyptians, &c. as there are ; nor yet so many plagues to bee amongst vs as there are, if these dunghilles, and filthe in common weales were remoued, looked vnto, and cleane caste out by the industrie, payne, and trauell of those that are sette in authoritie and haue gouernemente." 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with other idle Pastimes*, ed. 1840, p. 76. See too the end of the note for p. 75, above, p. 265.

APPENDIX.

POPULAR AND POPISH
SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS

On Saints'-Days and Holy-Days

IN GERMANY
AND OTHER PAPIST LANDS

A.D. 1553,

BEING

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

“**The Popish Kingdome**, or *reigne of Antichrist*, written in Latine
verse by Thomas NAOGEORGUS (or KIRCHMAIER), and
englyshed by Barnabe Googe. . . Anno 1570.”

[THOMAS KIRCHMAIER: one of the most violent Protestant writers of the 16th century, born in 1511 at Straubingen, in Bavaria. Following the custom of his time, he changed his name for that of Nao-Georgos—two Greek words, having the same meaning. He embraced the reformation of Luther, and did not cease to declaim against what he termed the superstitions of the Romish Church, with a virulence which harmed him even in the opinion of the sensible members of his own community. [This is written by a Papist.] He had imagination, power, and much wit. From the number of his productions we can judge of the great facility with which he worked. He knew a good deal of Greek, and we possess several translations by him. After having exercised the functions of pastoral minister in various villages in Germany, and having called down upon himself the censures of the Consistory of Weimar, he died on the 29th December, 1563, at Wisbach, in the Palatinate. The curious seek for his works with great eagerness, and this reason has induced us to give a complete list of them. I. *Trag. nova, Pammachius*, Wittemberg, 1538, in 8° of 81 leaves. II. *Tragedia nova, Mercator seu Judicium*¹ (Bâle, 1540), in 8° of 75 leaves. This work has been translated into French under this title: *Le Marchand converti, tragédie nouvelle en laquelle la vraie et la fausse religion, au paragon l'une de l'autre, sont au vif représentées*, etc. (Genève), 1558; in 8° 1561, in 12° with the "*Comédie du Pape malade et tirant à sa fin*" (by Theod. de Bèze), 1585, in two parts in 16°; 1591 in 16°, 1594 in 12°. The translation of the "*Marchand Converti*" is attributed to J. Crespin. III. *Incendia, seu Pyrgopolynices, tragedia recens nata, nephanda quorundam papistici gregis exponens facinora*, Wittemberg, 1541, in 8° of 49 leaves, without the title-page; republished under the same date, in 8° of 56 leaves. This was Kirchmaier's rarest work, but it has been republished in the '*Politica imperialia*' of Goldast, p. 1112; IV. *Hammanus, trag. nova sumpta e Bibliis* (Leipzig), 1543, in small 8°; V. *Hieremias, trag. nova, ex propheta Hieremia sumpta* (Bâle), 1551, in 8°; VI. *Judas Iscariotes, trag. nova et sacra; adjuncta sunt duæ Sophoclis tragediæ, Ajax flagellifer et Philoctetes, carmine versæ* (Stuttgart), 1552, in 8°, rare; VII. *Agriculturæ sacræ libri V.*, ibid, 1550, small 8°; VIII. *Regnum papisticum*, 1553, small 8° of 173 pages, original edition; the same, with other works, Bâle, Oporin, 1559, in 8° of 343 pages, without counting 16 unnumbered leaves with the *Errata* and *Index* (see Brunet, Manuel du libraire); IX. *Explanatio Enchiridionis Epicteti*, Strasbourg, 1554, in 8°; X. *Satyrarum libri V priores, his sunt adjecti de animi tranquillitate duo libelli*, Bâle, 1555, in 8°; XI. *De dissidiis componendis libri duo; adjuncta est Satyra in J. della Casa*, ibid, 1559, in 8°; XII. *Annotationes in canonicam Joannis primam epistolam*, 1544, in 8°; XIII. *Confutatio de bello germanico in pedionetum, trimetris scasonibus*; XIV. *De Infantum ac parvulorum salute, deque Christi dicto: "Sinite parvulos venire ad me," etc. Conclusiones*, 145, Bâle, 1556, in 8°; XV. *Epîome ecclesiasticorum dogmatum, carmine hexametro heroica*. Kirchmaier has translated several of Dion Chrysostom's "*Discourses*" from Greek into Latin, Paris, 1604, fol.; several Pieces of Isocrates, Plutarch (Bâle, 1556, in 8°), and the letters of Synesius (ibid, 1558, in 8°), those of Phalaris, ibid, 1558, in 8°. Some works by him are to be found in the *Delicia poetarum Germanorum*, vol. 4.—*Biographie Universelle*, 2nd édition.]

¹ Tragedia, in qua, in conspectu ponuntur apostolica et papistica doctrina.

APPENDIX.

The Popish Kingdome.

The fourth booke.[*The Sidenotes of the original are in italics.*]

AS Papiſtes doe beleue and teach the vayneſt things that bee, [leaf 44]
 So with their doctrine and their fayth, their life doth iump
 agree.
 Their feaſts & all their holidayes they kepe throughout the
 yeare
 Are full of vile Idolatrie, and heathenlike appeare :
 Whereby though they do nothing teach, but ſhould their doctrine hide,
 (Which yet in volumes more than one, may openly be ſpide)
 Thou eaſily mayſt knowe whether true Catholikes they bee,
 And onely truſt in Chriſt, and keepe th'afſured veritee.
 Be therefore here a perſute Iudge, and all things warely way,
 With equall ballance, for before thine eyes I here will lay
 Moſt plainly, though not all (for who is able that to tell,)
 But ſuch as beſt are knowne to vs in *Germanie* that dwell.
 And firſt betwixt the dayes they make no little difference,
 For all be not of vertue like, nor like preheminance.
 But ſome of them Egyptian are, and full of ieopardie,
 And ſome againe beſide the reſt, both good and luckie bee.
 Like difference of the nights they make, as if th'almightie king,
 That made them all, not gracious were to them in euery thing.
 Beſide they giue attentiu eare to blinde Aſtronomars,
 About th'aſpects in euery howre of fundrie ſhining ſtars :
 And vnderneath what Planet euery man is borne and bred,
 What good or euill fortune doth hang ouer euery hed.
 Hereby they thinke afſuredly to know what ſhall befall,
 As men that haue no perſute fayth nor truſt in God at all :
 But thinke that euery thing is wrought and wholly guided here,
 By moouing of the Planets, and the whirling of the Speare.
 No vaine they perſe nor enter in the bathes at any day,
 Nor pare their nayles, nor from their hed do cut the heare away :
 They alſo put no childe to nurſe, nor mend with dounge their ground,
 Nor medicine do receyue to make their craſed bodies ſound,

Papiſts' Feaſts
and Holidayes are
idolatrous and
heathenlike.

8 They don't truſt
in Chriſt alone.

12

*Com. 26. q. 7.
Si quis. Non
oſer. Quis.
q. 2. Nos pla-
net. Sed & illu-
q. 5. Non liceat.*

16

20

They attend to
the Aspects of
the Stars, and
think folk's for-
tunes are ruld by
the Planets.

24

They'll not be
bled, bathe, or

take medicine,

324 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553.

without looking
to the Moon's
place.

[leaf 44, back]

Aduent.

On Christmas
eve, boys and
girls knock at
every door, wish
the inmates a
happy year, and
get fruit and
pence from them.

Wanton girls try
to find out their
husbands' names
by Onions,

and their
husbands' natures
by Faggots.

*Christmasse
daye.*

Some think all

[leaf 45]

the wine is turn'd
to water, and
back again.

Others watch for
altar-money.

3 Masses are
sung ;

Nor any other thing they do, but earnestly before
They marke the Moone how she is plac'd, and standeth euermore : 32
And every planet howe they rise, and set in eche degree,
Which things vnto the perfite fayth of Christ repugnant bee.
Which first I shoue, least in my course I should be driuen plaine,
To call to minde these foolish toys, now to my theame againe. 36

Three weekes before the day whereon was borne the Lorde of grace,
And on the Thursday Boyes and Girles do runne in every place,
And bounce and beate at every doore, with blowes and lustie snaps,
And crie, the aduent of the Lorde not borne as yet perhaps. 40
And wishing to the neighbours all, that in the houses dwell,
A happie yeare, and every thing to spring and prosper well :
Here haue they peares, and plumbs, & pence, ech man giues willinglee,
For these three nightes are alwayes thought, vnfortunate to bee : 44
Wherein they are afraide of sprites, and cankerd witches spight,
And dreadfull deuils blacke and grim, that then haue chiefeft might.

In these same dayes yong wanton Gyrles that meete for mariage bee,
Doe search to know the names of them that shall their husbandes bee.
Foure Onions, five, or eight, they take and make in every one, 49
Such names as they do fantasie most, and best do thinke vpon.

Thus neere the Chimney them they set, and that same Onyon than,
That first doth sproute, doth surely beare the name of their good man.
Their husbandes nature eke they seeke to know, and all his guise, 53
When as the Sunne hath hid himselfe, and left the starrie skies,
Unto some woodstake do they go, and while they there do stande,
Eche one drawes out a faggot sticke, the next that commes to hande,
Which if it streight and euen be, and haue no knots at all, 57
A gentle husband then they thinke shall surely to them fall.

But if it fowle and crooked be, and knottie here and there
A crabbed churlish husband then, they earnestly do feare. 60
These things the wicked Papistes beare, and suffer willingly,
Bicause they neyther do the ende, nor fruites of faith espie :
And rather had the people should obey their foolish lust,
Than truly God to know, and in him here alone to trust. 64

Then comes the day wherein the Lorde did bring his birth to passe,
Whereas at midnight vp they rise, and every man to Masse.
This time so holy counted is, that diuers earnestly

Do thinke the waters all to wine are chaunged sodainly : 68
In that same houre that Christ himselfe was borne, and came to light,
And vnto water streight againe, transformde and altdred quight.
There are beside that mindfully the money still do watch,
That first to altar commes, which then they priuily do snatch. 72
The Priestes least other should it haue, takes oft the same away,
Whereby they thinke throughout the yeare to haue good lucke in play,
And not to lose : then fraight at game till daylight do they friue,
To make some present prooffe how well their hallowde pence wil thriue.
Three Masses every Priest doth sing vpon that solemne day, 77
With offerings vnto every one, that so the more may play.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 325

This done, a wooden childe in clowtes is on the altair fet
 About the which both boyes and gyrles do daunce and trymly iet, 80
 And Carrols sing in prayfe of Chrif, and for to helpe them heare,
 The Organs aunfwere euery verfe, with fweete and folemne cheare.
 The Prieftes doe rore aloude, and round about the parentes ftande,
 To fee the fport, and with their voyce do helpe them and their hande.
 Thus woont the *Coribants* perhaps vpon the mountaine *Ide*, 85
 The crying noyfe of *Iupiter* new borne with fong to hide,
 To daunce about him round, and on their brafen pannes to beate,
 Leaf that his father finding him, fhould him deftroie and eate. 88
 Then followeth Saint Stephens day, whereon doth euery man,
 His horfes iaunt and courfe abroad, as fwiftly as he can.
 Untill they doe extremely sweate, and than they let them blood,
 For this being done vpon this day, they fay doth do them good, 92
 And keepes them from all maladies and fickneffe through the yeare,
 As if that Steuen any time tooke charge of horfes heare.
 Next *John* the fonne of *Zebedee* hath his appoynted day,
 Who once by cruell tyrants will, contrayned was they fay 96
 Strong poyfon vp to drinke, therefore the Papiftes doe beleue,
 That whofo puts their truft in him, no poyfon them can greeue.
 The wine befide that halowed is, in worfhip of his name,
 The Prieftes doe giue the people that bring money for the fame. 100
 And after with the felfe fame wine are little manchets made,
 Agaynft the boyftrous winter ftormes, and fundrie fuch like trade.
 The men vpon this folemne day, do take this holy wine, 103
 To make them ftrong, fo do the maydes to make them faire and fine.
 Then comes the day that calles to minde the cruell Herodes ftrife,
 Who feeking Chrif to kill, the king of euerlafting life,
 Deftroide the little infants yong, a beaft vnmercileffe,
 And put to death all fuch as were of two yeares age or leffe. 108
 To them the finfull wretcheffe crie, and earneftly do pray,
 To get them pardon for their faultes, and wipe their finnes away.
 The Parentes when this day appeares, doe beate their children all,
 (Though nothing they deferue) and fervaunts all to beating fall, 112
 And Monkes do whip eche other well, or elfe their Prior great,
 Or Abbot mad, doth take in hande their breeches all to beat:
 In worfhip of thefe Innocents, or rather as we fee,
 In honour of the curfed king, that did this crueltee. 116
 The next to this is Newyeares day, whereon to euery frende,
 They coftly presents in do bring, and Newyeares giftes do fende.
 Thefe giftes the husband giues his wife, and father eke the childe,
 And maifter on his men beftowes the like, with fauour milde. 120
 And good beginning of the yeare they wifhe and wifhe againe,
 According to the auncient guife of heathen people vaine.
 Thefe eight dayes no man doth require his dettes of any man,
 Their tables do they furnifh out with all the meate they can: 124
 With Marchpaynes, Tartes, & Cuftards great, they drink with ftaring
 They rowte and reuell, feede and feaft, as merry all as Pyes: [eyes,

and a wooden
 Child drest up,
 set on the altar.
 Boys and Girls
 daunce and sing
 round it,
 the Priests roar,
 and the Parents
 clap.

Saint Steuen.
 Dec. 26.
 Horses are gal-
 lopt till they
 sweat, to keep
 em well all the
 year.

Saint Iohn.
 Dec. 27.

Priests hallow
 wine, and sell it,
 and make Man-
 chets with it,
 against storms.

[leaf 45. back]
Childermasse.
 Dec. 28.

Parents beat
 their children,
 servants and
 Monks beat one
 another.

Newyeares day.
 Gifts are made
 to every one.

For 8 days no
 man asks a debt.
 Great feasting
 goes on.

326 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.*

Twelve day.
January 6.

Every set of
friends chooses a
King, and has a
feast.

Children choose
a Prince too.

[leaf 46]

Every house-
holder makes a
big cake, and
puts a penny in
it. It's cut up,

and the man who
gets the penny,
is King, and is
lifted up to the
roof to make
crosses on the
rafters, against
spirits.

At night,
Frankincense is
burnt, and all the
family smoke
their noses and
eyes in it, to keep
'em sound.

Then they carry
the pan in pro-
cession round
the house, to
keep witches off.

They foretell the
year's weather
too.

As if they should at th'entrance of this newe yeare hap to die,
Yet would they haue theyr bellyes full, and auncient friendes allie. 128

The wife mens day here foloweth, who out from *Persia* farre,
Brought gifts and presents vnto Christ, conducted by a starre.
The Papistes do beleue that these were kings, and so them call,
And do affirme that of the same there were but three in all. 132

Here sundrie friendes together come, and meete in companie,
And make a king amongst themselues by voyce or destinie :
Who after princely guise appoyntes, his officers alway,
Then vnto feasting doe they go, and long time after play : 136

Upon their bordes in order thicke the daintie dishes fflande,
Till that their purses emptie be, and creditors at hande.

Their children herein follow them, and choosung princes here,
With pompe and great solemnitie, they meete and make good chere :
With money eyther got by stealth, or of their parents eft, 141
That so they may be traynde to knowe both ryot here and theft.

Then also euery hougholder, to his abilitie,
Doth make a mightie Cake, that may suffice his companie : 144
Herein a pennie doth he put, before it come to fire,

This he deuides according as his hougholde doth require,
And euery peece distributeth, as round about they stand,
Which in their names vnto the poore is giuen out of hand : 148

But who so chaunceth on the peece wherein the money lies,
Is counted king amongst them all, and is with showtes and cries
Exalted to the heauens vp, who taking chalke in hande,

Doth make a croffe on euery beame, and rafters as they stande : 152
Great force and powre haue these agaynst all iniuries and harmes
Of cursed deuils, sprites, and bugges, of coniurings and charmes.

So much this king can do, so much the Crosses brings to passe,
Made by some seruant, maide, or childe, or by some foolish affe. 156
Twise fixe nightes then from Christmasse, they do count with diligence,

Wherein eche maister in his house doth burne vp Franckenfence :
And on the Table setteth a loafe, when night approacheth nere,
Before the Coles, and Franckenfence to be perfumed there : 160

Firft bowing downe his heade he standes, and nose and eares, and eyes
He smokes, and with his mouth receyue the fume that doth arise :
Whom followeth streight his wife, and doth the same full solely,

And of their children euery one, and all their family : 164
Which doth preferue they say their teeth, and nose, and eyes, and eare,
From euery kind of maladie, and sicknesse all the yeare.

When euery one receyued hath this odour great and small,
Then one takes vp the pan with Coales, and Franckenfence and all,
An other takes the loafe, whom all the reast do follow here, 169

And round about the house they go, with torch or taper clere,
That neither bread nor meat do want, nor witch with dreadful charme,
Haue powre to hurt their children, or to do their cattell harme. 172

There are that three nightes onely do perfourme this foolish geare,
To this intent, and thinke themselues in safetie all the yeare.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 327

To Christ dare none commit himselfe. And in these dayes beside,
They iudge what weather all the yere shall happen and betide: 176
Ascribing to ech day a month, and at this present time,
The youth in euery place doe flocke, and all appareld fine,
With Pypars through the freetes they runne, and sing at euery dore,
In commendation of the man, rewarded well therefore: 180

[leaf 46, back]

Young men
drest-up, go
singing thro the
streets with
Pipers.

Which on themselues they do bestowe, or on the Church, as though
The people were not plagued with Roges and begging Friers enough.
There Cities are, where boyes and gyrlies together fill do runne,
About the freete with like, as soone as night beginnes to come, 184
And bring abroad their waffell bowles, who well rewarded bee,
With Cakes and Cheefe, and great good cheare, and money plentiouslee.

Then comes in place saint *Agnes* day, which here in Germanie,
Is not so much esteemde, nor kept with such solemnitie: 188

Saint Agnes.
Jan. 21.

But in the Popish Court it standes in passing hie degree,
As spring and head of wondrous gaine, and great commoditee.
For in saint *Agnes* Church vpon this day while Masse they sing,
Two Lambes as white as snowe, the Nonnes do yerele vfe to bring:
And when the *Agnus* chaunted is, vpon the aultar hie, 193
(For in this thing there hidden is a solemne myserie)

Is kept at Rome
solemnly.

2 snow-white
lambs are offerd
on the altar,

They offer them. The seruants of the Pope when this is done,
Do put them into Pasture good till shearing time be come. 196

then put to grass
and shorn: and
their wool is
made into narrow
Palls,

Then other wooll they mingle with these holy fleeces twaine,
Whereof being sponne and drest, are made the Pals of passing gaine:
Three fingers commonly in bredth, and wrought in compasse so,
As on the Bishops shoulders well they round about may go. 200

These Pals thus on the shoulders set, both on the backe and breft,
Haue labels hanging something lowe, the endes whereof are drest,
And typte with plates of weightie lead, and vesture blacke arayde,
And last of all to make an ende, with knots are surely stayde. 204
O ioyfull day of *Agnes*, and to Papistes full of gaine,
O precious worthie Lambes, O wooll most fortunate againe.

with labels tipt
with lead.

O happie they that spin and weaue the same, whose handes may touch
This holy wooll, and make these Pals of price and vertue such. 208

These Palls,
Bishops and
Archbishops are
forc't to buy at
high prices.

For by the same the Bishops haue their full authoritie,
And Metropolitanes are forced, these dearely for to buie.
Bestowing sometime eight, or ten, yea thirtie thousand crownes,
Ere halfe the yere be full expirde, for these same pelting gownes, 212
Ne can they vfe the Pall that was their predecessors late,

[leaf 47]

Nor play the Bishop, nor receyue the Primates hie estate,
Till that he get one of his owne: with such like subtiltie,
The Pope doth all men powle, without respect of Simonie. 216

Perchance such force doth not in these same holy Lambes remaine,
Nor of it selfe the wooll so much, nor all the weauers paine,
As these same powlers seeme to say: for thus these palles being wrought,
Are freight waies to S. Peters Church by hands of Deacons brought,
And vnderneath the aultar all the night they buried lie, 221
Among saint Peters reliques and saint Paules his fellow bie.

The Palls are
put under the
altar in St.
Peter's, among
his relics, for one
night, and thence

are thought to
draw heavenly
power.

From hence the sacred iuyce they draw, and powre celestiall,
As if the holy ghoſt ſhould giue theſe Clarkes his vertue all. 224

Strauenge Reliques fure, and bodies eke of paſſing ſanctitie,
That to ſuch lowlie clokes can giue ſo great auctoritie.

Who would not more eſteeme you nowe then when you here did liue,
When as no clokes at all you did vnto your Biſhops giue, 228

Foul deceits !

Nor fed ſo many paunches great, nor ſhauen companies,
With foule illuſions and deceytes and ſhameleſſe ſuttelties ?

Now ſiluer do you giue and heapes of golde together rake
From euery realme, and for a denne of theeues prouiſion make. 232
Farre be it from me that I ſhould thus of you beleue or fay :

What holy thing
hau'n't the
Papiſts turn'd to
gain ?

But what ſo holy in this worlde hath bene, or is this day,
That this ſame wicked Papacie doth not conuert to gaine ?
Th'almightie Lord himſelfe aboue in ſafetie cannot raigne. 236

Now here the Papiſtes do declare from whom at firſt did ſpring,
The viſe of this ſame pelting Pall, and this vnſeemely thing.
And here a thouſand lyes they make, from auncient fathers olde,
They ſay the firſt inuention came, ne dare they yet be bolde 240
To burthen Peter with the ſame, for feare they faint in prooſe,
But do reiect, not probably, yet farther of alooſe.

Such folly and ambition great, whereat you wonder may.

They ſay theſe
Palls were inſti-
tuted by St.
Peter's ſucceſſor.

For *Linus* he that Peter firſt ſucceeded as they ſay, 244

And guyded next the ſea of Rome, firſt tooke this ſame in hande,

That woollen garment might in ſteede of linnen *Ephod* ſtande.

But where was *Agnes* at this tyme ? who offred vp and how,

The two white Lambes ? where then was Maſſe as it is vſed now ?

[leaf 47, back]

Yea where was then the popiſh ſtate, and dreadfull Monarchie ? 249
Sure in faint *Auſtens* time, there were no Palles at *Rome* to ſee :

When Biſhops all had equall powre, although as ſtorie tell,
The romiſhe Biſhop did the reaſt in worthineſſe excell. 252

Thus Papiſtes neuer count it thame, nor any fault to lie,

So they may get great ſummes of golde, and rayſe their kingdome hie.

Candelmaſſe.
Feb. 2.

Then comes the day wherein the virgin offred Chriſt vnto

The father chiefe, as *Mouſes* law commaunded hir to do. 256

Then numbers great of Tapers large, both men and women beare

To Church, being halowed there with pomp, & dreadful words to heare.

This done, eche man his Candell lightes, where chiefeſt ſeemeth hee,

Whoſe taper greateſt may be ſeene, and fortunate to bee : 260

Whoſe Candell burneth cleare and bright, a wondrous force and might

Doth in theſe Candels lie, which if at any time they light,

They ſure beleue that neyther ſtorme nor tempeſt dare abide,

Nor thunder in the ſkies be heard, nor any deuils ſpide, 264

Nor fearefull ſprites that walke by night, nor hurts of froſt or haile,

How eaſily can theſe fellowes all theſe hurly burlyes quaile ?

That needleſſe is it nowe to put their truſt in Chriſt alone,

Or to commit all things to him that ſittes in chiefeſt throne. 268

Blawe. Feb. 3.
The Holy-Water
man.

Then followeth good fir *Blawe*, who doth a waxen Candell giue,
And holy water to his men, whereby they ſafely liue.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 329

I diuers Barrels oft haue feene, drawne out of water cleare,
Through one small blessed bone of this fame holy martyr heare : 272
And caryed thence to other townes and Cities farre away,
Ech superstition doth require such earnest kinde of play :
But in the meane time no man seekes for Christ and God aboue,
Nor dare content themselues to haue his fauour and his loue. 276

Barrels of it are
drawn thro' one
of his bones.

Now when at length the pleafant time of Shrouetide comes in place,
And cruell fasting dayes at hande approch with solemne grace :
Then olde and yong are both as mad, as ghestes of *Bacchus* feast,
And foure dayes long they tipples square, and feede and neuer reaft.
Downe goes the Hogges in euery place, and puddings euery wheare
Do swarme: the Dice are shakte and toft, and Cardes apace they teare :
In euery house are showtes and cryes, and mirth, and reuell route,
And daintie tables spred, and all be set with ghestes aboute : 284
With fundrie playes and Christmasse games, & feare and shame away,
The tongue is set at libertie, and hath no kinde of stay.

Shrouetide
(Shrove Tuesday
varies from Feb.
3 to March 9).

Is a regular
Carnival,
Drinking and
feasting go on
for 4 days, with
cards, mirth,
and revels.

[leaf 48]

Every one does
as he likes,

All thinges are lawfull then and done, no pleasure passed by,
That in their mindes they can deuise, as if they then should die : 288
The chiefeft man is he, and one that most deserueth prayie,
Among the rest that can finde out the fondest kinde of playes.
On him they looke and gaze vpon, and laugh with lustie cheare,
Whom boyes do follow, crying foole, and such like other geare. 292
He in the meane time thinkes himselfe a wondrous worthie man,
Not moued with their wordes nor cryes, do whatfoeuer they can.
Some sort there are that runne with stauies, or fight in armour fine,
Or shew the people foolishe toyes, for some small peece of wine. 296
Eche partie hath his fauourers, and faythfull friendes enowe,
That readie are to turne themselues, as fortune list to bowe.

and the best man
is he who finds
out the silliest
games.

Some men get
up fights ;

But some againe the dreadfull shape of deuils on them take,
And chase such as they meete, and make poore boyes for feare to quake.
Some naked runne about the freetes, their faces hid alone, 301
With visars close, that so disguise, they might be knowne of none.
Both men and women chaunge their weede, the men in maydes aray,
And wanton wenches drest like men, doe trauell by the way, 304
And to their neighbours houses go, or where it likes them best,
Perhaps vnto some auncient friend or olde acquainted ghest,
Unknowne, and speaking but fewe wordes, the meate deuour they vp,
That is before them set, and cleane they swinge of euery cup. 308

some dress like
Devils ;

some run about
naked.

Girls dress like
men, and go and
feast at neigh-
bours' houses.

Some runne about the streets attyrde like Monks, and some like kings,
Accompanied with pompe and garde, and other stately thinges.
Some hatch yong fooles as hennies do egges with good and speedie lucke,
Or as the Goose doth vse to do, or as the quacking ducke. 312
Some like wilde beastes doe runne abroad in skinned that diuers bee
Arayde, and eke with lothsome shapes, that dreadfull are to see :
They counterfet both Beares and Woolues, and Lions fierce in fight,
And raging Bulles. Some play the Cranes with wings & stilts vpnight.
Some like the filthie forme of Apes, and some like fooles are drest,
Which best befeme these Papistes all, that thus keepe *Bacchus* feast.

Some folk dress
up like wild
beasts, or

cranes or apes.

330 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553.

Some carry
about a turd on
a cushion.
[leaf 48, back]

Some make a
Guy, and toss
him in a blanket.

They dance
lewdly.

They tie folk's
hands behind
their backs, and
dance before
them, jingling
basins.

If there's snow,
they pelt one
another with
snowballs.

Rich men and
their families, in
waggons with
fast horses, and
too jingling bells
round their
necks, gallop
madly thro the
streets.

[leaf 49]

This madness
goes on up to
midnight.

But others beare a torde, that on a Cushion soft they lay,
And one there is that with a flap doth keepe the flies away. 320
I would there might an other be an officer of those,
Whose roome might serue to take away the scent from euery nose.
Some others make a man all stufte with straw or ragges within,
Apparayled in dublet faire, and hosen passing trim: 324
Whom as a man that lately dyed of honest life and fame,
In blanket hid they beare about, and freightwayes with the same
They hurle him vp into the ayre, not suffring him to fall,
And this they doe at diuers tymes the Citie ouer all. 328
I shew not here their daunces yet, with filthie iestures mad,
Nor other wanton sportes that on these holydayes are had.
There places are where such as hap to come within this dore,
Though olde acquainted friendes they be, or neuer seene before 332
And say not first here by your leaue, both in and out I go,
They binde their handes behinde their backes, nor any difference tho
Of man or woman is there made, but Basons ringing great,
Before them do they daunce with ioy, and sport in euery streat. 336
There are that certaine prayers haue that on the Tuesday fall,
Against the quartaine Ague, and the other Feuers all.
But others than fowe Onyon seede, the greater to be seene,
And Persley eke, and Lettys both, to haue them alwayes greene. 340
Of truth I loth for to declare the foolishhe toyes and trickes,
That in these dayes are done by these fame popish Catholickes:
If snowe lie deepe vpon the ground, and almost thawing bee,
Then foolles in number great thou shalt in euery corner see: 344
For balles of snow they make, and them one at another cast,
Till that the conquerde part doth yeelde and run away at last.
No Matrone olde nor sober man can freely by them come,
At home he must abide that will these wanton fellowes shonne. 348
Besides the noble men, the riche, and men of hie degree,
Least they with common people should not seeme so mad to bee,
There wagons finely framde before, and for this matter meete,
And lustie horse and swift of pace, well trapt from head to feete 352
They put therein, about whose necke and euery place before,
A hundred gingling belles do hang, to make his courage more.
Their wiues and children therein set, behinde themselues do stande,
Well armde with whips, and holding fast the bridle in their hande,
With all their force throughout the streetes and market place they ron,
As if some whirlewinde mad, or tempest great from skies should come.
As fast as may be from the str[ea]tes, th[is] amazed people flye,
And giues them place while they about doe runne continually. 360
Yea sometime legges or armes they breake, and horse and carte and all
They ouerthrow, with such a force, they in their course doe fall.
Much lesse they man or childe doe spare, that meetes them in the waye,
Nor they content themselues to vse this madnesse all the daye: 364
But euen till midnight holde they on, their pastimes for to make,
Whereby they hinder men of sleepe, and cause their heades to ake.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 331

But all this fame they care not for, nor doe esteeme a heare,
So they may haue their pleasure still, and foolish wanton geare. 368

The Wednesday next a solemne day, to Church they early go,
To sponge out all the foolish deedes by them committed so,
They money giue, and on their heddes, the Priestes doth ashes lay,
And with his holy water washeth all their finnes away : 372

In woondrous sort against the veniall finnes doth profite this,
Yet here no stay of madnesse now, nor ende of follie is,
With mirth to dinner straight they go, and to their woonted playe,
And on their deuills shapes they put, and sprightfist fonde araye. 376

Some fort there are that mourning go, with lantarnes in their hande,
While in the day time *Titan* bright, amid the skies doth stande :
And seeke their shroftide *Bachanals*, still crying euery where,
Where are our feastes become? alas the cruell fastes appere. 380

Some beare about a herring on a staffe, and lowde doe rore,
Herrings, herrings, flincking herrings, puddings now no more.
And hereto ioyne they foolish playes, and doltish doggrel rimes,
And what beside they can inuent, belonging to the times. 384

Some other beare vpon a staffe their fellowes horied hie,
And carie them vnto some ponde, or running riuer nie,
That what so of their foolish feast, doth in them yet remayne,
May vnderneath the floud be plunge, and washt away againe. 388

Some children doe intise with Nuttes, and pearces abroad to play,
And singing through the towne they go, before them all the way.
In some place all the youthfull flocke, with minstrels doe repaire,
And out of euery house they plucke the girles, and maydens fayre. 392

And them to plough they straitwayes put, with whip one doth them hit,
Another holdes the plough in haude, the Minstrell here doth sit
Amidde the same, and drounken songes, with gaping mouth he sings,
Whome foloweth one that sowes out sande, or ashes fondely flings. 396

When thus they through the streetes haue plaide, the man *that* guideth
all

Doth driue both plough & maydens through some ponde or riuer
small :

And dabbled all with durt, and wringing wette as they may bee,
To supper calles, and after that to daunting lustilees. 400

The follie that these dayes is vife, can no man well declare,
Their wanton pastimes, wicked actes, and all their franticke fare.
On Sunday at the length they leaue, their mad and foolish game,
And yet not so, but that they drinke, and dice away the same. 404

Thus at the last to *Bacchus* is this day appoynted cleare,
Then (O poore wretches) fastings long approaching doe appeare :
In fourtie dayes they neyther milke, nor fleshe, nor egges doe eate,
And butter with their lippes to touch, is thought a trepasse great : 408

Both Ling and saltfishe they deuoure, and fishe of euery sorte,
Whose purse is full, and such as liue in great and welthie porte :
But onyans, browne bread, leekes and salt, must poore men dayly gnaw
And fry their oten cakes in oyle. The Pope deuifde this law 412

Ashwednesday
(varies from Feb.
4 to March 10).

Priests lay ashes
on folk's heads,
and wash all
their sins away
with holy water.
But still they go
on with their
larks.

They carry about
a herring on a
staff, and sing
doggrel rymes ;
or horse a man,
and heave him
into a pond.

Others pull girls
[leaf 49, back]
out, harness em
in a plough,

and drive em
thro the streets

and some stream ;

and then sup
and dance.

Even on Sunday
they drink and
dice.

Lent.

For 40 dayes
(Ash-Wensday
the 1st) only salt-
fish,

onions, brown
bread and leeks
are eaten.

The Images in Churches are covered up, and painted cloths shown declaring God's wrath.

Care Sunday.
Passion or Carle Sunday, the 5th in Lent.

[leaf 50]

All folk are absolved.
The boys draw a guy of Death into the country.

They have 2 guys of Summer and Winter, and make Summer beat Winter.

Palme Sunday
(varies from March 15 to April 18).

They set a wooden Ass, ridden by an image, on wheels, before the Church door.
Folk bring boughs.

Two lubbers sing that the Image is Christ, and

For finnes, th'offending people here from hell and death to pull,
Beleeuing not that all their finnes, were earst forgiuen full.
Yet here these wofull soules he helps, and taking money fast,
Doth all things set at libertie, both egges and flesh at last. 416

The Images and pictures now are couerde secretlie,
In euery Church, and from the beames, the roofe and rafters hie
Hanges painted linnen clothes that to the people doth declare,
The wrath and furie great of God, and times that fasted are. 420
Then all men are constraunde their finnes, by cruell law to tell,
And threatned if they hide but one, with dredfull death and hell.
From hence no little gaines vnto the Priestes doth still arise,
And of the Pope the thambles doth appeare in beastly wise. 424

Now comes the sunday forth, of this same great and holy fast,
Here doth the Pope the shruen bleffe, absolving them at last,
From all their finnes, and of the Iewes the law he doth alow,
As if the power of God had not sufficient bene till now. 428

Or that the law of Moyse here, were still of force and might,
In these same happie dayes, when Christ doth raigne w^t heauenly light.
The boyes with ropes of straw doth frame an vgly monster here,
And call him death, whom from the towne, with prowde & solemne chere
To hilles and valleyes they conuey, and villages thereby, 433
From whence they fragling doe returne, well beaten commonly.

Thus children also beare with speares, their Cracknelles round about,
And two they haue, whereof the one is called Sommer stout: 436
Apparalde all in greene, and drest in youthfull fine araye,
The other Winter, clad in mosse with heare all hoare and graye:
These two together fight, of which the Palme doth Sommer get,
From hence to meate they go, and all with wine their whistles wet.
The other toyes that in this time, of holly fastes appeare, 441
I loth to tell, nor order like, is vsed euery wheare.

Here comes that worthie day wherein, our sauior Christ is thought,
To come vnto Ierusalem, on asses shoulders brought: 444

When as againe these Papistes fonde, their foolish pageantes haue,
With pompe and great solemnitie, and countnaunce wondrous graue.
A wooden Ass they haue, and Image great that on him rides,
But vnderneath the Asses feete, a table broade there slides, 448
Being borne on wheelles, which ready drest, and al things meete therfore
The Ass is brought abroade and fet before the Churches doore:
The people all do come and bowes of trees and palmes they bere,
Which things against the tempest great, the Parson coniures there,
And fraytwayes downe before the Ass, vpon his face he lies, 453
Whome there an other Priest doth strike with rodde of largest sife:

He rising vp, two lubbours great vpon their faces fall,
In straunge attire and lothfomely, with filthie tune they ball: 456
Who when againe they risen are, with stretching out their hande,
They poynt vnto the wooden knight, and singing as they stande
Declare that that is he that came, into the worlde to saue,
And to redeeme such as in him their hope assured haue: 460

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 333

And euen the same that long agoe while in the streete he roade,
The people mette, and Oliue bowes so thicke before hym stroade.
This being sounge, the people cast the braunches as they passe,
Some part vpon the Image, and some part vpon the Ass. 464

the people cast
their boughs on
the Image.

Before whose feete a wondrous heape, of bowes and braunches ly,
This done, into the Church he strayght, is drawne full solemly :
The shauen Priestes before them marche, the people follow fast,
Still striuing who shall gather first the bowes that downe are cast : 468
For falsely they beleue that these, haue force and vertue great,
Againstt the rage of winter stormes, and thunders flashing beate.

[leaf 50, back]
The Ass is
drawn into the
church, and folk
pick up the
boughs to pro-
tect them from
storms.

Are Idoles worthipt otherwise, are these not wicked things?
Euen I my selfe haue earst behelde, both wise and mightie Kings 472
Defilde with this religion vile, that on their knees haue kneelde,
Unto these stockes, and honour due to God, to them did yeelede.

In some place wealthie Citizens, and men of sober chere
For no small summe doe hire this Ass, with them about to bere, 476
And manerly they vse the same, not suffering any by,

(Some rich men
hire this Ass
and take it about
with em.)

To touch this Ass, nor to presume vnto his presence ny :
For they suppose that in this thing, they Christ doe highly serue,
And well of him accepted are, and great rewardes deferue. 480

If any man shall happe to thinke, them Asses here in this,
I sure beleue he is not much deceyde, nor thinkes amis.

When as the Priestes and people all haue ended this the sport,
The boyes doe after dinner come, and to the Church resort : 484

After dinner
boys drag the
Ass about the
streets, and get
money and eggs
for it; half of
which goes to
the Priest.

The Sexten please with price, and looking well no harme be done,
They take the Ass, and through the freetes, & crooked lanes they rone,
Whereas they common verses sing, according to the guise,
The people giuing money, breade, and egges of largest cife. 488

Of this their gaines they are compelde, the maister halfe to giue,
Least he alone without his portion of the Ass shoulde liue.

From Thursday then till Easter come, the fondest toyes haue place
Wherin these cathlikes think themselues, great men of wondrous grace
First three dayes space the belles are wilde, in silence for to lie, 493

*Maundy
Thursday*
(Day before
Good Friday).

When from the toppes of hawtie towres, with clappers lowd they crie.
The boyes in euery strete doe runne, and noyses great they make,

For 3 days the
bells are still,
and then rung
lowdly. 3 Mid-
night seruices
are held in
Church, the
lights are put
out, and a
regular shindy
follows,

While as in calling men to Church their wooden clappers shake. 496
Three nightes at midnight vp they rise, their Mattens for to heare,

[leaf 51]

Appoynted well with clubbes and staues, and stones in order theare :
The Sexten fraightwayes putteth out the candles speedely,

And fraight the Priest with rustie throte, alowde begins to cry. 500
Then furious rage begins to spring, and hurlyburly rise,

On pewes and desks and seates they bounce, & beate in dredfullwise:
Thou wouldst suppose they were posselt, with sprights and deuills all,

Or fury such as forceth them, that vpon *Baccus* call. 504
Some beaten downe with clubbes and staues, amongst the pewes do ly

men being
beaten and
wounded.

And others almost brainde with stones, or wounded mortally.
Well serues the darckeness for these deedes, and thereto doth agree,

The fashions like of euery one, that thus enraged bee. 508

334 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553.

Here wicked *Iudas* all to torne, with vile reproches lies,
And Marie in the darcke is calde vpon with childish cries.
That she be mercifull and helpe, and heale the faultes that bee,
And through hir powre deliuer them, from hurt and miseree. 512

Then candles are
lighted, and a
lantern's hung
round an
image's neck.

These things vnto these feastes belongs, the candles being light,
An Image fastned to a crosse is caried all vpright :

The Bishop's oil
and glasses are
blest, and the
altar-cloths
washt.

A lanterne rounde about his necke, is hangde to shew the way,
Are not these popish foolish toyes, a pretie kinde of play ? 516

This day the oyle and glasse of the Bishop hallowed bee,
And twise three times saluting them, he lowly bendes his knee.
The Cannons after doe the same, with laughter wouldst thou faint,
And woonder farre to see them make, their speechelasse glasse a faint.
Their dinner done, from th'altar all their costly clothes they take,
And wash it, rubbing it with bowes, and broles that they doe make :
Then water on they powre and wine crossewise there on they lay,
And to the patron of ech altar, humbly doe they pray, 524

The Monks
make their
Maundy, and
wash each other's
feet.

That they vouchsafe to looke vpon theyr seruants worshipping,
And to aswage the furie great, of *Ioue* the thundring King.
And here the Monkes their maundie make, with sundrie solemne rights
And signes of great humilitie, and wondrous pleasaunt fights. 528

Ech one the others feete doth wash, and wipe them cleane and drie,
With hatefull minde, and secret frawde, that in their heartes doth lye
As if that Christ with his examples, did these thinges require,
And not to helpe our brethren here, with zeale and free desire, 532
Ech one supplying others want, in all things that they may,
As he himselve a seruauant made, to serue vs euery way.

Then they take
to loaf and pot.

Then frait the loaues doe walke, and pottes in euery place they skinke
Wherewith the holy fathers oft, to pleasaunt damfels drinke, 536
And sure with no dissembling heart, for true as Steele they bee,
And often times they put in prooffe their great fidelitee.

[leaf 51, back]

Good friday
(varies from
March 22 to
April 25).

2 Priests lay the
Image of the
Crucifix on
Turkey carpets,
and worship this
wooden God.

Two Priestes the next day following, vpon their shoulders beare,
The Image of the Crucifix, about the altar neare : 540

Being clad in coape of crimozen die, and dolefully they sing
At length before the steps his coate pluckt of they straight him bring,
And vpon Turkey Carpettes lay him downe full tenderly,
With cushions vnderneath his heade, and pillowes heaped hie : 544

Then flat vpon the grounde they fall, and kisse both hande and feete,
And worship so this wooden God, with honour farre vnmeete.
Then all the shauen fort falles downe, and foloweth them herein,
As workemen chiefe of wickednesse, they first of all begin : 548

The simple folk
bring gifts, sweet
to the poll-shorn
crew.

And after them the simple soules, the common people come,
And worship him with diuers giftes, as Golde, and siluer some :
And others corne or egges againe, to poulthorne persons sweete,
And eke a long desired price, for wicked worship meete. 552

How are the Idoles worshipped, if this religion here
Be Catholike, and like the spowes of Christ accounted dere ?

Besides with Images the more, their pleasure here to take.
And Christ that euery where doth raigne, a laughing stocke to make,

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 335

An other Image doe they get, like one but newly deade, 557
 With legges stretcht out at length and handes, vpon his body spreade :
 And him with pompe and sacred song, they beare vnto his graue,
 His bodie all being wrapt in lawne, and filkes and farcenet braue, 560
 The boyes before with clappers go, and filthie noyses make,
 The Sexten beares the light, the people hereof knowledge take :
 And downe they kneele, or kisse the grounde, their handes helde vp abroad
 And knocking on their breastes they make, this wooden blocke a God.
 And leaft in graue he shoulde remaine, without some companie, 565
 The finging bread is layde with him, for more idolatrie :
 The Priest the Image worships first, as falleth to his turne,
 And frankenence and fweete perfumes, before the breade doth burne :
 With tapers, all the people come, and at the barriers stay, 569
 Where downe vpon their knees they fall, and night and day they pray :
 And violets and euery kinde of flowres about the graue
 They straw, and bring in all their giftes, and presents that they haue.
 The finging men their Dirges chaunt, as if some guiltie soule
 Were buried there, that thus they may, the people better poule. 574

On Easter eue the fire all, is quencht in euery place,
 And fresh againe from out the flint, is fetcht with solemne grace :
 The Priest doth halow this against great daungers many one,
 A brande whereof doth euery man with greedie minde take home, 578
 That when the fearefull storme appeares, or tempest blacke arise,
 By lighting this he safe may be, from stroke of hurtfull skies :
 A Taper great, the paschall namde, with musicke then they blesse,
 And franckenence herein they pricke, for greater holynesse : 582
 This burneth night and day as signe, of Christ that conquerde hell,
 As if so be this foolish toye, suffiseth this to tell.
 Then doth the Bishop or the Priest, the water halow straight,
 That for their baptisme is referude : for now no more of waight 586
 Is that they vfe the yeare before, nor can they any more,
 Yong children christen with the same, as they haue done before.
 With woondrous pompe and furniture, amid the Church they go,
 With candles, crosse, banners, Chrisme, and oyle appoynted tho : 590
 Nine times about the font they marche, and on the saintes doe call,
 Then still at length they stande, and straight the Priest begins withall,
 And thrife the water doth he touche, and crosse thereon make,
 Here bigge and barbrous wordes he speakes, to make the deuill quake :
 And holisme waters coniureth, and foolishly doth dresse, 595
 Supposing holyar that to make, which God before did blesse :
 And after this his candle than, he thrusteth in the floode,
 And thrife he breathes thereon with breath, that stinkes of former foode :
 And making here an ende, his Chrisme he poureth therevpon, 599
 The people staring hereat stande, amazed euery one :
 Beleeuing that great powre is giuen to this water here,
 By gaping of these learned men, and such like trifling gere.
 Therefore in vessels brought they draw, and home they carie some,
 Against the grieues that to themselues, or to their beastes may come.

The Priests
dress and bring
an image of
Christ.

Boys make
noises with
clappers

Singing bread
is laid with the
image in the
grave ;

flowers are
strewn about it
and Dirges
[leaf 52]
sung.

Easter eue.

All fires are put
out ; and a
brand blest, to
keep off storms.

The Paschal
Taper is burnt
day and night.

Water is made
holy for next
year's baptisms.

A Procession
marches 9 times
round the font,
and the Priest
hallows the
Water, .

pouring his
Chrism on it.

Folk carry some
home, and

fasting is over.	Then Clappers ceasse, and belles are set againe at libertee,	605
<i>Easter day.</i>	And herewithall the hungrie times of fasting ended bee.	
[leaf 52, back]	At midnight then with carefull minde, they vp to mattens ries,	
They take the buried Image out of the grave,	The Clarke doth come, and after him, the Priest with staring eies :	608
	The Image and the breade from out the graue (a worthie fight)	
	They take, and Angels two they place in vesture white,	
	And rounde about ech place appeeres, all voyde of standers by	
	Saue onely that the watchmen there, amazed seeme to ly.	612
	But yet I thinke the trembling of the earth they neuer see,	
	Nor of the heauenly messenger, the flaming maiestie.	
put another on the Altar, and sing 'Christ is risen.'	An other Image of a Conquerour they forth doe bring,	
	And on the altuar place, and then, they lustily doe sing,	616
	That Gates of hell a sunder burst, and Sathan ouerthrowne,	
	Chrif from his graue is risen vp, and now aliuie is knowne.	
	Which yet they thinke not so to be, as plainly doth appeere,	
	By their Religion, doubtles, and feare, and by their doings here.	620
Pageants are played by maskers : as the 3 Maries at the Sepulchre.	In some place solemne fightes and showes, & Pageants fayre are playd,	
	With fundrie sortes of maskers braue, in straunge attire arayd,	
	As where the Maries three doe meete, the sepulchre to see,	
	And <i>John</i> with <i>Peter</i> swiftly runnes, before him there to bee.	624
	These things are done with iesture such, and with so pleasaunt game,	
	That euen the grauest men that liue, woulde laugh to see the same.	
Feasting begins at midnight.	At midnight strait, not tarying till the daylight doe appeere,	627
	Some gettes in flesh, and glutton lyke, they feede vpon their cheere.	
	They rost their flesh, and custardes great, and egges and radish store,	
	And trifles, clouted creame, and cheese, and whatsoeuer more	
	At first they list to eate, they bring into the temple fraight,	631
	That so the Priest may halow them with wordes of wondrous waight.	
Friars and Priests get fees.	The Friers besides, & pelting Priestes, from house to house doe roame,	
	Receyuing gaine of euery man that this will haue at home.	
Radishes are eaten against the quartan ague.	Some raddish rootes this day doe take before all other meate,	
	Against the quartan ague and such other sicknesse great.	636
	What should I shew their forced fayth and great hypocrisie,	
	When as of Chif they doe receyue the dredfull misterie?	
	Which they ne woulde if that they fearde not lightnings of the Pope,	
Papists don't believe in life by Christ alone.	For none of them beleeueth here, nor none of them doth hope	640
	That they receyue eternall life, and euerlasting feate,	
	By death of Iesus Christ, and by his crosse and triumph great.	
	For who should teache to them the same, since euery Popes decree,	
	Their doctrine, fayth, and all their rightes, to this contrarie bee?	644
[leaf 53]	Straight after this, into the fieldes they walke to take the viewe,	
Then folk fall to their old life again.	And to their woonted life they fall, and bid the reast adewe :	
	Go nowe and laugh the Iewes to scorn, and all the Turkes that bee,	
	For fayth, religion, lawes, and life, and their Idolatree.	648
	Sure wondrous wife and good they be, if that thou wilt compare	
	Them with these doltish Papistes here, that blinde and beastly are.	
Procession weeke. Rogation	Nowe comes the day wherein they gad abroad, with crosse in hande,	
	To boundes of euery field, and round about their neighbours lande :	

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- And as they go, they sing and pray to euery faint aboue, 653 Sunday is the
But to our Ladie specially, whom most of all they loue. 5th after Easter
When as they to the towne are come, the Church they enter in, Day.)
And looke what faint that Church doth guide, they humbly pray to him, Bounds are
That he preserue both corne and fruite, from storme and tempest great, beaten.
And them defend from harme, and send them store of drinke and meat.
This done, they to the Tauerne go, or in the fieldes they dine, 659 Then folk dine
Where downe they sit and feede a pace, and fill themselues with wine, and drink at the
So much that oftentimes without the Crosse they come away, tavern or in the
And miserably they reele, till as their stomacke vp they lay. fields.
These things three dayes continually are done, with solemne sport, This lasts 3 dayes.
With many Crosse often they vnto some Church resort, 664
Whereas they all do chaunt alowde, wherby there freight doth spring,
A bawling noyse, while euery man seekes hygheest for to sing :
The Priestes giue eare, this madnesse them doth most of all content,
And wine to them that passe the reast, is from the Parson sent. 668
Then comes the day when Christ ascended to his fathers seate,
Which day they also celebrate, with store of drinke and meate.
Then euery man some birde must eate, I know not to what ende,
And after dinner all to church they come, and there attende. 672 Birds are eaten
The blocke that on the altuar still, till then was seene to stande, (as ascenders).
Is drawne vp hie aboue the rooffe, by ropes, and force of hande : The Image on
The Priestes about it rounde do stand, and chaunt it to the skie, the Altar (p.
For all these mens religion great, in singing most doth lie. 676 336), is heau'd
Then out of hande the dreadfull shape of Sathan downe they throw, above the roof.
Oft times with fire burning bright, and dasht a funder tho, One of Satan is
The boyes with greedie eyes do watch, and on him straight they fall, thrown down,
And beate him fore with rods, and breake him into peeces small. 680 and broken to
This done, they wafers downe doe cast, and singing Cakes the while, pieces.
With Papers rounde amongst them put, the children to beguile. [leaf 53, back]
With laughter great are all things done: and from the beames they let
Great freames of water downe to fall, on whom they meane to wet. Water is let fall
And thus this solemne holiday, and hye renowned feast, 685 on people below.
And all their whole deuotion here, is ended with a ieast.
On Whitfunday, whyte Pigeons tame, in strings from heauen flie,
And one that framed is of wood, still hangeth in the skie. 688
Thou seest how they with Idols play, and teach the people to,
None otherwise then little gyrles with Puppets vse to do.
Then doth ensue the solemne feast of *Corpus Christi* day,
Who then can shewe their wicked vse, and fonde and foolish play?
The hallowed bread with worship great, in siluer Pix they beare 693
About the Church, or in the Citie passing here and there.
His armes that beares the fame, two of the welthiest men do holde,
And ouer him a Canopey of filke and cloth of golde 696
Foure others vse to beare aloufe, least that some filthie thing
Should fall from hie, or some mad birde hir dounge thereon should fling.
Christes passion here derided is, with fundrie maskes and playes,
Faire Ursley with hir maydens all, doth passe amid the wayes : 700
Plays of Christ's
Passion are
acted ; of Ursula

and her Virgins ; St. George and the Dragon,	And valiant George, with speare thou killest the dreadfull dragon here ; The deuils house is drawne about, wherein there doth appere A wondrous sort of damned sprites, with foule and fearefull looke ; Great Christophor doth wade and passe with Christ amid the brooke :	
St. Sebastian,	Sebastian full of feathred shaftes, the dint of dart doth feele ;	705
St. Katherine,	There walketh Kathren with hir sworde in hande, and cruell wheele :	
St. Barbara, and other Pageants.	The Challis and the singing Cake, with Barbara is led, And fundrie other Pageants playde in worship of this bred,	708
	That please the fooliish people well : what should I stande vpon, Their Banners, Crosses, Candlestickes, and reliques many on, Their Cuppes and carued Images, that Priestes with countnance hie, Or rude and common people beare about full solemlie ?	712
St. John walks before the Hallowd Bread.	Saint Iohn before the bread doth go, and poynting towardes him, Doth shew the same to be the Lambe that takes away our sinne :	
[leaf 54]	On whome two clad in Angels shape, do fundrie flowres fling, A number great of sacring Belles, with pleasant sounde doe ring.	716
	The common wayes with bowes are strawde, and euery freete beside, And to the walles and windowes all, are boughes and braunches tide. The Monkes in euery place do roame, the Nonnes abroad are sent, The Priestes and schoolemen lowde do rore, some vse the instrument.	
Strangers fall on their knees to it.	The straunger passing through the freete, vpon his knees doe fall : 721 And earnestly vpon this bread, as on his God doth call. For why, they count it for their Lorde, and that he doth not take The forme of flesh, but nature now of breade that we do bake.	724
Armd men keep order, and look out for thieves.	A number great of armed men here all this while doe stande, To looke that no disorder be, nor any filching hande : For all the Church goodes out are brought, which certainly would bee A bootie good, if euery man might haue his libertee.	728
	This bread eight dayes together they in prefence out do bring, The Organs all do then resound, and priestes alowde do sing :	
Organs play, folk fall on their faces, the Bread is lifted up, &c.	The people flat on faces fall, their handes helde vp on hie, Beleeuing that they see their God, and foueraigne maiestie.	732
	The like at Masse they doe, while as the bread is lifted well, And Challys shewed aloft, when as the Sexten rings the bell. O blessed God, why suffrest thou such wickednesse to raigne, And bringst them not into the steppes of fathers olde againe,	736
	Whereof they do so often boast ? yet so vnlike them be, That doctrine, faith, nor life with theirs, doth any whit agree. In Villages the husbandmen about their corne doe ride, With many Crosses, Banners, and fir Iohn their Priest beside :	740
Priests ride thro' the corn, and read the Gospel to keep off storms.	Who in a bag about his necke doth beare the blessed breade, And oftentyme he downe alightes, and Gospell lowde doth reade. This surely keeps the corne from winde, and raine, and from the blast : Such fayth the Pope hath taught, and yet the Papistes holde it fast :	745
	Not taken from the Gospell, nor the worthie doctors olde, But from the minde of man, and from blinde reason mistresse bolde.	
Saint Urban (May 25).	Straight after this comes <i>Urban</i> in, the Vintners God deuine, Whose day if that it pleasant be, and Sunne abroad do shine,	748

Good lucke to them they count it then, and *Bacchus* holinesse,
His Image and his Church they decke, and curiously do dresse,
About his necke both cups and bowles they hang in order rounde,
And fast vpon his head a crowne of vinie leaues is wounde. 752

He's the Vint-
ners' God, and
has cups and
bowls hung
round his neck.
They drink

Then him to Tauerne doe they bring, or to some tipling house,
With lustie traine, and vnto him they quaffe and drinke carroufe:
Who for bicause he pledges none, as one that is not drie,
In his behalfe they pledge themselues, and that so handfomly, 756
Till mystes before their eyes appears, and legges do waxe full weake,
Their face doth flame, their head doth nod, & icarce a word they speake.

[leaf 54, back]
to him till they're
drunk.

But if the day be clowdie nowe, or giuen vnto raine,
On him they lift not to bestow such honour, nor such paine, 760
Poore knaue into some ryuer than, they cast him cruellie,
And all to-foufe him in the streame, or durtie let him lie.
And if this madnesse be not such, as may be laught at well,
What thing should mouue vs for to laugh, I surely can not tell. 764

But if it's a bad
day, they shy
him into the
river.

The next is *Vitus* fodde in Oyle, before whose ymage faire,
Both men and women bringing hennes for offring do repaire:
The cause whereof I doe not know, I thinke for some diseafe,
Which he is thought to drieue away from such as him do please. 768

Vitus (June 15).
Hens are offered
to him. Why?

Then doth the ioyfull feast of Iohn the Baptist take his turne,
When bonfiers great with loftie flame, in euery towne doe burne:
And yong men round about with maides, doe daunce in euery streete,
With garlands wrought of Motherwort, or else with Veruain sweete,
And many other flowres faire, with Violets in their handes, 773
Whereas they all do fondly thinke, that whosoeuer flandes,
And thorow the flowres beholds the flame, his eyes shall feele no paine.
When thus till night they daunced haue, they through the fire amaine
With friuing mindes doe runne, and all their hearbes they cast therin,
And then with wordes deuout and prayers, they solemnely begin, 778
Desiring God that all their illes may there consumed bee,
Whereby they thinke through all that yeare, from Agues to be free.

Iohn Baptist
(June 24).
Bonfires burn;
youths and girls
dance all day
with flowers in
their hands.

At night they
run thro the
fires.

Some others get a rotten wheele, all worne and cast aside,
Which couered round about with strawe, and tow, they closely hide:
And caryed to some mountaines top, being all with fire light, 783
They hurle it downe with violence, when darke appears the night:
Refembling much the Sunne, that from the heauens downe should fall,
A straunge and monstros fight it seemes, and fearefull to them all:
But they suppose their mischiefs all are likewise throwne to hell,
And that from harmes and dangers now, in safetie here they dwell.

Others run a
wheel stufft with
blazing straw and
tow, down a
mountain.

Wheresoeuer *Huldryche* hath his place, the people there brings in,
Both Carpes, and Pykes, and Mulletts fat, his fauour here to win. 790
Amid the Church there sitteth one, and to the aultar nie,
That selleth fish, and so good cheepe, that euery man may buie:
Nor any thing he loseth here, bestowing thus his paine,
For when it hath bene offred once, t'is brought him all againe, 794
That twife or thrife he selles the same: vngodlinesse such gaine
Doth still bring in, and plentifully the kitchin doth maintaine.

[leaf 55]
*Saint Hul-
dryche*
(Ulric, July 4).
Fish are offered
to him.

A man sits near
the altar, and
sells the same fish
over and over
again to the
offerers.

Whence comes this same religion newe? what kind of God is this
Same *Huldryche* here, that so desires, and so delightes in fishe? 798
Which neuer any heathen God, in offering did receaue,
Nor any thing vnto the Iewes the Lorde hereof did leaue.
Much folly and iniquitie, in euery place they shewe,
But we the chiefeft will declare, and write but of a fewe. 802

*Assumption of
the Virgin
Marie*
(Aug. 15).
Folk bring
bundles of Herbs
to Church, to be
blest by the
priest. These
serve as charms.

The blessed virgin *Maries* feaft, hath here his place and time,
Wherein departing from the earth, she did the heauens clime:
Great bundels then of hearbes to Church, the people fast doe beare,
The which against all hurtfull things, the Priest doth hallow theare.
Thus kindle they and nourish still, the peoples wickednesse, 807
And vainely make them to beleue, whatsoeuer they expresse:
For fundrie witchcrafts, by these hearbs ar wrought, & diuers charmes,
And cast into the fire, are thought to driue away all harmes, 810
And euery painefull grieve from man, or beast, for to expell,
Farre otherwise than nature, or the worde of God doth tell.

Martyn
(Nov. 11).
Roast geese are
eaten, and wine
drunk.

To belly cheare yet once againe doth *Martin* more encline,
Whom all the people worshipping, with roasted Geese and wine: 814
Both all the day long and the night, now ech man open makes
His vessels all, and of the Must oft times the last he takes,
Which holy *Martyn* afterwarde, alloweth to be wine,
Therefore they him vnto the skies extoll, with praye deuine: 818
And drinking deepe in tankardes large, and bowles of compasse wide,
Yea by these fees the Schoolemaisters haue profite great beside:
For with his scholers euery one, about do finging go,
Not praying *Martyn* much, but at the Goose reioyceing tho, 822
Whereof they oftentimes haue part, and money therewithall,
For which they celebrate this feaft, with song and musicke all.

[leaf 55, back]

Nicholas
(Nov. 13).
Mothers hide
gifts in their
children's shoes,
&c., and say St.
Nicholas brought
em.

Saint *Nicholas* money vſde to giue to Maydens secretlie,
Who, that he still may vſe his woonted liberalitie 826
The mothers all their children on the eeue doe cause to fast,
And when they euery one at night in senselesse sleepe are cast:
Both Apples, Nuttes, and peares they bring, and other things beside,
As caps, and shooes, and petticotes, which secretly they hide, 830
And in the morning found, they say, that this saint *Nicholas* brought:
Thus tender mindes to worship Saints and wicked things are taught.

Catheryn
(Nov. 25).

What should I tell what Sophisters, on *Cathrins* day deuise?
Or else the superstitious toyes that Maisters exercise. 834

Andrew
(Nov. 30).
All Lovers court
him.

To *Andrew* all the louers, and the lustie wooers come,
Beleeuing through his ayde and certaine ceremonies done,
(While as to him they presentes bring, and coniure all the night)
To haue good lucke, and to obtaine their chiefe and sweete delight.

Church holyday.
The anniuersary
of each church's
dedication.

The dedication of the Church is yerely had in minde, 839
With worship passing Catholicke, and in a wondrous kinde:
From out the steeple hie is hangde, a Croſſe and banner fayre,
The pauement of the temple strowde, with hearbes of pleasant ayre,
The Pulpets and the aultars all that in the Church are ſcene, 843
And euery pewe and pillar great, are deckt with boughes of greene:

The church is
deckt with
boughs.

Appendix. *Popish and Popular Customs*, A.D. 1553. 341

The tabernacles opned are, and Images are drest,
 But chiefly he that patron is, doth shine aboue the rest :
 A borde there standes wheron their Bulles and pardons thicke they lay, A board stands
full of Pardons
 That giuen are to euery one that keepes this holy day : 848
 The Idoll of the Patron eke, without the doore doth stande,
 And beggeth fast of euery man, with pardons in his hande : for every one
 Who for bicause he lackes his tongue, and hath not yet the skill
 In common peoples languages, when they speake well or ill : 852
 He hath his owne interpretor, that alwayes standeth by,
 And vnto euery man that commeth in or out doth cry : who'll buy em.
 Desiring them the Patrone there, with giftes to haue in minde,
 And Popishe pardons for to buie, releafe of sinnes to finde. 856
 The Priest doth other Priestes procure, and willeth euery knaue,
 His harlot for to bring, and all the swarme of Bastards that they haue :
 On euery side the neighbours come, and such as dwell not nere,
 Come of their owne good willes, and some required to be there. 860
 And euery man his weapon hath, their swordes, and launces long,
 Their axes, curriars, pyftoletts, with pykes and darts among.
 The yong men in their best array, and trimmest maydes appeare,
 Both leasters, Roges, and minstrels with their instruments are heare.
 The Pedler doth his packe vntruiffe, the Host his pots doth fill, 865
 And on the table bread and drinke doth set for all that will :
 Nor eyther of them their heape deceyues, for of the others all,
 To them th'aduantage of this feast, and gaine, doth chiefly fall. 868
 The seruice done, they eyther to the tauerne fast doe flie,
 Or to their neighbours house, whereas they feede vnreasonable :
 For fixe or seuen courses, they vnto the table bring,
 And for their suppers may compare with any heathen king. 872
 The table taken vp, they rise, and all the youth apace,
 The Minstrell with them called go to some conuenient place :
 Where when with Bagpipe hoarce, he hath begon his Musicke fine,
 And vnto such as are prepare to daunce hath giuen signe, 876
 Comes thither freight both boyes and gyrles, and men that aged bee,
 And maryed folkes of middle age, there also comes to see,
 Old wrinckled haggas, and youthfull dames, that minde to daunce aloft,
 Then drundrie pastimes do begin, and filthie daunces oft : 880
 When Drunkardes they do lead the daunce with fray and bloody fight,
 That handes, and eares, and head, and face, are torne in wofull plight :
 The streames of bloud runne downe the armes, and oftentimes is seene
 The carkasse of some ruffian flaine, is left vpon the greene. 884
 Here many for their louers sweete, some daintie thing doe buie,
 And many to the tauerne go, and drinke for companie,
 Whereas they foolish songs do sing, and noyses great do make :
 Some in the meane while play at Cardes, and some the Dice do shake.
 Their custome also is, the Priest into the house to pull : 889
 Whom when they haue, they thinke their game accomplished at full :
 He farre in noyse exceeds them all, and eke in drinking drie
 The cuppes, a prince he is, and holdes their heades that speewing lie,

Harlots and
their Bastards
come; and all
the neighbours
arnd; trim
[leaf 56]
youths and
maidens, jesters,
pedlers, and pots
of drink.

After service,
grand feasting
and suppers go
on.

Then the young
folk dance,

and old hags
too,

the Drunkards
leading and
fighting.

Lovers buy their
sweethearts
fairings.

Cards and Dice
are playd.
The Priest is
head reveller,
and looks after
the spewing
Drunkards.

- And that with such attendaunce good, that often therewithall 893
 His stomacke turnes, for which his neighbours like and loue him all :
 Whom if the lyquor that he tastes doe hap to handle fo,
 As on his feeble legges vnto his house he can not go :
 But reele and stagger here and there, as oftentimes is seene,
 They friendly set him on a horse, and home they cary him cleene :
 To shewe their thankfull hearts againe, this Catholike aray, 899
 Is alwayes vsde vpon this feast, and venerable day.
- For soules departed from this life, they also carefull bee,
 The shauen sort in numbers great, thou shalt assembled see, 902
 Where as their seruice with such speede, they mumble out of hande,
 That none, though well they marke, a worde thereof can vnderstande,
 But soberly they sing, while as the people offering bee,
 For to releaue their Parents soules that lie in miseriee. 906
 For they beleuee the shauen sort, with dolefull harmonie,
 Do draw the damned soules from hell, and bring them to the skie :
 Where they but onely here regarde, their belly and their gaine,
 And neuer troubled are with care of any soule in paine. 910
 Their seruice thus in order sing, and payde for Masse and all,
 They to the Tauerne streightwayes go, or to the Parsons hall,
 Where all the day they drinke and play, and pots about do walke,
 Whereas these Cathlicke fathers haue such lewde and beastly talke,
 As doubtlesse would abhorred be, in any stinking stewes, 915
 And such as any ruffian would, ashamed be to vse.
 These are their chiefe solemnities, and orders all the yeare,
 Which with the popish fayth in all agreeing doth appeare : 918
 And doth declare thou seest the mindes of these same holy men,
 What vertues great they haue, and what religion lyes in them.
- Churches.*
 The like their temples teach, drest vp in more than Pagan guise,
 That shines with wicked furniture, before the peoples eies, 922
 As Idols, aultars, pictures lewde, with armes of men prophane,
 And Banners, Croffes, burning Lampes, & lightes that alwaies flame
 Before the Virgins Image fayre, and bread in secret put,
 That round about with yron grates, and Chauncell close is shut : 926
 That surely not vnworthily the Turkes beleuee and fay,
 The Papistes are Idolaters, and haue no perfit way
 In seruing God, who yet account themselues assuredly,
 The very Spouse and Church of Christ, that cannot runne awry. 930
- Funerals.*
 Seest thou how in their life they doe beleuee, and when they die,
 How doubtfull they ? that shauelings seeke their owne commoditie,
 Regarding not what hadde vnto the simple people falles :
 For if that any woulde neglect, the woonted funeralles, 934
 Their singing and their roaring vaine, and onely here commit
 Himselfe to God, his heyre should be constrainde to furnish it,
 And punisht sore if any thing herein shall wanting bee,
 Of all the toys that doth belong, to such solemnitee. 938
 Thinkst thou they carefull are that soules, the heauens doe attaine,
 And Purgatorie scape, or rather for their filthie gaine ?
- When the Priest
 can't walk,
 [leaf 56, back]
 he's carrid
 home on horse-
 back.
- All soules day*
Nov. 2.
- Folk give fees to
 free their
 parents' souls ;
- then drink in the
 tavern, or the
 Parson's hall,
 where he talks
 beastliness.
- They have Idols,
 always-flaming
 lights, &c.
- The Turks
 rightly call em
 Idolaters.
- [leaf 57]
 The rites are
 held only for
 Shauelings'
 gain.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 343

Some where for children is the like, whom yet they doe confesse, For to be iust, and innocent, and dye in blessednesse:	942	Even for innocent children parents are forced to pay.
Their parentes for their funeralles, constrained are to pay, Least of the Popish tyranny, should any part decay.		
No fayth nor perfitt godlinesse doth any where appeare, But fraude, and craftie coulourings, and such deceitfull geare.	946	
Beholde againe their prayers and the booke they occupie, Wherewith to God, and to the saintes, they pray continually:		<i>Prayers.</i>
And to the Angells vse the like: which superstitious kinde, They doe not reade with any sprite, or zealousnesse of minde:	950	Are not prayd with zeal, only babbed
No cause prouoketh them to praye, this onely them affinde, To babble much, for otherwise woulde want no wordes nor minde,		
Ne shoulde they neede so many prayers, appoynted them to say, Nor thus to tire their weered tongue, with mumbling all the day.		and mumbled
Likewise before the heapes of bones, prepared for the same	955	
They stande, and to the spirits and soules in graue, they prayers frame:		
And for their good estate they pray, that measure none they know, Of foolishnesse, nor wicked deedes doe euer cease to flow:	958	
To Church they come with beades of bone, or of some other thing, Whose middles pierced through are tide, and ioyned with a string:		Papists have Rosaries of bone- beads on a string,
Thus fastned, fiftie <i>Rosaries</i> , they still account the same, And thrise so many <i>Psalters</i> they accustomed are to name.	962	
With these vnto our Ladie, and to God, and to his saintes, They number all their babbling wordes, and all their tedious plaintes.		and count their babblings by em.
So that they number onely seeke, not caring for the minde:		
That woman holiest is by much, and of deuoutest kinde,	966	The holiest woman is she who has beads to her foot.
Whose beades vnto hir foote doe reach, and eake whose maydens so Drest vp with hir in like attire, vnto the Church doe go.		[leaf 57, back] <i>Charmes.</i>
Besides for Charmes and Sorseries, in all things they excell, Both <i>Dardan</i> and the Witches foule, that by <i>Mæotis</i> dwell.	970	
The reason is, that yet to trust in God they haue no skill, Nor will commit themselues vnto th'almightie fathers will.		
If any woman brought abed, amongst them haps to lie, Then euery place enchaunter lyke, they cleanse and purifie:	974	When a woman's brought to bed, they purify the place from spirits.
For feare of sprites least harme she take, or caried cleane away, Be stolne from thence, as though she than in greatest daunger lay,		
When as hir trauailes ouerpast, and ended well hir paine, With rest and sleepe she seekes to get, hir strength decayde againe.		
The like in trauailes harde they vse, and mariages awell,	979	
And eke in all things that they buy, and euery thing they sell.		
About these Catholikes necks and hands, are alway hanging charmes, That serue against all miseries, and all unhappie harmes:	982	Charmes hang about every Papists neck.
Amongst the which, the threatning writ of <i>Michael</i> maketh one, And also the beginning of the Gospell of Saint <i>Iohn</i> :		
But these alone they doe not trust, but with this same they haue, Theyr barbrous wordes, & crosses drawne with blood, or painted braue.		Crosses drawn with blood, &c.,
Theyr swordes enchaunt, and horses strong, and flesh of men they make So harde and tough, that they ne care, what blowes or cuttes they take		

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keep men from hurt by bows.	And vnting Necromancie thus, them selues they safely keepe,	989
They shut up spirits in crystal as charms.	From bowes, or guns; & from the woolues their cattell, lambes & sheepe: No iourney also they doe take, but charmes they with them beare; Besides in glistering glasse fayre, or else in christall cleare They sprighthes enclose, and as to Prophets true, so to the same They go, if any thing be stolne, or any taken lame,	994
<i>Holydayes.</i>	And when theyr Kine doe giue no milke, or hurt, or bitten fore, Or any other harme that to these wretches happens more.	
Folk dress fine, and walk in the streets or the fieldes.	Now last behold how they do keepe, their sabboth daies throughtout, Firft in the morning finely drest, they iet the streetes about:	998
Others drink as long as they can stand. [leaf 58]	With garments fondly iagde and cut, and prowde and lofty pace, And rapyres long about them girt, their great and chiefeft grace. Some others walke into the fieldes, or else at euery gate, They talke and laugh, and thus begin the day to celebrate.	1002
Few go to church.	An other fort together come, and drinking hande to hande, They quaffe so long, till none of them be able for to stande: Yea oftentimes they in their seates, with drinke are strangled quight, And yeelding vp their dronken ghostes, doe bid their mates godnight. But few of them doe care for Masse, though euery one doe faye, And thinke it holiest is, nor to the Church they go to praye:	1008
After dinner they play at ball, and wrestle,	But eyther breakefastes long they make, at home when they arise, Or drinke vntill the euening starre, begin to shine in skies. Or else before the Church doore prate, or in the markettfd.	
or fence.	Now when their dinner once is done, and that they well haue fed, To play they go, to casting of the stone, to runne, or shoote,	1013
Others play cards, or back-bite.	To tosse the light and windie ball, aloft with hande or foote: Some others trie their skill in gones, some wrestle all the day, And some to schooles of fence do go, to gaze vpon the play: An other fort there is that doe not loue abroad to roame, But for to passe their time at cardes, or tables still at hoame:	1018
All drink.	Some vfe to sit before their doores, and backbite euery man, Or newes deuise, or some debate, and strife whereas they can. The God of wine doth neuer want, in all their sportes and play, Who when he once hath toucht the braine, & drawne the minde away, Of euery worde ariseth blowes, their manhoode to assay,	1023
No Sunday is without a drunken fray.	So that no sunday shalt thou see, without some dronken fray. And thus of custome endeth still, this solemne festiuall, With dronkenesse, a plague vnto the braine and members all. To Ensong are they called straight, by towling of the bell,	1027
Some court girls,	But from their place they list nor stirre, being occupied so well: They forward with their game doe go, and Church and seruice all, Commit vnto the schoolemaisters, or Vicar generall.	
dance, and go further.	Some others to their Ladies sues, being amorous all the while, Or frame deceytes or subtilties, yong maydens to beguile,	1032
<i>Stewes.</i>	The wanton youth to daunsing goes, and wickedly doe draw, The maydes in ring, and wantonnesse hath neyther bondes nor law.	
The Papist Priests keep	And least the youth their pleasure full of whoredome should not take, In euery Citie common stewes, they maintaine and they make:	

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 345

And Bawdes they suffer openly, and cherish them withall,
 Of whome no slender price doe here receyue nor profit small: 1038
 These Catholickes and holy men, and Church of Christ on hie,
 The same that all the worlde reforme, and heritiks destroy.
 To these doe come all those whom here their filthie lust prouokes,
 Both countrie men, and forriners, and poore and welthie folkes. 1042
 Whatsoever they be that haue not yet, the yoke of mariage tride,
 No kinde of shame doth driue them hence, nor any care beside.
 For lawfull here they doe it see, and not to be dispisde,
 But with the Popish fort to be, an exercise deuifde. 1046
 Sometime it also haps, that married men doe here resort,
 But not without their punishment, if once the youthfull fort
 Perceyue that they doe thither come, for this they dearely pay,
 And oftentimes are vsed ill, and beare the blowes away: 1050
 But at this same the rulers laugh, and nothing doe it waye,
 For Papistes, whordome doe allow, and count it but a playe.
 For of the polthorne Priestes they learne, and them they follow still,
 That lawes are not of any force to remedie this ill: 1054
 The lawe *Scatinian* is extinct, and *Iulian* laught at now,
 The Papistes, every kinde of vice, and wickednesse allow:
 And not alonely in themselves, they doe the same permit,
 But also vnto all that list, with Golde to purchase it. 1058
 But here I faine would vnderstande, what straunge Apostle hee,
 That gaue vnto the Christian fort, this wanton libertee?
 That where they freely might enioye, and haue them openlye,
 And they themselves to take the hier of beafully lecherie? 1062
 And notwithstanding this to be true Catholickes in fine,
 The perfitt seruants here of God, and Church of Christ deuine?
 Of their religion, life, and deedes, learne thou their fayth at full,
 That they with emptie shadow thee not into errorr pull. 1066
 This was the guise of *Corynth* great, and *Cyprus* eke of olde,
 While darcknesse rained, and Sathan foule, his scepture there did holde:
 But with a worthie cloake they couer now this whoredome vile,
 Least that the youth should happe both maydes and matrons to defile.
 Who would not muse to see the witte of these same catholickes,
 Their sharpe inuentions, and deuise, in all their proper trickes? 1072
 This thing coule *Moyfes* not perceyue, that all things else did see,
 Who wilde that whoremongers shoulde none among the people bee:
 And banishte all the harlottes quight, as God did him aduise,
 Nor *Paule* it saw being lifted vp, aboue the starrie skies: 1076
 Who did forbid that any man, his members framde of right,
 To be the dwelling place of Christ, and of the holy spright:
 Should vnto Harlots giue, and make the same thereby to be,
 The body of a hore, this staine and blot commaunded he
 To be excluded farre from saintes, and such as christned be. } 1080
 But they haue nothing for to doe, with *Moyfes* nor with *Paule*,
 Nor any honest things they will obey, nor lawes at all.
 Themselues they pardon and forgieue, dispensing wondrouslye,

Brothels and
Bawds, in every
city.

To these
Brothels come all
unmarried folk.

If any married
ones are caught
there, they get
thrashed.

Papists allow
every kind of
vice.

What Apostle
said they could
take the hire of
whores, and yet
be servants of
God?

Their excuse is,
that men 'ud
otherwise rape
maidens.

Deut. 23.
1. Cor. 5. 6.

7. 10.
Heb. 13. [if 59]
Gal. 5.
Ephes. 5.
1. Thes. 4.

Papists don't care
for Moses or
Paul:
they pardon
themselves.

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As men that onely here possesse the keyes of heauen hie. 1084

I many things doe ouer passe, nor haue they euery where,
Their customes like, for euery realme hath his deuised gere:
Yea both in Cities great, and in the villages thereby,
There are that doe such doltish dreames, defende maliciously, 1088
That quight contrary are to Christ, and to religion right,
Which neyther canst thou easily knowe, nor well in verse resight.

But if we say
these Papists are
not members of
Christ,

Now when these Popish lothsome limmes, by no meanes we can see
In life nor in their trauaile here, the limmes of Christ to bee, 1092

Nor can in any wise imbrace, the fonde religion vaine,
And shamefull orders to the worlde, of God contrarie plaine,
Nor doctrine of so wicked fayth, to Christian people giue,
But rather as the Apostles teach, doe simply seeke to liue, 1096
Reiecting toyes and mans deuce, as which we surely know,
To be detested of that Prince, that lightnings downe doth throw:

we're calld
Heretics, and
punisht or
banisht,

We here are called Heritykes, and worthie thought to bee,
Of halter, sworde, consuming fire, and ech extremittee. 1100

We punisht are, our houses sealde, or from our countrie farre
We banisht be, or else opprest at home with ciuill warre:

and lose our
goods.

Whereas the dreadfull Souldiour doth consume, and cleane deuours,
The goodes that here hath gotten bene, by toyle and paine of ours.
These things these Catholikes attempt, when in so many yeares,
By scriptures sure they cannot plant, this foolish fayth of theirs:
Nor ours with scriptures ouerthrow, that now they seeke to make
The Prince of hell and Christ to ioyne in one, and partes to take.

Tho' they see
they can't stand
against God's
word and light,

For (all ashamde) they plaine perceyue, that long they cannot stande,
With this religion and this life, if once doe come in hande, 1110

The worde of God, the heauenly light, and that abrode doe shine,
The twelue Apostles doctrine, and that blessed court deuine.

[leaf 59, back]

Nor good it seemeth yet to them (such is their wisdome hie,)
To graunt that they haue erd in any thing or gone awrie. 1114

they won't con-
fess they've
erred,

For shame it is that learned men, and such as famous bee,
For Mitars and for Crosiar staues, amongst the Christiantee
Christ nor the Apostles fayth to know, that perfit is and iust,
But to be ledde with dreames of men, whome none may safely trust.

but hate us Re-
formers, and
pour out our
blood.

From hence proceedeth all their grieffe, and all their cruell hate,
That with effusion of our blood, they stablish their estate: 1120

And will not here be pacified by any other meanes,
Except we do alow and like, their lewde and monstrous dreames:

And altogither runne in one, like flockes for company,
To false and wicked worshipping, and vile idolatry: 1124

And knowledge them for Lordes of fayth, and rulers of vs all,
Although they teache no doctrine of the King celestiall.

It's often been
agreed that
Papist and
Protestant
should keep his
own faith, but

Oft hath it bene agreed that eyther part shoulde freely vse
Their owne religion, seruing God as best they list to chuse: 1128

And neyther part the other for to trouble or molest,
With warres or bookes, that Germany might liue in peace or rest.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs*, A.D. 1553. 347

But Papistes can no peace abide, continually they write,
 And both with wordes, and wretched deedes, most cruelly doe bite:
 Not onely vs, which might (perhaps) be well enough endure,
 But also Gods most holy worde, and gospell here asfurd. 1134
 If tumults on our partes arise, or any great ado,
 Or if our men doe armour take, being forced therevnto,
 And by the law of armes doe burne, and spoyle their enimie,
 And take the pillage of their foes, immediately they crie: 1138
 The wicked Gospell worketh this, beholde in what a plight
 These fellows liue, the Denill brought this Gospell first to light:
 It Turkish is, and not the same, that Luke wrought long ago:
 And spightfully they slaunder it, with many raylings mo: 1142
 As if that any Preacher here, did euer this allow,
 Or any did by worde of Christ, such crueltie auow.
 They know full well themselues that none of ours did euer teache,
 To vse such violence, nor this vnto the people preache: 1146
 Yet with their vile infectiue tongues, and mouthes enuenemde tho,
 With poyson that in hellish lakes, and *Stygian* streames doth flo,
 The Gospell of the Lorde they dee, most spightfully defame,
 And herewithall the Ministers and Preachers of the same. 1150
 But who can Princes gouerne here, or any meanes deuise,
 To keepe them in, from vsing force against their enimies?
 Why doe they not as well diswade their Catholikes, and blame
 Them for their force and crueltie, that doe the very same? 1154
 And boldly euery where destroy, and euery man molest,
 Yea euen their very friends at home, that faine woulde liue at rest.
 What kinde of Gospell teache those men, that euen openly
 With bitter wordes and bookes perfwade men to such cruelty?
 Are these to any man vnknowne? doth Fraunce and Italy 1159
 Not openly declare the same, and plainly testify?
 Do not the pulpettes of the Pope, perfwade this martiall might,
 And pardons euery man hys finnes that in their quarrell fight? 1162
 But sure the wallet them beguiles, that hanges behinde their backe,
 And better others faultes they see, than what themselues doe lacke:
 Accounting here for catholickes, themselues and all their traine,
 And others all as heritickes, and wicked people plaine: 1166
 Wherefore the chiefeft members of this holy popish state,
 Their cerimonies and their dayes, they yearely consecrate.
 Their foolish fayth and beastly life, I openly doe showe,
 That all the worlde may vnderstande, and euery man may know,
 That neyther Christ nor perfitt fayth, they any whit doe way,
 But onely seeke to looke aloft, and boldly for to say, 1172
 That they the booke of Peter are, and holy Catholickes,
 And we vnhappy castawayes, and curfed heritickes.
 But wherein are they Catholickes? because they folow here
 The truth? but what they folow and beleue, doth plaine appere.
 So it is that in number they and countries vs excell, 1177
 So mayst thou both the *Turkes* and *Mores*, call Catholickes as well.

the Papists
won't be true to
this compact.

If we take arms
to protect our-
selves, the
Papists say it's
the Gospel's
fault, declare the
Gospel's Turkish,

and they hell-
ishly defame its
Preachers.
[leaf 60]

The Papists

persuade men to
persecute us.
The Pope
pardons those
who fight us.

They don't care
for Christ, but
only to claim
that they are
holy, and we
cursed heretics.

If they are
Catholicks, so
are Turks and
Moor.

Let all true men
see how right
we've been in
giving up this
monstrous
Popish faith!

Herewith I iudge that euery man, that hath an vpright heart,
Doth vnderstande how iust our cause hath beene for to depart
From this their monstrous fayth, and from their lewde ydolatreë,
And for to shonne these popish members all of ech degree: 1182
As men that neyther Christ doe know, nor euer seeke to finde,
Nor suffer such as woulde, but keepe them still in darcknesse blinde.

FINIS.

p. 328, 335.

Superstitions about Storms. Compare part of *The thirde Booke*,
leaf 41, bk, 42 :—

Belles

are rung against
storms and
thunder.

Ratio. diuino.

A Bell

[leaf 42]

nam'd Mary,
that said it put
thunder and
spirits to flight.

Candles are also
lighted, and
Holy Palms
us'd, against
storms.

Other folk sit
out in the open
air.

Others hide in
caves.

Where then is
their trust in
Christ?

Are these
'Catholics,' that
defend them-
selves by Bells
and such hum-
bug?

The Heathens
did the same.

If that the thunder chaunce to rore, and stormie tempest shake,
A woonder is it for to see the wretches howe they quake,
Howe that no fayth at all they haue, nor trust in any thing.
The Clarke doth all the Belles forthwith at once in Steeple ring, 4
With wondrous sound, and deeper farre, than he was woont before,
Till in the loftie heauens darke, the thunder bray no more.
For in these Cristned belles they thinke, doth lie such powre & might,
As able is the tempest great, and storme, to vanquish quight. 8
I sawe my selfe at *Numburg* once, a towne in Toring coast,
A Bell that with this title bolde, hir selfe did proudly boast,
"By name I *Mary* called am; with sound I put to flight 11
The thunder crackes, and hurtfull stormes, and euery wicked spright."
Such things when as these Belles can do, no wonder certainlie
It is, if that the Papistes to their tolling alwayes flie,
When haile, or any raging storme, or tempest comes in fight, 15
Or thunder boltes, or lightning fierce, that euery place doth smight:
Besides, they Candles vp do light, of vertue like in all,
And Willow branches hallow, that they Palmes do vse to call.
This done, they verily beleeeue, the tempest nor the storme, 19
Can neyther hurt themselues, nor yet their cattell, nor their corne.
But some there be, and not a few, that dare not well commit
Their liues to this, but vnderneath the starres they seeke to sit;
For there (they say) the lightning can no kinde of creature smight,
Nor fall vpon the feeble corse of any fearefull wight. 24
There are, that hide themselues in Caues, and vnder ground do lie,
When as they heare the roring sound, and rumbling in the skie.
Where here appeares the confidence, and trust vnto the hieft?
And hope in all aduerfitie cast wholly vpon Christ? 28
Where doe they here commit themselues, and all that they possesse,
Vnto the will of God, as in theyr wordes they do expresse?
Are not these Papistes, Catholikes, and men appoynted well,
That are defended in the stormes, by sounde of brasen Bell? 32
And steps of stayres, and branches burnt, with flames encompass round,
And Candels light, and Caues, & dennes made vnderneath the ground?
Such Gods, and such defenders here, the heathen woont to haue,
To whom, in all their daunger they did flie, themselues to faue. 36

INDEX (NOT EXHAUSTIVE).

40/21 means page 40, line 21.

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Abortiuis, a, um. 1552. Ric.
 Huloet. *Abcedarium Anglico-Lat.*
 Abroche, 150, *adj.* on tap. *To set*
abroche, to tap. "Brochyn or
 settyn a vesselle abroche. *At-*
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 for the giving of their verdict."
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 Amongest, 22, *prep.* among. 'And
 note that this phrase "*amonge*,"
 maye be referred to fewe, or one,
 &c. And also that "*amongest*"

† *A Looking Glasse for Englande.* Wherein these enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene, which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Common-wealth. . . London, 1590, is a disappointing book, as being only an englishing of an "old tract in S. Cypr. *de 12 abusio[n]ibus seculi*" (MS. note on title), and containing nothing special on England, tho' it was the "dailie and hourlie looking glasse" of "noble Fraunces, Earle of Bedforde," and its englisher "long did trauaile to gette a copie of this famous worke." sign. (iij.). The 12 Abuses are: 1. A wise man without works; 2. An olde man without deuotion and godlie feare; 3. A young man without obedience; 4. A rich man without charitie; 5. A woman without shamefastnesse; 6. A Maister or a Ruler without vertue; 7. A Christian man full of brawling and contention; 8. A poore man proude; 9. A wicked and an iust King; 10. A negligent Bishop; 11. A people without discipline; 12. A people without Law. The treatment of all is quite general.

- may be referred to the more or greater parte.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*. (So of 'toward' and 'towards,' &c.)
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† K. Henry VI. was "So continent, as suspition of vncast life neuer touched him: and hauing in Christmasse a shewe of yong women with their bare breastes laide out, presented before him, he immediately departed, with these wordes, 'fie, fie, for shame; forsooth you bee to blame.'" 1605. Jn. Stow, *Annales*, p. 705. See too 'A Just and Seasonable Reprehension of Naked Breasts and Shoulders, written by a grave and learned Papist, translated by E. Cooke, with a Preface, by Richd. Baxter,' 12mo, 1678.

‡ Huloet has a good compound of Barley: 'Barley bunne gentleman, whyche is by circumlocution meened by suche ryche nigardes as lyue wyth barley breade, or otherwise hardlye. *Hordiarius*, ij.'

§ Mr. Haweis's declaration that the Sabbatarian Ring must be broken up has been echoed with remarkable boldness by the Rev. Robert Eyton, at the annual meeting of the West London District Church Union. This gentleman discussing the subject of Sunday Recreation, said:—"I allow, at the little institute under my management, bagatelle, draughts, dominoes, &c., to be played on Sunday afternoons, after my Bible-class is over. I fail to see any line to be drawn between such harmless diver-

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sions and looking at *Illustrateds* or *Punches*, which is the extreme limit allowed, I am told, in neighbouring institutes." And he concluded with a startling story of St. Charles of Borromeo, at which some people will, no doubt, be greatly shocked :—"St. Charles of Borromeo was playing chess with his brethren one Sunday afternoon, and the question arose, if the Day of Judgment came now, what should each one do ? One said, 'I should begin to pray,' another 'I should go to church,' and so on, till at last it came to the saint's turn, and his answer really gives us the conclusion of the whole matter : 'I should go on,' he said, 'with my game of chess ; for the glory of God I commenced it, and to the glory of God I hope to finish it.'"—*Echo*. Feb. 10, 1879, p. 4, col. 1.

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 Coach, lady's; 271, 283
 Coast, 87, *sb.* country
 Coats and jerkins, 58, 248
 Cockering, 76, *sb.* indulgence. Tusser speaks of "cockering mams and shifting dads"
 Cock-fighting in England, on Sundays, 137, 180, 79*
 Codpiece, 55, 237, 243, an artificial protuberance on the breeches, well explained by its name.† See Cotgrave, *s. v. esguillette*
 Cogge, 'cogge, lye, and falsifye,' 145, *vb.* cheat, load a die. "Casser. To cogge a dye." Cotgrave
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 Combinat, 44, *pp.* combined. See Ingenerate
 Comedies: their ground bawdy, their agents whores, 143
 Comfortative, 78/11, comforting
 Commoditye, 58, *sb.* advantage
 Commons, enclosure of by the rich, 116, 45*
 Commorante, 22; 46/23, dwelling, residing. Lat., *commorantem*
 Completion, 103, *sb.* constitution, temperament
 Complices, ix; 84/28, *sb. pl.* accomplices, associates
 Computist, v/15, *sb.* reckoner, calculator
 Concions, 163, *sb. pl.* addresses, sermons
 Concoct, 103, *vb.* digest
 Conculcate, 183, trodden under foot
 Concupiscencious, baudie, and beastiall love: dancing induces, 156
 Conducible, 62/18, conducive
 Confortatiue, 78, *adj.* comforting, strengthening
 Confuteed, 57, *pp.* reprovd
 Congratulate . . with, 153
 Contentation, 72/14; 87/13, contentment, delight, satisfaction
 Contrarely, 41; Contrarylye, 44, *adv. : e contrario*, in the contrary way
 Contrarie, 199, *vb.* thwart, oppose
 Conuented, 101, *pp.* summoned; 126, brought to court
 Convitious talking, 180
 Co-operative Stores, the need of them, 45*, 46*
 Coquetry and dress of women, 64, 67, 68, 76, 256
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 Corpus Christi Day: popular and Popish Customs on, 337-8
 Corroborate, 107/25, strengthen
 Corroboratiue, 78/11, *adj.* strengthening
 Corrosive, *sb.* 156/156*

† They were also worn by women: see Harrison, I. 170. "What should I saie of their doublets with pendant *codpeeses* on the brest full of iags & cuts, and sleeues of sundrie colours? their galligascons [to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plum round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerslie] coloured nether stocks [of silke, ierdseie,] and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed then commended?" [] means, inserted in 1587, into ed. 1577.

- CORYAT, Tom, referred to, 44*, 234
 Cost of dress, 53, 56, 75, 245, 264
 Costly, xii, *adv.* in a costly manner
 Cotes, 45, *sb. pl.* coats; 'swyne coates,' 151, pigsties
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 Cottagers' daughters in taffatie hats, 69
 Couched, 65, *pp.* mixed, laid
 Counterpease, 70/22, counterpoise, weight equal to
 Courtes and leets held on Sundays, 137, 183
 Courtier, young, Beggar old, 245, *n.*
 Coventry, Hock-Tuesday Play, led by Captain Cox, 69*
 Covetous men buying up poor men's land, 119, 290, 291
 Covetousness in England, 114, 119, 92*
 Cowlstaffe, 148, *sb.*, a staff used for carrying a tub or basket that has two ears. "Ride the cowlstaff," to ride the stang, ride a rail †
 Cowtails, sleeves hanging like, 74
 Craking, *sb.*, boasting, 42*
 Crasie, 51, *adj.* crazy, fragile
 Creatures, God's, not to be abusd, by bear-baiting, 178; hunting, 182
 Creditors, cruel to debtors, 127, 293, 46*
 Crewell, 57, *sb.* fine worsted wool
 Cross and Pile, a game, 316
 Crosses of blood as charms, 343
 Cuckoldry in England, 45* (see Dyce's *Skelton*, i. 418)
 Culling, 144, *sb.* embraces
 Cupple, 100, *sb.* pair, couple
 Curious, 71, *adj.* dainty, nice
 Curiousness, 103, *sb.* daintiness, squeamishness
 Curry-knave, Cutbert, ? Thomas Nashe, on Stubbes, 37*, 39*
 Curtain Theatre, The, 143, 279, 299, 301, 308
 Cutte, 49, *pp.* cut, slasht
 Cypher foorth, 138/16, sketch, outline
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 Cyuilian, 23/2, a man of culture
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 DANIEL, Samuel, poet, praised by G. Harvey, 43*
 Danish sleeve and codpiece, 243; rousa, 286
 DANTER, the printer, 42*
 Dasht, 88, *pp.* spoilt
 Dastard, Cowarde, Asse, Pesant, Clowne, Patche, 132

† *Woman*. "In some places with vs, if a woman beat hir husbände, the man that dwelleth next vnto hir, shal ride on a *cowlstaffe*: & there is al y^e punishment she is like to haue." 1580, T. Lupton. *Singula*, p. 50.

‡ "If I see my brother sinne, I may betwene hym and me rebuke him, and *damne* his deede."—*Tyndale* (1573), f. 144.

"O see wittes men of galathie who deceyuede you for to not beleue to the/ treuhe bfore whos y3en iesu crist is *dampnyde* (or exilde)/."—*Epistle to the Galatians*, cap. iii, 6, *Pickering's Rp. of Wycliffe's Test.* (1858).

"Agayne in some partes of the lande theis seruynge men (for so be thies *damned* persons called) do no common worke, but as euery priuate man nedeth laborours, so he cometh into the markette-place, and there hiereth some of them for meate and drynke, and a certeyne limityd wayges by the daye, sumwhaat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man."—*Sir T. More's Utopia*, trans. by Raphe Robinson, 1551, sig. D. vi, verso.—*R. Roberts*.

- Daughters let as hackneys for hire, 278
- Dauſger, 153, *sb.* power of any person. This is the original meaning of the word from Lat. *domigerium*. So "out of debt, out of danger," *i. e.* independent of all, out of everyone's power. See Wedgwood, *s. v.*
- David's dancing, 164
- Day of the Lord. of Judgment, near, 187
- Dealers, cheating, 46*
- Dearlynges, 88, *sb. pl.* paramours, favourites. 'Darlynge, a wanton terme vsed in veneriall speach, as be these: honycombe, pyggisnye, sweteheret, trueloue. *Adonis . . delitie . . suatum sauium.*' 1552. Huloot
- Dearth and scarcity in 1583, 118. 'Dearth or scarsitye. *Caritas.*' 1552. Huloot
- deariness, 289
- Death of the Poor in the Streets, 59: *see* Poor
- Debt, imprisonment for, 126, 127, 292, 293*
- Debtors, cruel treatment of, 127, 293
- DECKER, T., on men's absurd Dress, 77*; on letting men die in the fields, 91*; on Creditors' cruelty, *see* note to *Dice* below.
- Decline, 55, *v.* bend, bow
- Decore, *vb.* 35, footnote 6, ornament; 'decored,' 64/3, ornamented, improv'd
- Decorum, still regarded as a Latin word, 30/20
- Dehorted, 142, *pt. s.* dissuaded
- Delicates, 87, delicacies, *sb. pl.* dainties
- DELONEY, Thomas, defended by G. Harvey, 42*
- Deneſer, 115, *sb.* denyer
- Denigrate, 78/20, *v.* blacken, darken
- Depainted, ix/6, depicted; Cp. Thynne's *Emblemes*, E. E. T. S., 10 (7) 24
- Deuerginat, 145, *vb.* seduce
- Devil, the maſter of new faſhions, 77/11: his band in the temple of God, 147
- Devil, behold the: get drunk, 307: *see* *Drunkards*, below
- 'Dice of his bones, I will make,' 119, 127, 290, 293, 46*, † 89*
- Dice, Wine, and Women, make men beggars, 89*
- Dicing and gambling, bad, 174, 317, 89*-91*
- Diogenes, opinion of, on dress, 46
- Disalowe, 153, 1 *pr. s.* disapprove
- Discrasies, 103/21, *sb. pl.* ailments, disorders, discomforts. 'Dis-crayſed. *Egrotus.*' 1552. Huloot
- Disgeſture, 103/15; 106/15, *sb.* digestion
- Dishcloute, 51, *sb.* rag, dishcloth
- Dishonesteth, 99/9, dishonours,

† "You haue another cruelty in keeping men in priſon ſo long, til ſickneſſe and death deal mildly with them, and (in deſpite of al tyranny) baile them out of all executions. When you ſee a poore wretch, that, to keep life in a loathed body, hath not a houſe left to couer his head from the tempeſtes, nor a bed (but the common bedde which our Mother the earth allowes him) for his cares to ſleepe vpon, when you haue (by keeping or locking him vp) robd him of all meanes to get; what ſeek you to haue him looſe but his life? The miſerable priſoner is ready to faſhiſh, yet that cannot mooue you; the more miſerable wife is ready to runne mad with diſpaire, yet that cannot melt you: the moſte of all miſerable, his Children, lye crying at your doores, yet nothing can awaken in you compaſſion: if his debts be heauie, the greater and more glorious is your pity to worke his freedome; if they be light, the ſharper is the *Vengeance* that will be heaped vpon your heads for your hardeneſſe of heart. Wee are moſte like to God that made vs, when wee ſhew loue one to another, and doe moſte like the Diuel that would deſtroy us, when wee are one anothers tormenters. If any haue ſo much flint growing about his boſome, that he will needes make *Dice of mens bones*, I would there were a lawe to compell him to make drinking bowles of their Sculls too: and that euerie miſerable debter that ſo dyes, might be buried at his Creditors doore, that when hee ſtrides ouer him he might thinke he ſtill riſes vp (like the Ghoul in *Ieronimo*) crying *Reuenge.*" 1606. T. Decker. *Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London* (Arber, 1879), p. 45.

- ruins the character of. 'Dis-honesten or make dishonest. *Collutulo*, as. *Contamino*, as. Dishonest or defyle a woman. *depudico*.' 1552. Huloet
- Disparcle, 78/17, *v.* spread, scatter abroad
- District, 46/9, strict
- Diue, 52, *v.* steep
- Document, 100/13, lesson, cp. *Hamlet*, IV. v.
- Doen, 66, *pp.* done
- Dogs kept as pets, 202, 268
- Donnington, Leicestershire, 59*
- Doomsday, near, 187
- Doublets made of a monstrous size, 55; of laced satin, 246, 247; worn by women, 71, 261, 77*, note
- Dregs, 63, *sb. pl.* rubbish
- Dress, curses on, 73; cost of, 53, 56, 75, 245, 261; deforms rather than improves men, 30; of foreign nations, 31, 234, 239; to be suited to a man's station in life, 33; its origin, 36; the right use of, 37, 237; the love of it, the mother of pride, 44; extravagance in, in Chaucer's time, 238; opinions of the Ancients on, 46, 47; of Christ and the prophets, 48
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- Dress of women, abuses in, 63, 254-257*, 77*, note
- Drink, names for, 150, 307
- Drinking half-pots or whole cans of beer, game at, 316
- Dromming, xi, *sb.* playing on drums
- Dronets, xi/8, 145; *sb. pl.* drones
- Droye, 78/2, *sb.* droil, drudge, slavey, common girl. 'Drudge or drugge, or vile seruaunt in a house whych doth all the vyle seruice. *Mediastimus*, a, um.' 1552. Huloet
- Drummer, 172
- Drunk, names for getting, 307
- Drunkards worse than beasts, 108: "*Accoustré pour aller au guet*. Thoroughly tiple, soundly whittled, that hath seene the diuell." 1611. Cotgrave. See Gascoigne's 'Delicate Diet for Droonkardes,' 1576
- Drunken alestake, 78*, drunkard
- Drunkennes and gluttony, at Wake-days, yearly Church festivals, 153, 284; Act against, 285
- Drunkennes in England, 107; testimonies against, 109; a caueat against, 112
- Duetie, 112, *sb.* duty
- Dumb creatures, Stubbes's care for, 50*, 178, 182
- Dunghill gentleman, 122. 'Dunghyll, mixen, or muckhyll. *Priuetum*.' 1552. Huloet
- Durance petticoates, 264, lasting, strong; see Nares
- Dutch drunkards, awful example of two, 113
- Dutch fashions in dress, 60, 251
- Dyeing of hair, 68, 258
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- Education and treatment of children, 278
- Effeminacy of men, 54, 103, 246
- Effeminate, *vb.* 160, make womanish and weak
- Efficiente, 27, *pr. p.* effecting
- EGERTON'S Sermons, mentioned by T. Nashe, 37*
- Egham races, 47*
- Elements and Skyes, 188
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- Els what, 76; what not
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- EMMES, William, Stubbes's father-in-law, 51* to 53*
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- Enloclnshire, 135, Lincolnshire

- Enterludes, viii, *sb. pl.*, interludes
 Entirely, 117, *adv* earnestly, heartily.
See Intirelie
 Equivalent, 144, of equal weight
 Erichssechshire, 135, Cheshire
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 Eschue from, 147, l. 7 from foot
 Estranged, 96, *pp.* separated,
 removed
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 Euangely, *sb.* 120, gospel
 Eunuch; Stubbes likend to one
 by Nashe, 39*
 Evibrate, *vb.* 108, footnote 7, shake
 Exaggerate, 58/18, 116, *vb.* heap
 up, gather. 'Heapely, in a
 mungley, wythout order. *Acerua-*
tim, Aggestim.' 1552. Huloet
 Examples against drunkenness,
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 Exorable, 75/29, *adj.* gaind over
 by entreaties, ready to yield to
 solicitation
 Extenuate, 54/25, *v.* lengthen out
 Extrauagantes, 172, wanderers,
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 a horse, farcy
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 in cloaks, spurs, &c., 51, 60, 241;
 in feathers, 51, 79, 240, 241, 270;
 in hats, 50, 240, 241; in hose,
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 240, 242; in shirts, 53, 245; in
 shoes, 58, 248; of women, 71,
 259; change every day, 76
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 Fauchone, 110/19; 162, *sb.* a sword
 or falchion
 Feade, 62, *vb.* please, feed
 Feare, 98, *v.* frighten
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 Fellowship of Animals' Friends,
 50*, *note* † i, 331. 'Felowshyppe,
 brethren or companye, whych be
 all of one brotherhode, corpora-
 tion, fraterternitie, guildre, or
 misterye. *sodales.*' 1552. Huloet.
 Felowes, 48, *sb. pl.* companions;
 A.S. *fēlagi*
 Femenine, 161, 170, *vb.* effeminate,
or, as just below, womannisheth
 Filides, 256, *foot* (?)
 Fine living hurtful, 105
 Fish: all is fish that comes to the
 net, 117/23; offerd to St. Huld-
 ryche or Ulric, 339
 Fixnet, 35/5; *sb.* shower-off, up-
 start; 'Thraso' in later editions

† Huloet says under 'Alume . . . whereof bene three kyndes . . . The iii. *Zuchari-*
num made wyth alume relented, rosewater, and the white of Egges, lyke a Suger lofe,
 the whiche, harlottes and strumpettes do communely vse to paynte their faces and
 visages wyth, to deceaue menne; but God graunte they deceaue not them selues.'

‡ Next the entry of Udal's *Rauf Ruysier Duster* (Ralf Roister Doister) in the
 Stationers' Register for 22 July 1566-7, is "Recevyd of thomas hackett for his lycense
 for the pryntinge of a playe intituled *furte fetched and Deare bought ys good for*
lad[de]s." Arber's *Transcript*, i. 331.

- Flaunes, 148, *sb. pl.* custards, pancakes
 Flaunt, 34, *vb.* to make a show
 Fleas and gnats gnaw Stubbes in bed, 221; Mr. Grove's chaffing recipe for killing, †
 Fleer, 145, *vb.* grin, make faces
 Flip flap, 51, *phr.* flapping
 Flipping and flapping, 58, 17; flop-ping, floundering
 FLOIDE (the poet Lodowick Lloyd) praised by G. Harvey, 42*
 Flower in a fop's ear, 78* note, 94*
 Flowing, ix, *adj.* mocking. "*Bro-carder*, to quip, cut, gird, reach over the thummes; ieast at; *flout*, moche, scoffe, deride, or gibe at." Cotgrave. Cp. *As You Like It*, I. ii. 42
 Fluter, 172
 Foist, 71, footnote 8; '1. barge or pinnace, 2. sharper, pickpocket' (see Nares); here, a fart, L. *crepitus*. Foist, to smell musty. Halliwell's Gloss.
 Fond, 81, *adj.* foolish
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 Fop: one describd, 241; another with a Rose in his ear, 77* note, 94*: see *Dress, Fashions*
 Forceth, 52/27, 'is material,' B. F.; 97, *impers. pr.* matters, is of importance. The expression, "it is no fors" = it is of no importance, is common in Early English. 'Force or care little or nothinge. . *Susque . . ferre . . Vacat.*' 1552. Huloet.
 Foreign fashions in dress, 31, 60, 234, 239, 240, 250, 251
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 FRAUNCE, Abraham, the poet, praised by G. Harvey, 42*
 French fashions in dress, 60, 251, 77* note
 Frizes, 32, *sb. pl.* friezes
 Frontiers, 67, *sb.* foreheads
 Funeral rites held only for shavelings' gain, 342
 Furdest, 56, *adj.* furthest, most removed
 Fyled, 23, *pp.* filed down, polished, refined. Harrison, *Descript. of Britain*, 1587, p. 26, has—"great shew of learning and boast of *filed* utterance;" and Ben Jonson, "Shakspere's well-torned and true-*filed* lines"

† *Fleas*.—Matthew Grove (Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 344) gives the following humorous recipe for flea-bane in his "most famous and Tragical Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia. Whereunto are adjoynd sundrie pleasant devises, Epigrams, Songes and Sonnettes, 1587:" (Written 4 years before. A copy at Bridgewater House. Hazlitt's *Handbook*).

"*A perfect trickie to kill little blacke flees in ones chamber.*"

"Take halfe a quart of barly graine,
 A quart of strongest beere,
 And boyle withall in earthen pot
 A pint of water cleere,
 Till all these three consumed be
 To ounces twelve or lesse,
 And then the place to which you will
 These fleas in heaps to presse,

Anoynt with that; this water hath,
 In it this verture raw,
 That all the fleas will thither come.
 Then take a slender strawe,
 And tickle them on the small ribs,
 And when you see one gape,
 Thrust then the straw into his mouth,
 And death he ne shall scape."

The last Yankee one I've heard of, is a shilling packet, 'not to be open'd till wanted for use.' When open'd, it shows 2 little squares of wood, with the direction, 'Place the flea on one block, and press the other closely to it. Instant death will ensue.'

Gallant's dress, cost of, 245
 Gallows, Three Steps and a half to the: Ruffs so called, 53
 Gally-hose, or gally-gascoynes, 56/1; 246, *sb.* wide, loose hose; bombasted, like women's bustles: see the Index note on *Codpiece*.
 Gambling and dicing, 174-6; the outcome of, 175, 317; 89*-91*
 Games and sports, 316†
 Garagantua breeches, 247
 Garded, 60, *pp.* trimd, edgd. See *Henry VIII.*, Prologue 16, and *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 143
 Gardens, places of bawdry, 88, 279
 Gardes, 74, *sb. pl.* trimmings, edgings‡
 Garnishe, 33, *v.* adorn: 'Garnish. *Adorns.*' 1552. Huloet
 Garters, French, 243; of Granada silk, 244, 265; given by harlots to amorous fools, 280; poniards hung in, 280
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 Gascoynes, 242, breeches: "*Guer-guesses*: f. Wide Slops, or Gallogaskins, great Gascon, or Spanish hose. 1611." Cotgrave
 Gawld backes, vi/10, 231, *pp.* galled
 Geare, 97, *sb.* matter, business
 Geese, roast, eaten on St. Martin's Day, 340
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 Gentleman of the first head, 122, upstart: 'Gentleman of the first head, or *Ironice* to be applyed to such as would be esteemed a gentleman, hauing no poynt or qualitie of a gentleman, nor gentleman borne. *Filius terræ.*' 1552. Rich. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
 Gentlemen sheeptomgers and graziers, 290

Germans not given to change their customs or dress, 31
 Geugawes, 62, *sb. pl.* baubels, trinkets
 Giese, 111, *pr. noun.* Gehazi
 Gingered breasts & spiced stomachs, 106, last line
 Gingerlynes, 78/26, *sb.* affected nicety, dainty manners
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 GOOGE, Barnabe, praised by G. Harvey, 42*; his englishing of Book IV of *The Popish Kingdome* of T. Kirchmaier or Nao-georgus, 323

† 'Actiue parson, or a man expert in all feates of actiuitie, as castyng of the barre, daunsinge, leapyng, runnyng, shotyng, shyping. *Pancraciastes. Et pancratiust: tij, ang.* he that doth exerceyse suche actiuitie.' 1522. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.

‡ 'Garde, puffle, or trayle of anye garment, or it may be sayde, any bouders or trayles fynely wrought with small pieces fastened thereto, be it mettall or tymber. Or it may be esteemed, that sorte of garde or welte whyche, besides the garde, is edged with a small lace, flatte or round vpon the garde, *Segmentum*; and that whiche is also garded, purfled, traysed, dressed, edged or trimmed, is sayde, *Segmentatus, a, um.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.

- Goose: he may go shooe the goose, 110, l. 7 from foot, go on a vain, idle errand; undertake impossibilities
- Got-money, drunken, not spent on the church, 152
- Gourmandice, 102/13, fastidious gluttony
- GRAFTON the Chronicler, praised by G. Harvey, 42*
- Grime, 67, *adj.* grim, fierce
- Grograins, 32, *sb. pl.* a coarse kind of silk taffety, usually stiffend with gum. Harrison, II. 6, mentions, "mockados, baies, vellures, *grograines*," &c., 231
- Groping and vncleane handling in dancings, 155
- Grosly, 23, *adv.* plainly, unrefinedly
- Grosser, 53, *adj.* thicker
- Guage, 123, *sb.* security, pledge
- Guilte, xii, *pp.* gilt
- Guise, 31, *sb.* manner, habit. "The Norman *guise* was to walke and get up and downe the streets." Lambarde's *Peramb. of Kent*, 1826, p. 320. See also my Harrison, *Descript. of England*, I. 168
- Gull, 173, l. 3 from foot, drink
- Gulling, 107/12; 112/22, guzzling
- Gun-shooting, game at, 316
- Guys carriad about on Saints' Days, 332. "Images caried aboute in pageauntes wyth greate chekes and wyde mouthes. *Manduces*." 1552. Huloet.
- Guyses, 63, *sb. pl.* customs
- Gyrdestead, 60/24, *sb.* waist. "Gyrdell stede, *faulx du corps*." Palsgrave
- Habits of the young men, 252
- Hainous, 80, *adj.* hideous, odious. See Haynous
- Hair, fashions in wearing†, 67-69; sham, 254-5, 258; dyed, 68, 258
- Hampshire fair, good and bad side of, 47*; cp. 149
- Hand-baskets a cloak for sin, 88
- Hand, bear in, 49, bring forward, set forth to
- Hangers, gay, for a rapier, 242
- Harbers, 88, *sb. pl.* harbours
- Hard fare wholesomest, 103
- Harde-quilted, 55, *adj.* padded stiffly
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- Hautie, 63, *adj.* proud, haughty
- Hawking and Hunting in England, 181; harm done by, 182
- Haynous, 28, *adj.* heinous, odious. "*Haineux*. Hatefull, detestable, most odious."—Cotgrave
- 'He' pleonastic, 154. Cp. Shakspeare, in *Rich. II, III, Cymb.* &c. 'The king he,' &c.
- Head-dress of women, 253
- Heare, iv; Heyre, v, *sb.* hair; Heir, 67
- Heathens an example to Christians in dress, 81, 273; detest whoredom, 92

† For bushy hair, and with feathers in it. See Dekker's *Guis Hornbooks*, 1609, ch. 3, p. 17-19, ed. 1862.

‡ 'Boyes which do attende vpon commune harlottes, called "apple squires." *Aquarioli*.' 1552. R. Huloet. 'Harlotte whyche medleth wyth a man for a farthynge. *Quadrantaria*.' 'Hoores whiche paynt theyr faces. *Zucarinata mulieres*.'—*ib.*

§ Besides Hasarder, *Aleator*, Huloet has 'Hasarder, which sleapeth all daye, and watcheth the nyght. *Vide* in Lurker.' 'Lurkers in the hye way, to robbe or sleay men, *Grassator*. Lurkers, called hasarders. *Vide* in hasarders.' 1552, *Abecedarium*.

- Hell, the reward of pride, 39
 Helthfuller, 103, *adv.* more healthily, with better health
 Hens offered to St. Vitus, 339
 Herbs blest in church on the Virgin Mary's Assumption Day, 341
 Hermaphroditi, 73
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 Hethnical, 177, *adj.* heathenish
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 Hoast, 84, *sb.* host, company
 Hobbyhorses, 147, 231
 HOLINSHED the Chronicler, praised by G. Harvey, 42*; one of Stowe's insertions in his Chronicle, 65*, *note*
 Holsome, 65, *adj.* wholesome: 'Holesome, *incolumis* . . *saluber*.' 1552. Huloet.
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 Howsing, 283, dwelling, tenement
 Hufcap, 150, 307, *sb.* strong ale
 Huftie-tuftie, † 307, hooray, boys! let's be jolly; 308, swaggeringly
 Huggle, 97/13; 281, *v.* hug, cuddle
 HULDRYCHE, St. Ulric, customs on his Day, 339
 Humaine, iii, *adj.* human. 'Humayn, as of man, *Humanitus, humanus*.' 1552. Huloet.
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 Illegitimates, 97, illegitimate children
 Imbrodered, 77, *pp.* embroidered
 Immured, 23, *pp.* surrounded as with a wall
 Impale, 124, *vb.* inclose, fence in
 Impe, 111, *sb.* child
 Implicate A, entangled F., 139
 Impolished, vi/24, *pp.* unpolisht, unrefined
 Importable, 58/19, insupportable
 Impotionate, 31, footnote 6-6; 105, footnote 2-2, made up as a potion, *adj.*
 Impugne, 106/22, fight against, disagree with
 Incident, 90, *adj.* proper, suitable
 Inclosures, 117, 289
 Incorporate, 44, *adj.* incorporated, united. See *Ingenerate*
 Indented, 77, *pp.* with the edges worked
 Indifferentlie, 35, *adv.* without distinction: 'Indifferently, *indiscriminatim, Passim*.' 1552. R. Huloet
 Inferreth, 168, *pr. s.* brings in, induces

† "Master Wyldgoose, it is not your *huftie tuftie* can make mee afraid of your bigge lookes: for I saw the Play of Ancient Pistoll, where a Cracking Coward was well cudgeld for his knavery: your railing is so neare the Rascall, that I am almost ashamed to bestow so good a name as the Rogue on you."—N. Breton, *A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters (Part I. 1603)*. [*A "coy Jams's" answer to a "Letter of scorne."*] p. 11, col. 2.

- Infirm, 95/31, *vb.* weaken: 'In-fyrmed. *Infirmus*.' 1552. Huloet
- Ingenerate, 44, *adj.* engendred.
In English the *adjective* in *-ate* formd directly from the Latin *pp.* preceded the *verb* in *-ate*, which was formd from the *pp.*, and the final *-d* was added to the already-existing *adjective* from a mistaken idea that it was a *pp.* formd from the *verb*. Thus in Shakspeare we find *consecrate* (*Titus And.* I. i. 14); *create* (*Midsumm. N. Dream*, V. i. 412); *articulate* (*Hen. IV.*, V. i. 72); *felicitate* (*Lear*, I. i. 66), &c.
- Ingrate, 23, *adj.* ungrateful
- Ingrauen, xii, *pp.* engraved
- Ingurgitate, 104/2, *v.* drink heavily, swamp, fill to excess: 'Ingurgitation of meate and dryncke, or beastely feadyng. *Alogia*.' 1552. Huloet
- Inkhorn terms in the 1st ed. of the *Anatomie* (1583) simplified in the 6th (1595), 62*, 63*
- Inough, Ynoughe, 46, *adv.* enough. A.S. *genoh*.
- Insaciabest, 102, *adj.* most insatiable
- Insolency, 57, *sb.* excess, outrageousness
- Intellective, 107, *adj.* intellectual
- Interest or usury should not be taken on loans, tho' allowd by law, 124
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- Intestine, 24/5, *adj.* inward, innate
- Intirelie, 225, *adv.* heartily, earnestly. *See* Entirely
- Inuegled, 68, *pt. s.* inveigled, enticed
- Inuisories, 80/5, *sb. pl.* masks
- Invested, 38, *pp.* clothed
- Irish, a game, 316
- Irish costumes in Q. Elizabeth's time, 95*
- Irrationable, 92, *adj.* without reason, not rational
- It, 44/8, its
- Jaques & Orlando, 50*
- Jarnsey, 57/7, *adj.* Guernsey (yarn); cp. Gearnsey, 76/22
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- Korked, 77, *adj.* corkt (shoes)
- Kyrtles, 75, *sb. pl.* gown, jackets
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- Laced mutton, 240, whores
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- Largeous, 105/17, *adj.* free, open-handed, liberal
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- Latter-Day-Pamphlets* (T. Carlyle's), commented on, 49*
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- Learning is a jewel, my maisters, 38*
- Leather, 37/20, 38/4, 48/5, 237; skin; *En cueros*, in leather, in buff; used by Cervantes and Quevedo: see Dict. of Spanish Academy
- Leaude, 89, *adj.* lewd
- Legitimats, 97, children born in wedlock
- Lent, fasting and customs in, 331
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- Light-brain, *sb.* 250, idiot, goose
- Litter, Queen Elizabeth carried in one, by 6 Knights, 71*, and engraving by Title-page. 'Litter or lyghter to carye a noble personage, *Lectica*?' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
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- Loathsom, 111, *adj.* loathsome, filthy
- 'Love me, love my dog,' 178. Cotgrave, under both *aimer* and *chien*, gives *Bertrand* for Stubbes's *Jean*: '*Qui aime Bertrand aime son chien*': Prov. Love me, love my dog; (say we.)
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- Mandilians, 58, 240, a kind of loose garment without sleeves, or if with sleeves, having them hanging at the back. S. Rowlands (*Knave of Harts*, 1613) mentions "short cloaks, old *mandillions*." See also Harrison, I. 168
- Manure, 36, *v.* work by hand
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- Margarets, 70, *sb. pl.* pearls. "Margery, perle. *Margarita*." Prompt. Parv.: see Mr. Way's note
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† London:—See 'A Larume Belle for London, with a caueat or warning to England . . . by Iohn Carre, Citizein of London . . . 1573. 8vo. bk. 1r. 11 leaves,' Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 108.

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 Maycocks, 101/11, *sb. pl.* meacocks, effeminate, spiritless fellows. *See* Shakspeare, *Taming of the Shrew, II. i.*
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- Newfangles, 31, 80, 235, *sb. pl.* new fashions. 'Louer of newe fangels, and trifles. *Elucus.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
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- Nicelings, 79/14, *sb. pl.* dainty creatures
- Nicenes, 58, *sb.* daintiness
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- Nisitie, 103, *sb.* daintiness, squeamishness
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- Nusseled, 54, *pp.* nuzzled, cuddled, pamperd
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- Obnubilate, 78/16, *v.* cloud, darken
- Obtestation, *sb.* 131, calling to witness. 'Obtestation. *obtestatio, onis*, it is properlye wher one taketh God to wytnes, *Et obtestor, aris*, to take God to wytnes.' 1552. Huloet
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- Ostenting, 30/7, *sb.* showing off, boasting, Lat. *ostentans*
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- Othersome, 60, *adj.* some others
- Ouches, 67, *sb. pl.* ornaments, jewels. See Mr. Way's note in *Prompt. Parv.*, *s. v.* Nowche
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- Palled, 88/8, *adj.* surrounded with palings
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- Paned, 56, *adj.* formed of stripes, with small panes or squares of silk or velvet
- Panther smells sweet to beasts only, 40*
- Pantoffles, 53, 57, 58, 77, 239, *sb. pl.* slippers, patterns. "A shooe called a pantoffe, or a slipper, *crepida, sandalium.*" — Baret's *Alvearie*, 1580. Baret also gives the form *Pantaffle*. 'Short-heeld pantoffles,' 37*/16
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 Parsons, unfit, appointed to livings, 93*
 Parted, 76* *n.* having good parts or abilities, clever
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 Partlets, 70, *sb. pl.* ruſs or bands worn by women. "*Amiculum.* A neckercher or a partlet." Withals. *Partlet*, an old kind of band, both for men and women; a loose collar, a woman's ruff. *Dunton's Ladies' Dict.* 1694, in *Nares*, ed. 1859; with other quotations. '*Partlet, Strophium.*' 1552. Huloet
 Paste, 112, *pp.* past
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 Peaking, 51, *pr. p.* running to a peak or point
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 Peltyng, 72/9, *adj.* violent, furious
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 Philip's, K., leather, 243, Spanish leather (boots)
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Pies, 87, *sb. pl.* magpies. 'Pye byrde. *Citta, a, Pica, a.*' Huloet
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 Pinched, 50, *adj.* with the edges notcht or cut in various patterns. The term is still in use under the form *pinked*
 Pinions, 73, *sb. pl.* skirts
 Pinsnets, Pinsons, 57, 77, 247, 266, *sb. pl.* small thin-soled shoes. 'Pynson, *Calceamen, inis; calceamentum, ti; Osa, a; Tenella, a.* Pynson wearer. *Osatus, a, um.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
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 Poals, 97, *sb. pl.* poles, trees
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 Pollage, 116, *sb.* plunder, robbery. 'Pollynge or pillynge. *Exactio.*' 1552. Huloet
 Polonia heels to shoes, 240; boots, 77*, *note*
 Pomanders, 77, 266, *sb. pl.* A kind of perfume generally made in the form of a ball, and carried about the person. For recipes for their manufacture, see Notes, 266, and Halliwell, *s. v.* 'Pomander or sweete perfume. *Dia-pasma.*' Huloet

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- Potestates, 33/21, *sb. pl.* those in authority, the powers that be, men in high places
- Powlyng, 117, *pr. p.* robbing, cheating
- Pozie, 134, *sb.* inscription, verse
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- Preparaunce, 72/21, *sb.* preparations
- President, 118, *sb.* precedent (see Huloet below)
- Pretely, 87, *adv.* pretty well, tolerably
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- Prices, rise in, 118-119; cp. Stafford and Harrison I., New Sh. Soc.
- Pride, 26; the cause of all evils, 27, 234; is tripartite, 27, 28, 234; vainglorious, 29; in England, 33, 235, 236; hell, the reward of, 39; the child of proud apparel, 44; punishment of, by God, 85, 86
- Priests, the head revellers at the yearly Church-festivals, 340
- Primacie, 94, *sb.* headship, priority
- Prisoners 'lying in lothsome dung, wurse then anie Dogge,' 127, 293
- Prittle-prattle, the evils of it, 93*
- Procession or Rogation Week, beating the bounds in, 336-7
- Profanation of the Sabbath and its results, 137, 297, 298, 344
- Profluous, 105, footnote 13, bounteous, extravagant
- Promulgate, 48, *pp.* promulgated, published. See *Ingenerate*
- Proper, 72, *adj.* fine, handsome: 'Proper, feate, and well fashioned. *Concinnus . . Elegans . .* Proper man. *Graphyryus uir.*' 1552. Huloet.
- Proud apparel deformeth man, 40; does not always cover wisdom, 41; abhorred by the godly, 45; condemned by our Lord, 48
- Proverbs and proverbial phrases: A dunghill gentleman (upstart), 122; a good companion too trauayle withal, is in-steade of a Wagon, 22; as drunk as apes, 151; as drunk as rats, 151/3 *n.*; as mad as March hares, 151; as quick as a Bee, 96/61; as round as a ball, 126; maie saie blacke is their eye (impute blame to), 96, 130, 152; butter would not melt in their mouthes, 89; by hooke or crooke, 75; dance the wilde Moris in a needle's eye, 171; farre fetched and deare boughte, 33; feight dog, feight beare, the deuill part all, 178; go together by the eares (come to blows), 118; laugh in their sleeues, 118; loue me, loue my dog, 178; make bones of anie thing, 178; more is the pytie, 41; shooe the goose (undertake impossibilities), 117; stand on their pantoffles, 53; tagge and ragge, 43; three steppes and a halfe to the gallows (ruffs so calld), 53
- Pseudo-christian, *sb.* 182
- Puff-wings, 260
- Puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs; women's, 255
- Punishment of whoredom, 98, 99, 282
- Puppits, 75, *sb. pl.* dolls
- Puritan embroidresses, 245; laundresses, 260

† 'Preiudice, *præiudicium*, *ij*, whyche is a mere [pure] wronge contraye to the lawe. ¶ It maye be also taken for a sentence once decided and determined, whych remayneth afterward for a generall rule and example, to determyne and discusse sembliaible; Or els it maye be as the ruled cases and matters of the lawe be called bokecases, recited in the yerres [Year-Books] whiche be as precedences; and thereof commeth thys verbe *præiudico*.' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.

- Puritans abused by T. Nashe, 39*
 Pursie, 107, *adj.* fat, bloated
 Fusels and fusles, of women's dress, 255
 Pussle (*pucelle*), 78'3; 266, *sb.* a maid, girl, drab, *1 Hen. VI. 1. iv.* "A Pusle, A Puzzle [prob. of *poesele*, Du.], a dirty slut." *Bailey's Dict.*, ed. 1737, vol. ii. s. v.
 Puttockes, 116, *sb. pl.* kites, avaricious persons
 Quaille, 124, *vb.* sink, fail
 Quasie, 169; Queasie, 103, *adj.* squeamish, dainty
 Quavemire, 115, 168, *sb.* quagmire, bog
 Quirks, 57, *sb. pl.* the same as clocks, *q. v.*
 Rabbied, 122, *pp.* addressed as *Rabbi*, master
 Rackte rentes, 76,* note: *see* Landlords
 Radishes eaten on Easter-day, 336/636
 Ragged-School anecdote, 49*
 Rapiers, gay, 62, 252
 Rattes, as dronke as, 113/18; 151/3, *notes*
 Ravished *in* (with) her behaviour, 163
 Rayling, ix, *adj.* railing, mocking
 REARDON, J. P., reprinted two of Stubbes's tracts, 58*
 Rebato, 255, 309; rebating-prop, (S. Gosson), 258; "*Porte-fraise*, m. A Rebato, or supporter for a Ruffe; wrought, or imbrodered, and cut into diuers panes." 1611. Cotgrave. *See* Supportasse
 Redintegration, 90, *sb.* renewal
 Reduce, 25/19, bring back
 Refelled, 40/21, refuted
 Refelleth, 160, *pr. s.* refutes
 Refrain men from, 137, restrain, rein back: 'Refrayne, *Cohibeo*, *contineo*, *reprimio*.' 1552. Huloet
 Regulte, xii, *pp.* regilt
 Relics, Saints' ridiculed, 328
 Renowned, 167, renowned
 Repentance, not to be put off, 190
 Repentants, who are true, 189
 Reproched of, 176, reproacht by
 Resolue, 79, *v.* solve, answer, explain
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 REYNOLDS, John, poet, &c., praised by G. Harvey, 43*
 RICH, Barnaby, praised by G. Harvey, 42*
 Rich men eat vp poore men as beasts doo grasse, 117
 Rich men grind down the poor, 169, 291
 Rich men, in Germany, gallop thro the streets at Shrovetide, 330
 Rich, the benefit of being, 238, 291-2
 Riches, that thick clay of damnation, 116
 Riueleth, 95/33, *pr. s.* wrinkles: Ryueled, 74/26, pleated
 Robin Hood, telling Tales of, on Sundays (cp. Latimer), 300
 Rogation Week, beating the bounds in, and feasting afterwards, 336-7
 Roisteth, 41, *pr. s.* acts riotously. *Harrison*, ed. Furnivall, I. 77. "They ruffle and roist it out." Tusser, *Five Hundred Points*, &c., ed. Herrtage, ch. 98, st. 3, has "roister-like."
 Rosaries to count prayers on, absurd, 343
 Rose in a dandy's ear, 77*, 94*
 Rose shoestrings, 240
 ROWLANDS, S., quoted, 232, 240, 243, 270, 274, 275, 280, 283, 284, 293, 314, 316
 Ruffle, 45, *pr. pl.* dress grandly. *See Roist.*
 Ruffs, men's, 52, 240-2; women's, 70-73, 243, 244; worn even by yeomen, 52; extravagance in, of women, 70, 258, 259; Queen Elizabeth's, 71*
 Rugges, Ruggs, 33, *sb. pl.* rough cloths
 Running, play at, 316
 Rushbearings, 310, *n.*
 Russet, 50, *adj.* reddish-brown; russet boots, 253
 Ryall, 57, *sb.* a coin (gold) of the value of about 15s.

Ryot, 39, *sб.* profligacy
Ryueled, 74, *pp.* wrinkled

Sabaoth, xi, 136, *sб.* (really 'Hosts,' armies), a mistake for Sabbath. The same mistake occurs in Bacon, *Advance of Learning*, II. 24; and in Spenser, *Faery Queen*, VIII. 2. Dr. Johnson, in the first edit. of his Dictionary, treated the two words as identical, and Sir W. Scott commits the same mistake in *Ivanhoe*, ch. x.

Sabaothlike, 173, Sabbath-like
Sabbath, profanation of in Ailgna, 137; God's judgment on the profaners of it, † 179; fairs and courts held on the, 183, 296, 298, 312, 344, 78*; works to be done on, 140
Sabbath-breaking, † 136-140, 177; God's judgment on, 179, 180, 182; shaving held to be, 313

Saciete, 104, *sб.* excess

Saints' Days, customs on :—

St. Agnes (Jan. 21), 327

St. Andrew (Nov. 30), 340

St. Blase (Feb. 3), 328

St. Catherine, (Nov. 25), 340

St. John the Apostle (Dec. 27), 325

St. John the Baptist (June 24), 339

St. Stephen (Dec. 26), 325

St. Ulric or Huldryche (July 4), 339

St. Urban, 338-9

St. Vitus (June 15), 339

Saints, Pageants of :—

St. Barbara, George and the

Dragon, Katherine, Sebastian, 338; and Ursula and her Virgins, 337, on Corpus Christi Day

Sarcenet, 32, *sб.* a thin, slight kind of silk

Satan abus'd by Phillip Stubbes's young wife, before her death, 205

Sate, 77, *pp.* sat

Saturday Review and swearing, 46*; note; on Stubbes's name 'Philip,' 50*, note

Scabbed and scurvy companie of dauncers, 167

Scarfs worn by women, 79; by men, 243

Scarsly, 60, *adv.* scarcely

Scents, 77, 266, 269; the use of, injurious, 78

SCHARF, Mr. G. on Q. Elizabeth's Procession in 1600, 71*

Schoolmasters and Boys, sing on St. Martin's Day, 340

Scoffingly, flowtingly, and jibingly, 140

Scotch daggers, 250

Scriveners, the Devil's tools, 128, 294

Secret baptisms and marriages among Papists, 311-312

Seellie, xix, *adj.* simple. A.S. *selig*

Semblable, vi, *adj.* like, similar :

'Semblable, *Idem.* the neutre gendre of *Isdem*, and some time signifyeth the same man, or the same thyng.' 1552. Huloet

Sempronians, 70/1; 259, lewd women : 'Sempronia, that re-nowned whore,' 167, l. 2 from foot

Sereous, 88, *adj.* serious, import-ant

† Among the punishments appointed by the Justices at Bury, Suffolk, in Feb. 1578-9 (printed in the *Monthly Mag.*, 1813, Aug. 1, vol. 36, p. 43-4) are these :—"If anie person in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie or other holie-daies, shall be found in the alehouse or tavern, or otherwise evill occupied or idle in the streetes, churcheyarde, or other places, these are to be the first time punished accordinge to the statute; and, againe offendinge, to be bounde to their good behaviour. If they be boyes above the age of tenne years, that shall in this point offende, their fathers and their mothers that shoulde have better looked to them, shall be punished thus, and the boy offendinge, by his father or mother whipped, the constable seeinge the performance therof.

"If anie person shall in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie, or other holie daie, keepe open his shoppe, or at all on the Lords daie sell anie wares, except it be such as must necessarilie be had, he is to be punished accordinge to the statute."—*From the Cecil Papers in the 27th Volume of the Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum.*

- Sermons, an excuse for meeting lovers, 276
- SHAKESPEARE: on men's dress, 44*, his Cuckoo-song, and Wordsworth's contrasted, 45*; he hated women's face-painting and sham hair, 257; his *Venus and Adonis* carrid in girls' bosoms, 268
- Shirts, 53, 245
- Shoes, extravagance in, 58, 248, 77
- Shoestrings, cabbage, and rose, 240
- Shooting out of doors, turnd into gulling and whoring indoors, 317
- Shoreditch bawdy-houses, 252
- Shove-groat, a game, 316
- Shrovetide, customs at, 329-30
- Shurts, 53, 245, *sb. pl.* shirts
- Sibbersawces, 67, *sb. pl.* washes and unguents for women's faces, rouges, cosmetics: *also* Slibber Sawce †
- Sidenes, 56, *sb.* width. 'Sideness, Length,' 1530. Palsgrave: 'Syde, or longe, downe to the ankle. *Talaris.*' 1552. Huloet
- Sielie, 225, *adj.* simple
- Signitor, 138, pointer, index
- Silver hilts to rapiers, 252
- Simples, 65, *sb. pl.* specifics
- SINGLETON, printer of *the Gaping Gulf*, 1579, 54*
- Sin, the origin of, 24; two kinds of, 27, 233
- Sir Ihon, 151; the priest. Chaucer's *Dan Johan*
- Sixpenny rooms (boxes) at theatres, 302, *n.*
- Skittles, playing at, on Sundays, 300
- Slabbering, 78, *adj.*
- Slabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold, 163; 'slabberings, bussings, and smouchings,' 165
- Slaighes, 118, *sb. pl.* tricks
- Slashed, 56, *adj.* cut
- Sledge-hammer, throwing the, 316
- Slibber sawce, 105, footnote 2-2, buttery, oily, made-up sawces
- Slops, big breeches, 246-7
- Slut, 51, *sb.* a sloven
- Sluttered sutes, 40*/6
- Small, 106, *adj.* poor, weak (drink)
- Smick-smack, 269, kissing
- Smouching, 155, 165, *sb.* loud smacking kisses
- Snowball playd, 330
- SNUFFE, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, 270, 307
- Sockets: musicians are 'drunken sockets and bawdye parasits,' 171
- Sodometrie, 31/15, shame, evil pride, &c.
- Sodomites, 145, fornicators
- Sodomitical, 153
- Solomon on dancing, 164
- Somedea, 53/8, *adv.* somewhat, rather
- Spagnolized (pincht-in) body, 77* note
- Songs, bawdy and profane, 171, 185, 314-316, 319; and ballads, 185, 320
- Sour sauce, 96, 98
- Spanish fashions in dress, 60, 251
- Spare, 105, *adj.* stingy, sparing
- Sparkled, 71, *pp.* sprinkled: 'Sparple here and there, *segrego* .. *spargo.*' 1552. Huloet

† *Slibber sauce*: this word occurs also in a scolding of Englishwomen in "*The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Foote-steppes of Fraunce*. Wherein is explained the wilfull *blindnesse* of subtile mischief, the struing for Starres, the catching of Mooneshine, and the secret sounde of many hollow heartes. By W. R. *Nulla pietas prauis.*—At London, Imprinted by Robert Robinson dwelling in Feter Lane neere Holborne, 1588." (4to, B. L. 19 leaves.)

"It is a woonder more than ordinary to beholde theyr periwigs of sundry collours, theyr paynting potts of perlesse perfumes, theyr boxes of *slibber sauce*, the sleaking of theyr faces, theyr strayned modesty, and theyr counterfayte coynesse. In so much that they rather seeme Curtyzans of Venyce then matrones of Englande, monsters of Ægypt then modest maydens of Europe, inchaunting Syrens of Syrtes then diligent searchers of vertue: these inchauntments charme away theyr modesty, and entrap fooles in folly; bewitcheth themselves wyth wanton wyles, and besotteth other with these bitter smyles."—Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 28.

- Speare, sphere (*note*), 50, *sb.* spire, steeple
 Spicke and spanne, *adv.* quite, entirely
 Spirits shut up in Crystal, as Charms, 344
 Splendente, 39/11, splendid
 Splendishe, 35, footnote 5, *vb.* garnish
 Spoke, *pp.* 188, spoken
 Sports on Sundays, 136, 140, 296 : *see* Sabbath
 Spurs, gingling, 242
 Square-toed shoes, 252
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 Starcht ruffs and rabatas, 51, 242
 Stationers' Registers : entries of Stubbes's books in, 55*, 56*
 Stays, abuse of, by women, 262 ; 77*
 Stelliferous, 79/23, *adj.* lit. star-bearing, bright, radiant
 Sternes, 51/9 ; 68/5, *sb. pl.* standards (so glosst in F. at p. 68)
 Stews, or Brothels, kept by Papist Priests, 344-5
 Stile, match at running to one, 316
 Stimule or pricke, *sb.* 90
 Stinginess of the rich to the poor, 104, 288
 Stinking pump and lothsome sink of carnall affection, 156
 Stint, xiv, *vb.* cease, stop. A.S. *astynian*
 Stiptick, 98, *adj.* bitter, astringent
 Stockings (netherstocks), fashions in, 57, 76, 77, 265 ; extravagance in, 57, 247 ; silk, 246
 Stoolball, a game, 316
 Store, xviii, *adj.* in numbers
 STOWE the Chronicler, praised by G. Harvey, 42* ; inserts Parry's trial in Holinshed's Chronicle, 65* note ; quoted, 54*, 248
 Stride-wide and lift-leg, 307, strong ale
 Strosser (trouser), close Italian, 243
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 STUBBS, Mr. Henry, 51*, 74*
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† On the 'Godly simplicity of our forefathers' that Stubbes alludes to in his side-note here, See Chap. XXVIII, "Of the rudenesse and rusticitie of our Ancestors in sundrie things," p. 232-239, of R. C.'s englishing of Stephen's *World of Wonders*, 1607 : "we will easily graunt these gray beards, that in their younger yeares the world was not so wicked [and wasteful] : so that they yeeld to our greene heads, that it was more rude and rustical ; and that it was not so witte, because it was not so wicked."

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Rosarie of Christian Praiers, 1583 (no copy known), 64*
Theatre of the Popes Monarchie, 1584 (no copy known), 65*
Two wonderful and rare Examples (1581), 58*
View of Vanitie, 1582 (no copy known), 60*
 Stut, 107/15, stutur: 'Stut or stamber. *Balbucior* . . . Stuttyng. *Tertiatio uerborum*.' Stutter [one who stuts] *Balbus* . . . Stutter [one who stuts] in readyng, whyche staggereth, and can pronounce no good Englysh, &c. *Offensutor*. 1552. Huloet. He has also 'Stamber, *Titubo*; Stambrer, *Titubator*; Stammer and stamber, *Idem*.'
 Successe, 41, *sb.* succession: 'Successe. *Processus, us; successus*.' 1552. Huloet.
 Succinctorie, 48, *sb.* girdle. Lat. *succingere*, to gird
 Summer halls, bowers, and arbours for the devil's agents, in the Churchyard, 147
 Sunday sports and Sabbath-breaking, 136-140, 177, 180, 182, 183, 226, 298; 331-404; 78*-81*: *see* Sabbath
 Sundays profaned by games and plays, 137-140, 297-301
 Superiall, supernall, 126
 Supportasse, 52/11, *sb.* wire-frame to support folk's ruffs: *see* woodcuts, and Rebato
 Surcease, vii, 114, *vb.* leave off,

- cease. Not connected with to "*cease*," but from "*sursis*," which is from *surseoir*, Lat. *supersedere*. It is a legal term meaning the arrest or stoppage of a suit, or superseding a jurisdiction. Cf. *Macbeth*, I. vii. 4, and *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. i. 97
 Surphling of women's breasts, 257; faces, 271; washing them with cosmetics (Nares), ? painting or enamelling
 Surprised, 33/1, overtaken
 SURREY, Henry Howard, Earl of, praised by G. Harvey, 43*
 Sute, 48, *sb.* suit: *see* Sluttered
 Swearing, great in England,† 129, 136 (this chapter not in 1st ed.), 294
 Swearing, when lawful, 131; punishment of, 134, 136, 296
 Sweeted, 79 margin, scented
 Swilbowles, 86/32, *sb.* drunkards
 Swill, 104, 173, *v.* drink in excess
 Swords, extravagant fashions in, 62, 252
 Tables, 173, *sb. pl.* backgammon, 37*. 'Table-playing. *Alea*.' 'Tables to playe wyth dice and men. *tabula*.' 1552. Huloet
 Tabling, 174, playing at tables, back-gammon
 Tabretters, 172, players on the tabret (157/6), small tabour
 Tagge and ragge, 43, *phr.* of the lowest class, 238
 Tailor, a woman's, 247, 260
 Tapers, big, lit on Candlemas Day, 328
 Tarantara, Christ's, 24, *sb.* a word used to represent the blast of the trumpet
 TARLTON, Dick, the clown, and his big slops or breeches, 246, 247. (He is Spenser's comedian 'pleasant Willy,' in *Tears of the*

† "If anie person shall be convicted to be a blasphemor or comon swearer, and after one admonition openlie, shall not reforme himselfe, he shall bee sett in the stocks the space of three days and three nights, havinge only duringe that tyme allowed unto him breade and water."—Punishments appointed by the Justices of the Peace at Bury, Suffolk, Febr. 1578-9, from the Cecil Papers in vol. 27 of the Lansdowne Collection, Brit. Mus., quoted in the *Monthly Mag.*, 1813, Aug. 1, vol. 36, p. 43.

- Muses*, 1590, according to the nearly contemporary entry in Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's folio, (Spenser)
- Tartarian, and merciless Turck, 126
- Tea-gowns in 1878, 93*
- Tear, 118, *vb.* bluster, protest
- Tennis, 173, 316: 'Tennysse game, or playing at tennysse. *Speromachia*.' 1552. Huloet
- Ten-pins, a game, 316
- Than, *adv.* then
- Theare, iii, there
- Theatre*, The, James Burbage's, 143, 299, 300
- Theatres, a meeting-place for men and women, 144, 304; and actors, 140-150, 301; not wanted open on Sundays now, 47*
- Thend, 138, the end, the purpose
- Theopompus and Moses, 141, 300
- Thetherward, 85, *adv.* thither
- Thripple, 153/10, *vb.* labour hard
- Tick-tack, 269, copulation; a game, 316†
- Ticktack tauerner, 78*/21, keeper of a tavern and brothel
- Tigerlike saying of Creditors about their Debtors, 127: *see* Dice
- Tight-lacing, evils of, 262, 263, 77*
- Time wasted by women, 87, 274, 276
- Tituillers, 122, *sb. pl.* flattering fellows
- Tittle-tattle, the evils of it, 93*
- To the purpose, 180, for the purpose
- Tobacco, 78*
- Too too, 75, *adv.* exceedingly, over: *see Telliroth*, 37/8, 82/16, &c.
- Tokens of the coming Day of Doom, 188
- Tongues, flattering, blearing men's eyes, 92*
- Tortouse, 36, *adj.* deceitful
- Tossing a guy in a blanket, 330
- Toty (fuddled) with drink, 284
- Tract path, 41*/24 (T. Nashe)
- Tradesmen's wives used as lures, 87, 276
- Tradeswomen, how to get presents from, 279
- Transnatureth, 54, *pr. s.* changes (their) natures
- Travelling players, evils of, 301
- TRAVERS, Walter, alluded to by T. Nashe, 37*
- True-looues knottes, 74, *sb. pl.* bows of ribbons
- Trumperies, 180. 'Trumpery or old baggage. *Vide* in baggage' (above). 1552. Huloet
- Trunk hose, 56, 246; sleeves of wire, 261
- Tung, 48, *sb.* tongue, voice
- Turd carrid on a cushion, 330
- TUSSER, praised by G. Harvey, 42*
- Tutche, 84, *vb.* touch, reach
- Tutched, vi, *pp.* touched
- Twelfth-Day, customs on, 326
- TWELL, John, of Donnington, 58*
- Twist, 76, *sb.* twig, bough. "A twist: *frons*." *Catholicon Angl.*
- Twopennie Catichismes, 40*
- Tyborne, 233, gallows
- Vgglesome, 72/13; 188, 205, *adj.* hideous
- Vnbowable, *a.* 76, unbendable
- Unchastity, temptations to, 84*, 76*: *see* Dancing, Music, Stage-Plays
- Vnconcluded, 176
- Vnderpropped, 52, *pp.* supported, propt up
- Vnlest, 43, *conj.* unless
- Vnreasonable, 92/27 *adj.* unreasoning, incapable of reasoning, not endowd with reason
- Upsy-freeze, the German's, 286
- Vre, 118, *sb.* use
- Usury, and the treatment of the poor, 288, 292
- Usury in England, 119, 122; punishment of, 120; unlawful, 124
- Vagaries, 49/21, circumlocutions and generalities
- Vaile, 51, *sb.* veil
- Velvers, viii/18, 231, a kind of woollen velvet

† 'In this lande I did see an ape plaie at *ticke-tack*, and after at *Irishe* [see Irish above] on the tables with one of that lande.'—1573. Bullein's *Dialogue*, in Wheatley's *Dict. of Reduplicated Words*: '*Dmg-Dong Dictionary*,' the 2nd ed. is to be calld.

- Velvet, viii, xii, 32; its derivation, &c., 231; visors made of, for women to ride in, 80, 272
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 Venereous, 74/4, lecherous
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 Waists, women's tight-laced, 256, 77*, *n.*
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 Wakeesses, 137; Wakesses, 152, *sb. pl.* wakes, feasts: 'Wakedayes. *Esuriales ferie.*' 1552. R. Huloet
 Wanion, 183, *sb. in a wanion* = a curse on it
 Wanton Looks and Books, † 84*; 144, *see* Bawdy
 WARNER, WATSON, WHETSTONE, poets praised by G. Harvey, 42* foot, 43*
 Weale publique, 34, *sb.* common-wealth
 Welts, 73, *sb. pl.* hems on borders of fur
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† "It happed that a yong priest very deuoutly in a procession bare a candel before the crosse for lying with a wenche, and bare it light all the longe way. Wherin the people tooke suche spiritual pleasure and inwarde solace, that they laughed a pace. And one mery merchaunt sayd vnto the priestes that folowed him: *sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus*: Thus let your light shine afore the people. Forsooth, quod I, it were pitie but that an euil priest were punished. But yet it is as muche pitie that we take suche a wretched pleasure in the hearing of their sin, and in the sight of their shame."—*Sir T. More's Works*, p. 26, ed. 1557.—R. Roberts.

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† Cp. Huloet's explanation of the word *Honeymoon*,—because its sweetness is sure to change, like the moon does:—"Hony mone, a terme prouerbially applied to such as be newe married, which wyll not fall out at the fyrste, but thone loueth the other at the beginnyng excedyngly: the likelyhode of they rexceedyng loue appearing to aswage, the whiche time the vulgar people col the hony mone. *Aphrodisia, feriae, hymenae.*" 1552. *Abcedarium Anglo-latium pro Tyrunculis.*

‡ "I was alone among a Coach full of women, and those of the Electors Dutchesse Chamber forsooth, which you would haue said to haue been of the blacke guard. It was a Comedy for me to heare their discourse; now declaiming against Caluenists, now brawling together, now mutually with teares bewailing their hard fortunes: and they fel into all these changes, while the wind blew from one and the same quarter. *Is anything lighter than a woman?*" 1617. Fynes Moryson. *Itinerary*, p. 13.

PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY
OF THE
ABUSES IN ENGLAND
IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,
A. D. 1583.

PART II.
The Display of Corruptions.

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ABUSES IN ENGLAND

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PART II.

The Display of Corruptions Requiring Reformation.

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FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

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TO

MY FRIEND AND HELPER

Teena (Mary Lillian) Rochfort-Smith.

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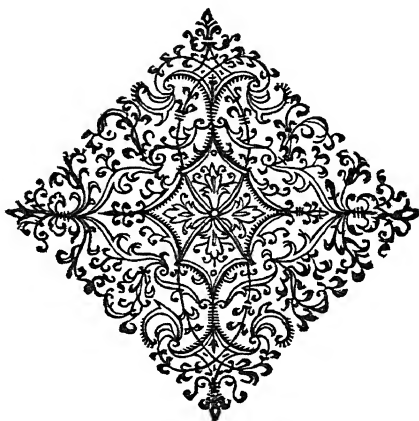
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This Second Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie* is partially described, after the First Part, in Sir E. S. Brydges's *Restituta*, i. 530-5, and quotations are given from the opening, the description of Q. Elizabeth (p. 7 below), the Ruff, Starching House and Poking-Stick bits (p. 35-6), and the scene in the Barber's Shop (p. 50-1). On p. 527 Haslewood says "that a limited impression of the whole work would materially assist the spirit of modern researches." A note on p. 530 states that "Copies of this edition [Part II] are attached to the third edition [1585] of the first part."

There is a copy of Stubbes's *Motiue to good Workes*, 1593 (see Forewords to *Anatomie*, Part I, p. 67*), in Emmanuel College, Cambridge.—W. C. Hazlitt. *Bibliog. Collections and Notes*, 2nd Series, 1882. I hope we may be able to print it some day in our *Shakspeare's England* Series.

Anthony Stapley, of Framfield, Sussex, grandfather of "Anne Stapley, 9 years olde, a^o 1634," had for his 4th wife a "widow of Mr. Stubbes, but no issue." Harl. MS. 6164 (Visitation of Sussex, 1634), lf. 22, bk.



✎ The Committee of the *New Shakspeare Society* give express notice that the Editor of any of the Society's Books is alone responsible for the opinions exprest in it.

FORETALK.

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|---|--|

§ 1. IN the Forewords to my edition of the First Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie* for the New Shakspeare Society in 1877-9, I said that I meant to reprint this Second Part, and I gave a list of the subjects treated in the first Division of it, that describing the Corruptions of the Temporality. Of Stubbes's dealing with the Spirituality, I gave only a mention at the foot of p. 35. Now pages viii-ix of the Contents above sufficiently sketch it.

Readers must not, as I warn'd them before, expect to find in this Part II as much amuzement and interest as they found in Part I¹. The only lively bit in the book is the scene in the Barber's shop, p. 50-1 below, the humour of which I commend to those who look on Stubbes as "a mere bitter narrow-sould Puritan." But the Men and Women who are in earnest themselves now, will find Stubbes in like earnest in this Second Part, as in his First, dealing with real abuses in the Life of his time, demanding that Justice be dealt to the Poor as

¹ The pages against Ruffs, those Cartwheels of the Devil, is as fierce as anything in Part I. See too the beastly Ruffians who wear long hair, p. 35-6, p. 50.

fairly as to the Rich; that endowments be kept for the Poor who deserve them, and not jobd in favour of the monied folk who abuze them; that Tradesmen shall deal honestly with their Customers,—Drapers and Clothiers not cheating, Butchers not selling diseazd meat;—that rich men's Pleasures and Profit shall not, by Parks and Sheep, eat up poor men's Homes and Lives; that Landlords shall not rack their Tenants to their ruin; that strong and able Beggars shall be made to work, or be hung, while an Almshouse shall be set in every Parish for the sick and aged Poor; that Doctors shall tend the Poor as well as the Rich, and that a Parish-Doctor shall be provided for the Poor; that the evils of Forestalling shall be checkt, Astrologers punisht,¹ and that in every act of dealing, Right shall be done through the land.

As to the Spirituality and Church matters, the view that Stubbes was a mere narrow Puritan utterly breaks down. He comes out as a preacher of implicit obedience to the Sovereign even when he orders what is wrong (p. 17-18); he accepts Bishops, 'My Lord Bishop' too (p. 104-5), Surplices, Forkt Caps, and other externals which the Puritans held as signs of the Whore of Rome (p. 109—112); and his advice about all the trifles of garments about which men then, and since have, made such a needless fuss, is (p. 116):—

"And seeing we do all agree together, and iump in one truth
"having al one God our father, one Lord Jesus Christ our Sauour,
"one holy Spirit of adoption, one price of redemption, one faith,
"one hope, one baptisme, and one and the same inheritance in the
"kingdome of heauen, Let vs therefore agree together in these ex-
"ternall shadowes, ceremonies and rites. For is it not a shame to
"agree about the marrow, and to striue about the bone? to contend
"about the karnell, and to vary about the shell? to agree in the
"truth, and to brabble for the shadow?"

This is surely as much a proof of his good sense, as are his demands that every Congregation shall have the Patronage of its own living (p. 79), and nominate its own Pastor—presenting two

¹ The 5 Eliz. ch. 15, A.D. 1562-3. "An Act agaynst fonde and phantastical Prophecyes" only applies to folk who put them forth "to thintent therby to make anye Rebellion, Insurrection, Dissention, losse of Lief or other Disturbance within this Realme and other the Quenes Dominions."

§ 2. *Stubbes right as to corrupt Presentations.* xiii†

or three to the Bishop that he may pick the best (pp. 90-2, 100), that the abuses of private Patronage shall be stopt (p. 80-2), Pluralism (p. 75-6) and Simony abolisht, and that every Church shall have power to alter its form of external government from time to time (p. 101).

On the whole then, I claim that this Part II of the *Anatomie* more than bears out the favourable opinion of Phillip Stubbes that I utterd in my Forewords to Part I.

§ 2. In proof that Stubbes was not inventing the Abuses of which he complaind, I've thought it right to make some extracts from the Statutes and a Proclamation of Queen Elizabeth, and the Statutes of James I, 1. on the corrupt Presentations to Scholarships and Benefices; 2. on the tricks of Clothiers; 3. the bad work of Tanners and Shoemakers; 4. the thefts and evils (which we still know so well) arising from the wrongly-named 'Brokers'—our Pawnbrokers and Marine-Store Dealers;—and 5. from the practice of Regrating. As of old, I quote mainly the words of the Statutes. Any one who finds em too long and tedious, will skip em.

(I.) A.D. 1588-9, 31 Eliz. chap. VI. "An acte against Abuses in Election of Scollers and presentations to Benefices."

"Whereas by the intent of the Founders of Colledges, Churches Collegiat, Churches Cathedrall, Scoles, Hospitals, Halles, and other like Societies within this Realme, and by the Statutes and good Orders of the same, the Eleccions, presentations and Nominacions of Fellowes, Schollers, Officers and other Persons to have roome or place in the same, are to be had and made of the fittest and most meete persons beinge capable of the same Eleccions, presentations, and Nominacions, freelye without anye Rewarde, Guyfte, or thinge given or taken for the same; And for true performance whereof, some Ellectors, Presentors and Nomynators in the same, have or should take a Corporall Oathe to make their Eleccions, presentations and Nominacions accordinglye; Yet notwithstandinge it is sene and found by experience that the saide Eleccions, presentations and Nominacions be many tymes wrought and brought to passe with Monye, Guyftes and Rewardes, whereby the fyttest persons to be presented, elected or nominated, wanting Money or Friendes, are sildome or not at all preferred, contrarie to the good meaninge of the saide Founders, and the saide good Statutes and Ordynaunces of the saide Colledges, Churches, Scholes, Halles, Hospitals and Socyeties, and to the great prejudice of

Learning and the Common Wealthe and Estate of the Realme: For Remedye whereof, Be it enacted"—that all Elections effected by Bribery of any kind shall be void, and that the Queen or other Presenter shall appoint fresh persons to the void Offices. § 2 enacts that any one bribing to procure the resignation of a Fellowship or Office, shall lose the place, and that the Resigner accepting the bribe shall forfeit double its value.

§ 4 declares Simoniackal Presentations to Benefices, Dignities, &c. void; and that the Presentations shall devolve to the Crown, both Briber and Bribee paying a fine of double the amount of the Bribe.

§ 5 fines any one corruptly instituting a man to a Benefice, double the yearly value of it; declares the Institution void, and empowers the Patron to present some one else.

(II.) As to Cloth, the 35 Eliz. c. 10, A.D. 1592-3, recites the Queen's Proclamation of the year before "for the Reformation of thinsufficiencys growen in the Clothes called Devonshire Kersies or Dozens,"—cloths "of late marvailouslie discredited by the Invençons and newe Devises of the Weavers, Tuckers, and Artificers"—and "forbiddinge all other Deceptes in Weaving, and all dymynishinge and unreasonable drawinge, stretchinge, and other Deceptes in Tuckers," and then enacts that the Cloths shall be properly made, of good wool, and "without rackinge, stretching, streyning, or other Devise to increase the Lenght therof."

In 1597-8 "An Acte against the deceitfull stretching and tainting of Northerne Cloth," 39 Eliz. c. 20, is passt, because "the said Northern Clothes and Karsies doe yeerely and daylie growe worse and worse, and are made more light and muche more stretched and strayned . . . which great Enormities your faythfull Subjectes doe chieflie impute to the great number of Tenters and other Engins daylie used and practized in the said Counties for the stretchinge and strayninge of the said Clothes and Karsies." So the Act forbids this stretching, and puts a penalty of £20 on any one who "shall have use or occupie any Tenter, of what sorte or kynde soever, or any manner of Wrince, Rope, or other Engins to stretch or strayne any Clothes, Kersies, Dozens, Penystones, Rugges, Frises, Cottons, Kighley Whites, Plaine Grayes, or any other Clothes" made within the said Counties. (By the next-quoted Statute this Act is extended to all English Cloths.)

§ 2. *Stubbes's complaints of Clothiers and Tanners.* xv†

The abuse stretching over other Cloth Districts, and adulteration also prevailing, in 1601 "An Acte for the true workinge and making of Wollen Clothe" was past, saying that the former Acts "for the true makinge and workinge of Wollen Clothe" had been

"frustrated and deluded by strayingne, stretchinge, wante of weighte, Flocks, Sollace, Chalke, Flower, deceitfull things, subtile sleightes and untruethes,¹ soe as the same Clothes beinge put in Water are founde to shrinke rewey, purse, squallie, cocklinge, bawdy, lighte, and notable faultie, to the great dislike of forraine Princes, and to the hynderance and losse of the buyer and wearer."

It is therefore enacted that

"no *persone* or *persons* shall put any Haire, Flocks, Thrummes or Yarne made of Lambes Wooll, or other deceivable thinge or things into or upon any broad Woollen Clothe, Half Clothe, Kersey, Frize, Dozen, Pennystone, or Cotton, Taunton Clothe, Bridgewater, Dunston Cotton . . . or other Clothe . . . upon paine to forfeit every suche Cloth. . . . And that no *persone* . . . shall . . . have use or occupye . . . any Tenter, Instrumente, Engine, or other Device . . . with any lower Barre, Pynne, Ringe, or other Engine or Device . . . wherebie . . . any rough and unwroughte Woollen Broad Clothe, Halfe Clothe, Kersey, Cotton, Dozen, Pennystone, Frize, Rugges . . . shall or may be stretched or strayed in breadthe," under a penalty of £20.

(III.) The Statute 1 James I. chapter 22 (A.D. 1603-4), not only confirms Stubbes's complaints about Leather-sellers, but also names another fault of theirs:—

§ x. "Much dammage hath redounded to the Common Wealthe by reason that divers Tanners for their private lucre have used to convert to Sole Leather suche Hides as are altogether insufficient for that use, which Hides they doe raise in the workmanship by divers Mixtures, therbie making the same to seeme verie stronge and substantiall Leather, whereas the same doeth in the wearinge proove hollowe, deceitfull, and altogether unprofitable for the Common wealth,"—and enacts that all such raised and converted Hides shall be forfeited.

¹ Compare in A.D. 1592-3, the 35 Eliz. ch. 8. "An Acte againste deceitfull making of Cordage": the makers of 'Cables, Halsers and other kinde of Cordage' made em of 'oulde, caste, and overworne' stuff, tarred em, and sold em as new, whereby not only Ships of the Queen and her Subjects "but also the Lyves of diverse of her saide Subjectes have bene loste, perished and caste awaye."

About the not-enuf tand Leather with which Stubbes finds fault on p. 36, the Statute says (1 Jac. 1, c. 22,¹ A.D. 1603-4. Record Statutes, vol. iv. Pt. 2, p. 1041):

§ xii. "... if any person or persons usinge, or which shall use, the Misterie or Facultie of Tanninge, shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter offer or put to sale any kinde of Leather which shalbe insufficientlie or not throughlie tanned, or which shall not then have beene, after the tanninge thereof, well and thorowlie dried, so that the same by the Triers of Leather lawfullie appointed accordinge to this *present* Acte for the tyme beinge shalbe founde to be insufficientlie or not throughlie tanned, or not throughlie dried, as aforesaide, that then all and everie suche person and persons so offendinge shall forfeite and loose so much of his or their said Leather as shalbe soe founde insufficientlie and not throughlie tanned, or not throughlie dryed as aforesaide . . ."

Then, as to what Stubbes says of the Tanners taking "vp their hides before they bee halfe tanned," the Statute goes on in § xiii:

"And whereas divers Tanners, for greedines of gaine, doe overmuch hasten the tanning of their Leather, and for that purpose doe use divers craftie and subtile Practises, sometimes layinge their Leather in their Fattes set in their old Tanhills, where it may be tanned in the hott Woozes, takinge unkinde heate in the same Hill, and sometimes by putting of hot Woozes into their Tanne Fats where the same Hides or Leather lie, by which and other like Fraudulent Practises they make their Leather to seeme bothe faire and well, and sufficientlie tanned within a very short space.² For Reformation whereof, be it enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, That after the saide Feaste of St. Bartholomew next comminge, no person or persons shall sett their Fattes in Tanhills or other Places where the Woozes or Leather that shall be put to tanne in the same, shall or may take any unkinde heates, or shall put any Leather into any hotte or warme Woozes, or shall tanne any Hide, Calve Skinne or Sheep Skinne, with any hote or warme Woozes whatsoever, upon paine that everie person so offendinge shall forfeite for everie such Offence, Tenne Poundes; And shall also, for everie such Offence, stand upon the Pillorie three severall Markett Dayes in the Market Towne next to the Place where the saide Offence shall be committed."

¹ Compare its clauses with those of 5 Eliz. ch. 8, from which some are, more or less, taken.

² The right time is enacted by § ix: "Nor shall suffer the Hides for utter Sole Leather to lye in the Woozes any lesse tyme then Twelve Moneths at the leaste, nor the Hides for upper Leathers in the like Woozes any lesse time than Nyne Monethes at the leaste. . ."

§ 3. *Stubbes's complaints against Shoemakers.* xviii†

The Shoemakers, and their selling Horse hide for Ox-hide, &c. (p. 37, Stubbes), are dealt with in § XXIII. (p. 1043).

And forasmuch as Leather well tanned and curried, may, by the Negligence, Deceite, or evill Workmanshippe of the Cordwainer or Shoemaker, be used deceitfullie, to the hurte of the Occupier or Wearer thereof: Be it further enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, That no person or persons which, after the saide Feast of St. Bartholomew next comminge, shall occupie the Misterie or Occupation of a Cordwainer or Shoemaker, shall make or cause to be made any Bootes, Shoes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, or any parte of them, of Englishe Leather, wet curried (other then Deere Skinnes, Calve Skinnes, or Goate Skinnes, made or dressed, or to be made or dressed like unto Spanish Leather) but of Leather well and truelie tanned and curried, in manner and forme aforesaid, or of Leather well and truelie tanned onelie, and well and substantiallie sewed with good Threed well twisted and made, and sufficientlie waxed with waxe well rosened, and the stitches harde drawn with Hand Leathers, as hathe bene accustomed, without mixinge or minglinge Overleathers, that is to say, parte of the Overleathers beinge of Neates Leather, and parte of Calves Leather, nor shall put into anie parte of anie Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, any Leather made of a Sheepe Skinne, Bull Hide or Horse Hide, nor into the upper Leather of any Shooes, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, or into the neither [nether] parte of any Bootes (the inner parte of the Shooe onlie excepted) any parte of any Hide from which the Sole Leather is cutte, called the Wombes, Neckes, Shancke, Flancke, Powle, or Cheeke, nor shall put into the utter Sole any other Leather then the beste of the Oxe or Steere Hide, nor into the inner Sole any other Leather than the Wombes, Necke, Poll, or Cheeke, nor in the Treswels of the double soled Shooes, other then the Flancks of any the Hides aforesaide: nor shall make or put to sale in any yeere, betwene the laste of September and the twentieth of Aprill, any Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers or Pantofles, meete for any person to weare exceedinge the age of foure yeeres, wherein shall be any drie English Leather (other than Calve Skinnes or Goate Skinnes made or dressed, or to be made or dressed like unto Spanishe Leather, or any parte thereof); nor shall shew, to the intent to put to sale, any Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers or Pantofles upon the Sunday; upon paine of forfeiture for everie paire of Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers and Pantofles made, solde, shewed or put to sale contrary to the true meaninge of this Acte, three shillings and fourepence, and the juste and full value of the same."

(IV.) Against the evil of miscald 'Brokers'—really our Pawn-brokers and Marine-Store Dealers—buying stolen goods, and thus

inciting folk to pilfer, which Stubbes condemns on p. 38-40, an Act was past twenty years later :—

1 James I, chap. 21 (A.D. 1603-4; p. 1038). "An Acte againste Brokers." This Act recites that "of large and ancient tyme by divers hundred yeeres . . . certaine Freemen of the Citie" of London had been appointed "to be Brokers within the saide Citie and Liberties of the same, and have taken their Corporall Oaths before the saide Mayor and Aldermen from tyme to tyme . . . to use and demean themselves uprightlie and faithfullie betweene Merchant Englishe and Merchant Strangers and Tradesmen, in the contrivinge, makinge, and concluding, Bargaines and Contractes to be made betweene them concerning their Wares and Merchandizes to be bought and solde and contracted for within the Citie of London, and Moneys to be taken up by Exchange betweene such Merchant and Merchants and Tradesmen, and these kinde of persons so presented, allowed, and sworne to be Brokers as aforesaide, have had and borne the name of Brokers, and bene knownen, called, and taken for Brokers, and dealinge in Brokerage or Brokerie, who never of any ancient tyme used to buy and sell Garmentes, Houshold stuffe, or to take Pawnes and Billes of Sale of Garmentes and Apparell, and all thinges that come to hand for Money, laide out and lent upon Usurie, or to keepe open Shoppes, and to make open Shewes, and open Trade, as now of late yeeres hath [bene] and is used by a number of Citizens assuminge unto themselves the name of Brokers and Brokerage, as though the same were an honeste and a lawfull Trade, Misterie, or Occupation, tearminge and naminge themselves Brokers, whereas in trueth they are not, abusinge the true and honeste ancient name and trade of Broker or Brokerage: And forasmuch as many Citizens Freemen of the Citie, beinge Men of Manuall Occupation, and Handicraftesmen and others inhabiting and remayninge neere the Citie and Suburbs of the same, have lefte and given over, and daylie doe leave and give over, their handie and manuall Occupations, and have and daylie doe set up a Trade of buyinge and selling, and taking to pawne of all kinde of worne Apparell, whether it be olde or little the worse for wearinge, Houshold Stuffe and Goods of what kind soever the same be of, findinge thereby that the same is a more idle and easier kinde of Trade of livinge, and that there riseth and groweth [p. 1039] to them a more readie, more greate, more profitable and speedier Advantage and Gaine then by their former manuall Labours and Trades did or coulde bringe them: And Forasmuch as the said kinde of counterfeit Brokers, and Pawnetakers upon Usurie, or otherwise for readie Money, are growne of late to many Hundreds within the Citie of London, and other places next adjoyninge to the Citie and Liberties of the same, and are like to increase to farre greater Multitudes, being Friperers, and no Brokers, nor exercisinge of any honest and

lawfull Trade, and within the memorie of many yet livinge, such kinde of persons Tradesmen were verie fewe and of small number: And forasmuch as there are not any Garmentes, Apparell, Housholde Stuffle or other Goods of any kinde, whatsoever the same be of, either beinge stollen or robbed from any, or badlie or unlawfullie purloyned or come by, but these kinde of upstarte Brokers, under colour and pretence they be Freemen of the saide Citie of London, or inhabitinge in Westminster, where they pretende to have the like overt Market, as the Citie of London, and therebie presuminge to be lawfull for them to use and set up the same idle and needlesse Trades, beinge the verie meanes to uphold, maintaine, and embolden all kind of lewde and bad persons to robbe and steale, and unlawfullie to get and come by true Mens Goods, knowinge and findinge that no sooner the same Goods can be stollen or unlawfullie come by, but that they shall and may presentlie utter, vent, sell and pawne the same to such kinde of new upstart Brokers for readie Money: For Remedie whereof, and for the avoidinge of the saide Mischiefes and Inconveniencies, and for repressinge and abolishinge of the sayd idle and needlesse Trades, and upstart Brokers, and for the avoidinge of Theftes, Robberies and Felonies, and bad People, and for the repressinge of such kinde of Nourishers and Ayders of Theeves and bad People, and for the defence of honest and true Mens properties and Interestes in their Goods: Be it enacted . . . That no Sale, Exchange, Pawne or Mortgage of any Jewell, Plate, Apparell, Houshold Stuffle, or other Goods . . . that shall be wrongfullie or unjustlie purloyned, taken, robbed or stollen from any person or persons or Bodies Politicke, and which at any tyme hereafter shall be sold, uttered, delivered, exchanged, pawned, or done awaye within the Citie of London or Liberties thereof, or within the Citie of Westminster in the Countie of Middlesex, or within Southwarke in the Countie of Surrey, or within two miles of the saide Citie of London, to any Broker or Brokers, or Pawne takers, by any way or meanes whatsoever, directlie or indirectlie, shall worke or make any change or alteration of the propertie or interest, of and from any person or persons or Bodie Politicke from whome the same Jewels, Plate, Apparell, Houshold Stuffle or Goods were or shalbe wrongfullie purloined, taken, robbed or stollen: Any Lawe, Usage of Custome to the contrarie notwithstandinge."

§ 2 enacts that Brokers and Pawntakers who refuse to produce Goods to the owner from whom they've been stolen, shall forfeit Double the Value of them.

§ 3, that the Act shall not affect those folk 'using and exercising the ancient Trade of Brokers betweene Merchant and Merchant.'

(V.) The evil of, and continued struggle of folk and lawmakers

against Regrating or Ingrating,—that is, buying-up all the get-at-able Corn or other produce, and then selling it out at a large profit—are so well known that confirmation of Stubbes's complaints is hardly needed; but as the Dearth of 1594-6 has appeared before in our *Stafford*, p. xiv, and elsewhere with regard to the supposed date of *Midsummer Night's Dream* and otherwise, I give here short extracts from Elizabeth's Proclamation of 1596 relating to Regraters, and the duty of continuing Hospitality:—

“BY THE QUEENE.

The Queenes Maiesties Proclamation, 1. For obseruation of former Orders against Ingrossers, & Regraters of Corne, 2. And to see the Markets furnished with Corne. 3. And also against the carying of Corne out of the Realme. 4. And a prohibition to men of hospitalitie from remoouing from their habitation in the time of dearth. 5. And finally a strait commandement to all Officers hauing charge of Forts to reside thereon personally, and no inhabitant to depart from the Sea coast.

THE Queenes Maiestie hauing had of late time consideration of great dearth growen in sundry parts of her Realme,¹ iudging that the Rich owners of Corne would keepe their store from common Markets, thereby to increase the prices thereof, and so the multitude of her poore people hauing no graine growing of their owne, to susteine great lacke, caused speciall orders to be made and published to all parts of her Realme, in what sort the Iustices of peace peace in euery quarter should stay all Ingrossers, Forestallers, and Regraters of Corne, and to direct all Owners and Farmers hauing Corne to furnish the Markets ratably and weekly with such quantities as vsually they had done before time, or reasonably might and ought to doe: By which orders, many other things were prescribed to be obserued for the staying of the dearth, and reliefe of the people: Yet neuerthelesse, her Maiestie is informed, that in some parts of her Realme the dearth doth not diminish, but rather increase for lacke of due execution of the sayd orders, and specially by the couetousnes of the Owners, forbearing to furnish the Markets, as reasonably they might do, and by secretly selling

¹ On July 31, 1596, in consequence of the scarcity of Corn, the Queen issued her Proclamation from Greenwich, forbidding Starch to be made of home-grown Corn, or even from Bran by the holders of the Patent for the manufacture of it from Bran.

In 1598 (May *40*. 40) she granted the sole right to import Starch to John Packington for 8 years.

§ 2. *The Queen on Hospitality.* § 3 *Poor Relief.* xxi†

out of their houses to a kinde of people that commonly are called Badgers, at prices vnreasonable, who like wise do sell and regrate the same out of the Markets at very high and excessiue prices. For remedy whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all officers to whom the obseruation of the sayd orders hath bene directed, presently as they haue any naturall care of their Christian brethren & Countreyemen, being in need, to cause all and euery part of the sayd orders from point to point to be executed, and the offenders against the same to be seuerely punished, to the terrour of others. . .

Finally her Maiestie is particularly informed of some intentions of sundry persons, of abilitie to keepe hospitalitie in their Countreys, to leaue their said hospitalities, and to come to the Citie of London, and other Cities and townes corporate, thereby leauing the reliefe of their poore neighbours, as well for foode, as for good rule, and with couetous minds to liue in London, and about the Citie priuately, and so also in other Townes corporate, without charge of company; for withstanding whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all maner of persons, that shall haue any such intention during this time of dearth, not to breake up their houtholds, nor to come to the said Citie, or other towns corporate: and all others that haue of late time broken vp their houtholds, to returne to their houses againe without delay. And whilst her Maiestie had thus determined, for reliefe of her people, to stay all good householders in their Countreys, there is charitable sort to helpe hospitalitie, her Maiestie hath had an instant occasion giuen her to extend her commandement euen for the necessary defence of her Realme . . .

The obseruation of all which, her Maiesties commandement, is to be performed vpon paine of her Maiesties heauie indignation.

Giuen at her Maiesties Mannour of Richmond the second day of Nouember 1596, in the eight and thirtieth yeere of her Maiesties reigne.

God saue the Queene."

§ 3. On the subject of the Relief of the Poor, and Stubbes's reasonable demands on it, I refer the reader to Sir George Nicholls's *History of the English Poor Law* (1854), i. 161—239. Among these reasonable demands I shoud not now include hanging a man who *can* work and won't; but before Stubbes's time, in 1547, the 1st of Edward VI, chapter 3, enacted that every idle person who ran away from work set him shoud be branded with the letter V, and be adjudgd a slave for 2 years to any person who shoud demand him; then, if he ran away again, he shoud be branded in the cheek with the letter S, and adjudgd a

slave for life; and lastly, if he ran away a third time, he was to suffer death as a felon. This act was repeald in 1549-50, by the 3 and 4 Edw. VI, ch. 16; but in 1572-3, measures almost as harsh were re-enacted: beggars and vagabonds were to be grievously whipt, and burnt thro the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about, unless any honest person would take them into service for a year. If he would, and the beggar ran away, then he was to be whipt, and burnt thro the ear; for a second offence to be treated as a felon, unless some honest person would take him into his service for 2 years, and he continued in it; while for a third offence he was adjudgd to suffer death, and loss of land and goods as a felon, without allowance of benefit of clergy or sanctuary. Stubbes was then, in 1583, only asking that the actual law should be allowd to take its course, when he wisht that sturdy Beggars who woudn't work, should be hangd.

The same Act of 1572-3 orderd 'abiding places' to be provided for the aged and infirm poor, appointed Overseers to raise and apply taxes for their benefit, and sanctioned a rate on richer neighbours in aid of poor parishes who couldn't support their own poor. This legislation was developept by 18 Eliz. ch. 3, A.D. 1575-6, which enacted that a competent stock of wool, hemp, flax, iron, or other stuff should be got, by taxation, to set the poor on work, and if they wouldn't work, they were to be sent to 'houses of correction' and made to work.

After Stubbes wrote in 1583, came the 39 Eliz. chaps. 3 and 4, in 1597-8; 3 for the Relief of the Poor, and 4 for the Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars. Chap. 3 makes the appointment of Overseers in every parish compulsory, empowers them to tax inhabitants—and to levy a rate in aid on richer parishes—in ordertoget material to support the idle poor at work, and provide for the sick and aged, and the care and apprenticing of children. This Act establishes the mutual responsibility of parents and children to maintain one another.

It also, by § 5 (vol. iv, Pt. 2, Record Com. Statutes, p. 897), empowers the Churchwardens and Overseers 'to erect, buyld, and sett upp in fit and convenyent Places of Habitacion . . . at the

§ 3. *Stubbes's Poor-Law Requirements fulfilled.* xxiii†

generall Chardges of the Parishe . . . convenient Howses of Dwelling for the sayde ympotent Poore; and also to place Inmates or more Famylyes than one in one Cottage or Howse.'

Chap. 4 provides for the whipping of sturdy Beggars who won't work, and their committal to gaol, their banishment beyond seas, or their death, in case they won't give up their roguish kind of life.

'We are now arrived,' says Sir Geo. Nichols, i. 192, 'at the important period when by *The 43rd Elizabeth, cap. 2* (A.D. 1601), the principle of a compulsory assessment for relief of the poor was fully and finally established as an essential portion of our domestic policy.' This Act, 'the great turning-point of our Poor-Law Legislation, is still the foundation and text-book of English Poor Law' (i. 194). It carries out more effectually, and extends, the provisions of the prior Acts, and again sanctions the Rate in Aid. In 1610 the 7th of James I, chapter 4, provides for the building of Houses of Correction in every county; but not till 1624 does the 21 James I—'An Act for the erecting of Hospitals and Working-houses for the Poor'—carry out what I take to be Stubbes's demand for an Almshouse in every parish; while not till 1834 does the Poor Law Amendment Act provide for the Poor the proper Medical Relief which Stubbes cald for in 1583.

As to Education, Harrison (see my Part I. p. 77), Latimer before him (*Sermons*, Parker Soc. edn. i. 186, 290, 291, 349), and many others, but uttered the same complaints about the jobbing of Scholarships, Fellowships, &c. that Stubbes makes, page 19; and not yet has the jobbing of the nominations of Bluecoat Boys to Christ's Hospital been done away with.

The hardship to the poor of wholesale enclosure of Commons—another complaint of Stubbes's—has been long admitted, and is now partially stopt by the Law. That Stubbes was right in calling for proper examination and licensing of Doctors, the keeping out of tag, rag, and quacks (p. 53), no one will deny. And that he took a reasonable and moderate view of the religious topics disputed in his day, I think every one will admit. His Part II, then, supports the character that I drew of him from his Part I.

xxiv† § 4. *Stubbes's possible 2nd Marriage, and Bond.*

§ 4. Of Phillip Stubbes himself I have some fresh tidings ; of his family, none.

1. He may have married again in 1593, when he wrote his *Motive to good Workes*. I have a melancholy interest in printing the late Col. Chester's letter to me on the point :—

124, Southwark Park Road, London, S.E.
18 Nov. '79.

“MY DEAR MR. FURNIVALL,

Did I ever send you the following Marriage from the Registers of St. Olave, Southwark ?

1593, April 3, Philip Stubbes and Elenor Powell—by License.

It has this moment met my eye in one of my volumes that has recently been indexed.

It would have been only 3 years after the death of your Author's wife Katharine Emmes.¹

Or, were there ‘two Richmonds in the field’ ?

A search for the License would, I fear, be hopeless, as those for that date issued from the Faculty and Vicar General's Offices are not in existence, and one from the Bp. of London would not have availed in Southwark.

Sincerely yours

JOS. L. CHESTER.

“The Powell Wills of the period might reveal the Connection.

The marrying *by license*, at that period, indicates that they were certainly not of the lower orders.”

2. Our Phillip Stubbes may be the man of that name at Bene-field in Northampton, who in July 1586 executed a Bond of which Mr. Henry Stubbes of Danby, Ballyshannon, got hold in 1879. He writes on 13 Nov. 1879 :—

¹ Katharine Stubbes is alluded to in George Powell's ‘*Very Good Wife*, a Comedy. London. S. Briscoe, 1693,’ p. 21, Act III. sc. i.

“*Well*. Death, fight now, or you'll die infamous, was your Mother a Whore ?

Squeezes. Comparatively she might be in respect of some Holy Women, as the late Lady Ramsey, Mrs. *Katherine Stubbs*, and such, ha, ha, is that a Cause !”

§ 4. *Stubbes's possible Bond. Other Stubbeses.* xxv†

‘I have now very little doubt that I have in my possession the Autograph of the Author of the “*Anatomie*,” and it may besides furnish a clue to his family, and perhaps bring to light some particulars of his life hitherto unknown. The following is the reason of my forming this opinion: The Bond relates to a “messuage or tenement” in Congleton, Cheshire, which Phil. S. is granting to Will. S. to hold for ever, and the former binds himself to leave the latter in undisturbed possession. The Bond itself is in Latin, the Conditions in English—Now, coupling this with what the Author of the “*Anatomie*” says of knowing a man “for a dozen or sixteene yeares together” in Congleton (Part I. p. 136), whose death he relates as a warning to swearers, makes, I think, a very good case to show that they were one and the same person; and the house referred to in the Bond was in all probability where the Puritan spent a good many yeares of his life. He is described in the Bond as “Philippus Stubbes de Benefeild al[ias] Beningfeilde in Com. Northt. generosus,” and the other as “Willelmus Stubbes de Ratcliffe in Com. Midd. generosus”—

‘I conjecture Phil. in the course of his rambles had settled for a time at Benefeild, as he did afterwards at Burton-on-Trent. It is not stated whether Willm. was any relative, but it seems probable he was; perhaps brother. I enclose two extracts from the Chancery Proceedings relating to Willm., but I am not certain that the second extract refers to the same person. These I got the other day. I have made no searches at Congleton, Chester, or Benefeild.’

‘CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

1 Nov. 1584. Bill filed by Robt. Wright, Citizen and Goldsmith of Lond. against William Stubbs of Ratcliff, Co. Middx., Gent.

23 Nov. 1598. Bill filed by William Stubbes of Radcliff, Co. Middx., Ropemaker (who about 4 yeares now last past inhabited and dwelt at Boston, Co. Linc., being unmarried and having a great family household by reason of his trade) against Thomas Strangushe of the same town, Fuller.’

As to Phillip Stubbes's family, Prof. Stubbs felt sure that Phillip

came from Congleton, and that a gentle family of the name was still in that neighbourhood. So I wrote there, and found that no Stubbes was known but a sweep. Still, Mr. J. P. Earwaker says in his *East Cheshire*, ii. 362: "In 1654 I find it stated in a MS. at Capesthorpe that "Nell, Nan, and Bess Stubbs, being mother and two daughters, were hanged [at Chester] for bewitching to death Mrs. Furnivall, wyfe to Mr. Anth. [a mistake for Ralph] Furnivall, daughter to Mr. J. Fellowes." Prof. Stubbs sent me this bit, and he finds that in 1595, William Stubbes of Congleton, gentleman, presented to the living of Gauseworth. The Congleton Records are, he says, full of Stubbeses; he has traced three generations of Congleton Jurors in the Town book—Ralph or Reynold, from 1540 onwards; John from 1565 or so; and then another Ralph at the beginning of James I's reign. He also found a Randall Stubbes in the first year of Elizabeth, who would do for our Phillip's father. He thinks the Astbury registers will most likely settle the matter. There is an account of some Stubbeses, he says, among the Rawlinson MSS. I paid for a search of the Chester Indexes, with the following result:

Chester Registry. List of Wills proved and Admons granted in the names of Stubbs and Stubbes from the earliest date of the Indexes, 1540 to 1630 both inclusive

- 1586 Will of Geoffrey Stubbs of Ludlow
- 1591 Will of Willam Stubbs of Gawsworth, County of Chester
- 1595 Admon of Lawrence Stubbs of North Rode, Co. of Chester
- 1597 Will of Hugh Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1603 Admon of Thomas Stubbs of Allostock in the County of Chester
- 1617 Will of George Stubbs of Lower Tabley, County of Chester
- 1617 Admon of John Stubbs of Heaton, County of Chester
- 1621 Will of Nicholas Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1622 Will of Thomas Stubbs of Hulse
- 1622 Will of Thomas Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1623 Will of George Stubbs of Knutsford, County of Chester
- 1624 Will of John Stubbs of Merton
- 1630 Will of Ann Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester

None of these look likely.

4. *Stubbeses in Lincolnshire, Essex, &c.* xxviii†

Mr. Walter Rye felt sure that he'd find some traces of Phillip Stubbes at Donnington in Lincolnshire (where there's a town of that name as well as in Leicestershire): see Forewords to Part I. p. 59*),—but diligent search showd none, tho' the Will of a Richard Stubbes of Donnington in 1622 is in the Lincoln Consistory Court.

It is clear that our Phillip was not the son of Ralph Stubbes of St. Mary le Wigford in the City of Lincoln, whose will is dated 4 April 1558, prov'd 29 July 1559, and of whose estate a *de bonis non* grant was issued on Jan. 29, 1562-3. Ralph's will was registered twice over, being in 36 Chaynay and 5 Chare (Somerset House). It mentions his children John, Henry, Justinian, and Elizabeth Stubbes, &c. &c., of whom Justinian may well be the M.A. of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, mentiond by Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, in the note on p. 53* of my Forewords to Part I. In the Chancery Proceedings temp. Eliz., S. s. 25, no. 31, Ralph Stubbes's executors claim £11 6s. 8d. of one Edmund, and in S. s. 23, £4 17s. 11½d. of Thos. Burton's executor.

The Essex Stubbeses yield no result either. There was a Philip Stubbes of Little Clacton, Essex, Will dated 19 June 1551, to whose estate the first Letters of Administration were granted on Sept. 25, 1555, and the second Letters on Oct. 31, 1561. He had an only son John, and a daughter Margaret. This John Stubbs of Cocks, Little Clacton, Essex, and Cotton Hall, Suffolk, made his will dated in 1587, but his son Phillip was not then of age. The Will was prov'd in the Commissary Court of Essex and Hertfordshire on Sept. 10, 1596. The right of Administration to this Philip Stubbs, then late of Clacton Parva deceasd, was renounced by Elizabeth, his Relict, in March 1626; and in May 1627, Administration was granted to Edward Luckin of Tiltey, one of Philip Stubbes's Creditors.

In the Chancery Proceedings of the time of Elizabeth are notes of other Stubbeses :

Richard Stubbe, and Anne his wife, Norfolk. G. g. 4, no. 59.

John Stubbs of Norfolk. C. c. 14, no. 57.

Richard Stubbs of Norfolk and Shropshire in vol. 3.

xxviii† § 4. *Divers Stubbeses in divers Parts.*

John Stubbs of Rutland, with sons William and Thomas, and a grandson Henry, 21 Eliz. 1579.

Wm. Stubbs of Radcliffe, Ropemaker, 23 Nov. 1598.—S. s. 5.

Alexander Stubbes of Codsall, Staffordshire yeoman. S. s. 6.

Richard Stubbs of Southwark, yeoman. S. s. 13.

Christopher Stubbs of Berkshire and Hampshire.

Edward Stubbs of Norfolk.

William Stubbs of Devonshire.

The name Stubbes occurs in a book dated 1626. John Gee. *New Shreds of the Old Snare*.—p. 121, "Factors employed for the conueying ouer of the said Women to the Nunneries. . . .

Master Peeters

Stubbes."

Then Mr. Ellacombe hoped that he'd hit on traces, in his parish, Bitton, Glo'stershire, of our Stubbes, and he sent me up his Register; but the only Stubbes entries in it show that the Rev. Henry Stubbes or Stubbe, when doing duty at Bitton—not being Vicar of it, had a daughter and a son baptized there:

"Mary daughter of Henry Stubbs, *Clericus*, was baptised February xith 1643."

"John the sonne of Mr. Henrie Stubbs, was babt. October xxvii." 1647.

There is no entry of the burial of any Stubbes from 1594 to 1643 (and a few years later).

Whether our Phillip Stubbes had anything to do with any of the folk above-named, I must leave to some future searcher to decide.

I have not tried to get up many Notes for this 2nd Part. Those to Part I. cost so much, that a second set, even were one possible, must not be indulged in. The text is reprinted from the copy of *The Display of Corruptions* in the Grenville Library, British Museum.

What have Books like the present one to do with Shakspeare? They help us to realize the England of his day, and the social evils that he must have seen.

3, *St. George's Square, N.W.*

July 18, 1882.

NOTES FOR PART II.

p. xxviii† Wills of John and Phillip Stubbes of Essex, and Ralph Stubbes of Lincoln:—

Jn. Stubbes, 1587.

(In Room 32) Will of John *Stubbes* of Cocks, Little Clacton, Essex (and Cotton Hall, Suffolk), dated 1587, gives Cocks and appurtenances, and lease of Cotton Hall to his son Phillip (under age) when he attains 21. If he dies under 21, then to testator's wife Agnes for life, and then over. Provision for boy Phillip's maintenance, &c. Prov'd in Com. Court of Essex and Herts, 10 Sept. 1596. (Phillip livd. Admōn to him ab. 1622.—Grigson.)

19 June, 1551.

(P. C. C. Bucke, quire 25) *Will of Phillip Stubbes* of Little Clacton, Essex—most lands to wife Johane for life, part to son John on att. 21—if he doesn't, then to daughter Margret. If she dies under 18, then her share of personalty to son John. Evidently, only son John, and daughter Margret. No son Phillip.

25 Sept. 1555, authority to administer Ph. Stubbes's goods, granted to Rd. Blaxton, Ed. Assheman, and Edw^d Shorte, the exōr Jn. Hockett having died.

31 Oct. 1561, Commission to Rd. Godfrey and Alice his wife to administer the goods not administerd.

Ralph Stubbes, Alderman of *Lincoln*, April 4, 1558 (of the parish of St. Mary's, Wygford, in the suburbs of the City of Lincoln). Will proved, July 29, 1559:—

Gives all his property, less legacies and special bequests, to his 4 children, *John*, *Henry*, *Justynyan*, and *Elizabeth*. If any die without issue—they're evidently under age—his share is to go to the survivors.

Gives Christabell *Bartram* his sister, to her marriage, 20*£*; and if she die or she be maryed, then 16*£* to go to his 4 children, and 4*£* 'to my thre bretherne, *Henry Stubbes*, *John Stubbes* and *Thomas Stubbes*'.

Gives to his 'father *Bartrame* xij li. to bye the rest of the said house whiche he shulde purchase. And I will . . . that John *Bartrame* shalhave the said house' in fee . . . (As to children's bringing-up) 'I will that my mother in lawe [Margarete Smythe] shall have the kepinge and bringyng vppe of my children duryng her lif, and after her death I will that John Stubbes and

Justynyan Stubbes, with theire partes and portions shalbe in the Rule, ordre, and keepinge of Mr. John Hutchynson, and Henrye Stubbes . . of Thomas Dauson my brother-in-lawe' (Elizth. not given to any one). Residue to 4 children Exōrs. 4 children, and "Margarete Smythe my mother in lawe."

p. xxviii† *Henry Stubbes*. See Ant. Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, 1817; 1255 :—

HENRY STUBBE, son of a father of both his names of Bitton in Gloucestershire,¹ was born in that county, became a student in Magdalen hall in the latter end of 1623, aged eighteen years; admitted bachelor of arts the 26th of January 1627, & master of arts the 8th of July 1630, took holy orders, and became a curate or vicar, sided with the puritans in the beinning of the rebellion, took the covenant, preached seditiously—took the engagement, and as a minister of the city of Wells was constituted one of the commissioners for the ejecting of such whom they then (1654) called scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. After his majesty's restoration, he lost what he had for want of conformity, retired to London, and lived there. He hath, among several things pertaining to divinity, written

Great Treaty of Peace, Exhortation of making Peace with God. Lond. 1676-77, oct.

Dissuasive from Conformity to the World. Lond. 1675, in oct.

God's Severity against Man's Iniquity. Printed with the *Dissuasive*.

God's Gracious Presence, the Saint's great Privilege—a farewell Sermon to a Congregation in London, on 2 Thes. 3, 16. Printed also with the *Dissuasive*.

Conscience the best Friend upon Earth: or the happy Effects of keeping a good Conscience, very useful for this Age. London 1678, 8vo.; 1685 in twelves, and other things which I have not yet seen; among which is his *Answer to the Friendly Debate*, an. 1669 in octavo. When he died, I know not; sure I am that after his death, which was in London, his books were exposed to sale by way of auction the 29th of Nov. 1680.

[See a very amiable character of this writer in Calamy, who adds

1. *A Funeral Sermon for a Lady in Gloucestershire.*

2. *A Voice from Heaven; with his last Prayer.*

Granger, who mentions a small head of Stubbe, gives us the title of a third book omitted by Wood:

3. *Two Epistles to the professing Parents of baptized Children*, written a little before his death.

Calamy says that Stubbe was of Wadham college, which I cannot believe. He was certainly matriculated of Magdalen hall, April 16 [18, Col. Chester], 1624. See *Reg. Matric. Univ. Oxon.* PP. fol. 299, b.] He died on July 7, 1678, aged 73, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.—(Col. Chester.)

Of this Henry Stubbes, Richard Baxter says in his *Reliquia Baxterianæ*, Part III. (written in 1670) p. 189 [After his *Answer to Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Sherlock*, &c.], § 66. In a short time I was called on, with a grieved heart,

¹ He was born, says Calamy [wrongly], at Upton in this county, upon an estate that was given to his grandfather by king James I, with whom he came from Scotland. *Ejected Ministers*, ii. 319.

Notes on p. xxviii†. *Two Henry Stubbes.* xxxi†

to Preach and Publish many Funeral Sermons, on the Death of many Excellent Saints.

Mr. *Stubbs* went first, that Humble, Holy, Serious Preacher, long a blessing to Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, and other parts, and lastly to London. I had great reason to lament my particular Loss, of so holy a friend, who oft told me, That for very many years he never went to God in solemn Prayer, without a particular remembrance of me : but of him before.—*Reliquia Baxteriana*, 1696.

Part III. p. 95, § 205 (written 1670). But because there are some few who by Preaching more openly than the rest, and to greater Numbers, are under more Men's displeasure and censure, I shall say of them truly but what I know . . .

II. Old Mr. *Stubbs*, who joineth with him [Mr. *Turner*], is one of a Thousand, sometimes Minister at Wells, and last at *Dursley* in Gloucestershire, an ancient grave Divine, wholly given up to the Service of God, who hath gone about from place to place Preaching with unwearied Labour since he was silenced, and with great Success, being a plain, moving, fervent Preacher, for the work of converting impenitent sinners to God : And yet being settled in peaceable Principles by aged Experience, he every where expresseth [= presses out, excludes] the Spirit of Censoriousness, and unjust Separations, and Preacheth up the ancient zeal and sincerity with a Spirit suitable thereunto. *Reliq. Baxt.* 1696.

Ant. Wood gives an account of another Henry Stubbes, whose father was a clergyman at Parterey in Lincolnshire, where he was born on Feb. 28, 163½. He was at Oxford, and ultimately turned Doctor. He was drowned on July 12, 1676, and buried in the Abbey Church at Bath. Him, Baxter mentions in the following passage of his *Reliq. Baxteriana*, 1696 : *Life*, Part I. (written 1664), p. 75-6, "being writing against the Papists, coming to vindicate our Religion against them, when they imparted to us the Blood of the King, I fully proved that the Protestants, and particularly the Presbyterians, abhorred it, and suffered greatly for opposing it ; and that it was the Act of *Cromwell's* Army and the Sectaries, among which I named the *Vanists* as one sort. . . . Hereupon, Sir Henry *Vane* being exceedingly provoked, threatened me to many, and spake against me in the House, and one *Stubbs* (that had been whipt in the Convocation House at *Oxford*) wrote for him a bitter Book against me, who from a *Vanist* afterwards turned a Conformist ; since that, he turned Physician, and was drowned in a small Puddle or Brook as he was riding near the Bath."

Chaucer and Stubbes. In a short poem 'The | Laurel, | and the | Olive' : | Inscr'd to | George Bubb, Esq ; | By Geo. Stubbes, M.A. | Fellow of Exeter-College in Oxon. | London, | Printed for Egbert Sanger at the Post-Office at the | Middle Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet .M.DCC.X. are some lines 'To the Author' ending thus :

So when revolving Years have run their Race,
Bright the same Fires in different Bosoms blaze ;
Known by his glorious Scars, and deathless Lines,
Again the *Hero*, and the *Poet* shines.
In gentler *Harrison*, soft *Waller* sighs,
And *Mira* wounds with *Sacharissa's* Eyes.

Achilles lives, and *Homer* still delights,
 Whilst *Addison* records, and *Churchill* fights.
 This happy Age, each Worthy shall renew,
 And all dissolv'd in pleasing Wonder, view }
 In ANN—*Philippa*, *Chaucer* shine in you. }

p. 6. *Papal Plots, Jesuits, &c.* Stubbes may allude specially to Campion's conspiracy two years before, of which Stowe—or Antony Munday—gives the following account in his *Annales* (ed. 1605, p. 1169), and a longer one in his additions to Holinshed's (or Reginald Wolfe's) Chronicle:—

[1581]. “On the 20. of Nouember, Edmond Campion, *Jesuit*, Ralfe Sher-
Ant. Munday. wine, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Rishton, Thomas Coteham, Henrie
 Campion Orton, Robert Iohnson & Iames Bosgraue, were brought to the
 and others high bar at Westminster, where they were seuerally, & al
 arraigned. together indicted vpon high treason, for that, contrary both to loue & duty,
 they forsooke their natie country, to liue beyond the seas under the Popes
 obedience, as at Rome, Rheimes, and diuers other places, where (*the Pope hauing*
with other princes practised the death and depriuation of our most gracious princesses,
and utter subuersion of her state and kingdome, to aduance his most abhominable
 religion), these men, hauing vowed their allegiance to the Pope, to obey him in
 all causes whatsoever, being there, gaue their consent, to aide him in this most
 traiterous-determination. And for this intent & purpose, they were sent ouer
 to seduce the harts of her maiesties louing subiects, & to conspire and practise
 her graces death, as much as in them lay, against a great day set & appointed,
 when the generall haucocke should be made, those onely reserued that ioyned
 with them. This laid to their charge, they boldly denied; but by a iurie
 they were approued guilty, and had iudgement to be hanged, bowelled &
 quartered.

The first of December, Edmond Campion, *Jesuit*, Ralfe Sherwine and
 Alexander Brian, seminarie priests, were drawne from the Tower of
 Campion London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled & quartered.
 and others
 executed. Looke more in my continuation of Reine Woolfes Chronicle.”

p. 9, as that blessed martyr of God, Maister Latimer hath said in a sermon
 made before King Edward the sixt. This is ‘The seconde Sermon of Master
 Hughe Latemer, which he preached before the Kynages maiestie, wythin hys
 graces Palayce at Westminster y^e. xv. day of Marche M.CC[C]CC. xlix.’ *Sign. E. r.*
 “I must desyre my Lorde protectours grace to heare me in thys matter, that your
 grace would heare poor mens sutes your selfe. Putte it to none other to heare, let
 them not be delayed. The saying is now, that mony is harde euery wher: if
 he be ryche, he shall soone haue an ende of his matter. Other ar fayn to go home
 with weping teares, for ani help they can obtain at ani Iudges hand. Heere
 mens suets your selfe, I requyre you in godes behalfe, & put it not to the hering
 of these veluet cotes, these vp skippes. Nowe a man can skarse knowe them from
 an aunccyent Knyght of the countrye.

“I can not go to my boke, for pore folkes come vnto me, desiryng me that I
 wyll speake that theyr matters maye be heard. . . . I am no soner in the garden

Notes on pp. 9—24. *Angel. Clothiers' Tricks.* xxxiii†

and haue red a whyle, but . . . some one or other . . . desireth me that I wyll speake that hys matter myght be heard, & that [*Sign.* E. ii.] he hathe layne thys longe at great costes and charges, and can not once haue hys matter come to the hearing . . . [*E.* ii. back]. I beseche your grace that ye wyll loke to these matters.

"Heare them your selfe ! Viewe your Iudges ! And heare pore mens causes. And you proude Iudges, herken what God sayeth in hys holy boke. *Audite illos, ita parum ut magnum.* Heare theym, sayeth he, the small as well as the greate, the pore as well as the ryche. Regarde no person, feare no man—Why? *Quia domini iudicium est.* The iudgment is Goddes.

"Marcke thys sayinge, thou proude Iudge ! The deuyl will [*E.* iii.] brynge thys sentence at the daye of Dombe. Hel wyl be ful of these Iudges, if they repente not and amende.

"They are worsse then the wicked Iudge that Christe speaketh of, that neyther feared God nor the worlde. There was a certain wyddowe that was a suter to a Iudge, & she met hym in euery corner of the streete, cryinge : 'I praye you heare me, I besech you heare me, I aske nothyng but ryght.' When the Iudge saw hyr so importunate, 'though I fear neyther God, sayth he, nor the worlde, yet bycause of hyr importunatenes I wyll graunte hyr requeste.'

"But our Iudges are worsse then thys Iudge was. For [*sign.* E. iii. back] they wyll neyther heare men for Gods sake, nor feare of the worlde, nor importunatenes, nor any thyng else. Yea, some of them wyll commaund them to ward, if thei be importunat."

p. 12, *an angell, (for that is called a counsellers fee).* The well-known lawyer's 'six and eightpence.' Miss Rochfort Smith sends me the following Epigram, 594, from *Wits Recreations* :—

"Upon Anne's marriage with a Lawyer.

Anne is an angel : what if so she be ?

What is an angel but a lawyer's fee ?"

p. 19. *Colleges, &c., abused and peruerted.* See my Harrison's *Description of England*, 1577-87, p. 77. On Education in Early England, see my Forewords to the *Babes Book*, or *Meals and Manners* : Early English Text Society.

p. 24, *stretching and thicking Cloth.* "I here saye, there is a certayne connyng come vp in myxyng of wares.

Cloth makers are become
Poticaries, yea
and amonge the
Gospellers.

"Howe saye you, were it not wonder to here that clothe makers should become poticaries.

"Yea, and as I heare saye, in such a place, where as they haue professed the Gospell, and the word of God most earnestly of a long tyme. Se how busie the Deuell is to sclaunder the word of god. Thus the pore gospel goeth to wracke. Yf his clothe be xviii. yerdes longe, he wyl set hym on a racke, A pretti kind of and streach hym tyll the senewes shrinke agayne, whyles he hath multiplyinge. brought hym to xxvii. yardes. When they haue brought hym to that perfection, they haue a pretty feate [*sign.* E. iii.] to thycke him againe. He Flocke powder. makes me a powder for it, an playes the poticary : thei cal it floke

pouder : they do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderfull to consider : truly a goodly inuention."

p. 24, *Dark Shops*. p. 49, *False Weights*. p. 22, *Merchants*. p. 47, *Farmers*. p. 29, *Gripping Landlords*. These Shop-keepers that can blind mens eyes, with dym and obscure lights, and deceiue their eares with false & flattering words, be they not Vsurers?

These Tradesmen that can buy by one weight, and selle by another, be they not Vsurers?

These Marchants that doe robbe the Realme, by carrying away of Corne, Lead, Tinne, Hydes, Leather, and such other like, to the impouering of the common wealth, bee they not Vsurers?

These *Farmers* that doe hurde vppe their Corne, Butter, & Cheese, but of purpose to make a dearth, or that if they thinke it to rayne but one houre to much, or that a drought doe last but two dayes longer then they thinke good, will therefore the next market day hoysse vp the prises of all manner [p. 46] of victuall, be not these Vsurers?

The *Land-Lordes* that doe sette out their liuings at those high rates, that their *Tenants* that were wont to keepe good Hospitalitie, are not nowe able to giue a peece of Bread to the *Poore*, be they not Vsurers? 1614. Barnabee Rych. *The Honestie of this Age*. p. 45-6.

p. 27, *the commons . . . are inclosed, made seuerall*. Compare Shakspeare's phrase, in *Loues Labor's Lost*, II. i. 223, Qo. 1 :—

Bo. So you graunt pasture for me.

Lady.

Not so, gentle Beast,

My lippes are no Common, though seuerall they be.

Thomas Greene's Diary says, on 1615, Sept. 1. "Mr. Shakspeare told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe" Common. Leop. Shasp. Introd., p. cix. See p. 45* and 116 in Stubbes, Part I.

p. 28. *Enclosures of Commons*, &c. See Harrison, Part I., p. 306-7, and Latimer's 7th Sermon before Edw. VI, Sermon 14, Parker Soc., p. 248.

p. 28, *rich men's game eating up poor men's corn, grass, &c.* This goes on still, as every one in a game-preserving county knows. I heard Joseph Arch once say how his garden was cleard by Lord Warwick's rabbits, and how he in return took his own compensation in game.

p. 33, *Tailors*. "now it were a hard matter for me to distinguish betweene men, who were good and who were bad, but if I might giue my verdict to say who were the wisest men nowe in this age, I would say they were *Taylers* : would you heare my reason? because I doe see the wisdom of women to be still ouer-reached by *Taylers*, that can euery day induce them to as many new-fangled fashions, as they please to inuent : and the wisdom of men againe, are as much ouer-reached by women, that canne intice their husbandes to surrender and giue way to all their newe-fangled follies : they are *Taylers* then that canne ouer-rule the wisest women, and they be women that can besot the wisest men : so that if Ma. Maiors conclusion be good, that because *Iacke*, his youngest sonne, ouer-ruled his mother, and *Iackes* mother agayne ouerruled M. Maior himselfe,

and M. Maior by office ouerruled the Towne, *Ergo*, the whole Towne was ouerruled by *Iacke*, Ma. Maiors sonne : by the same consequence, I may likewise conclude, that *Taylers* are the wisest men : the reason is alreadie rendered, they doe make vs all *Fooles*, both men and women, and doe mocke the whole worlde with their newe inuentions : but are they women alone that are thus seduced by *Taylers*? doe but looke amongst our gallants in this age, and tell me, if you shall not finde men amongst them to be as vaine, as nice, and as gaudie in their attyres, as shée that amongst women is accounted the most foolish

“The holy scriptures haue denounced a curse no lesse grieuous to the *Idole-maker*, then to the *Idole* it selfe ; now (vnder the correction of *Diuinitie*) I would but demaund, what are these *Puppet-making Taylers*, that are euery day inuenting of newe fashions, and what are these, that they doe call *Attyre-makers*, the first inuenters of these monstrous Periwys, and the finders out of many other like immodest Attires : what are these, and all the rest of these *Fashion Mongers*, the inuenters of vanities, that are euery day whetting their wits to finde out those *Gaudes*, that are not onely offenseiue vnto God, but many wayes prejudiciall to the whole Common wealth : if you will not acknowledge these to be *Idolemakers*, yet you cannot deny them to be the *Deuils enginers*, vngodly instruments, to decke and ornifie such men and women, as may well be reputed to be but *Idolles*, for they haue eyes, but they see not into the wayes of their own salvation, & they haue eares, but they cannot heare the Iudgements of God, denounced against them for their pride and vanitie.” 1614. Barnabee Rych. *The Honestie of this Age*, p. 23.

p. 35. *Ruffes*. See Part I, p. 52, 240-2.

p. 41, 42. *The Poor, and Beggars*. See my Harrison, Part I, p. 213, &c.

p. 51, *long hair*. In 1614, Barnabee Rych asks : “And from whence commeth this wearing, & this imbrodering of long lockes, this curiositie that is vsed amongst men, in freziling and curling of their hayre, this gentlewoman-like starcht bands, so be-edged, and be-laced, fitter for *Mayd Marion* in a *Moris dance*, then for him that hath either that spirit or courage, that should be in a gentleman?”—*The Honestie of this Age*, p. 35. “There are certaine new inuented professions that within these fourtie or fiftie years, were not so much as heard of,” says Rich, p. 24, “& yet have become flourishing, namely, ‘Attyre-makers,’ Coach-makers & Coachmen, Body-makers, and Tobacco-dealers. The 3 most gainfull trades are,” he says, p. 28, “the first is to keepe an *Ale house*, the 2. a *Tobacco House*, and the third to keepe a *Brothell House*.”

p. 57. *A marvellous strange coniunction*. This alludes to R. Harvey’s notorious tract addressd to his brother the author Gabriel Harvey, “An Astrological Discourse upon the great and notable Coniunction of the two superiour Planets, Saturne and Jupiter, which shall happen the 28 day of April, 1583,” 18 mo. *black letter*. H. Bynneman, 1583. The years 1588 and 1593 were to be “dangerous years” too. See my note in *N. Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-6, p. 151-4.

p. 82. *Such a dish of apples as Master Latimer talketh of, with thirty angels in every apple*. This is in “The fiftē Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whyche

he prached before the kynges Maiestye wythin hys Graces Palaice at Westminster the fyft daye of Aprill" [1549]. *Sign.* R. iii. "Ther was a patron in England (when it was) that had a benefyce fallen into hys hande, and a good brother of The merye tale mine came vnto hym, and brought hym xxx. Apples in a dyshe, and of the patrone gaue them hys man to carrye them to hys mayster. It is like he that sold a benefyce for a gaue one to his man for his labour to make vp the game, and so deyntye dyshe of Apples. ther was .xxx.

"This man commeth to his mayster, and presented hym wyth the dyshe of Apples, sayinge: 'Syr, suche a man hathe sente you a [*R. iii. back*] dyshe of frute, and desyreth you to be good vnto hym for suche a benefyce.' 'Tushe, tushe,' quod he, 'thys is no apple matter. I wyll none of hys apples. I haue as good as these (or as he hath any) in myne owne orcharde.' The man came to the preest agayne, and toulde hym what hys mayster sayed. 'Then,' quod the priest, 'desyre hym yet to proue one of them for my sake, he shal find them much better then they loke for.' He cut one of them, and founde ten peces of golde in it [$\text{£}10 = 30$ Angels]. 'Mary,' quod he, 'thys is a good apple. The pryest standyng not farre of, herynge what the Gentle man sayed, cryed out and answered, 'they are all one apples, I warrante you, Syr, they grewe all on one A graft of gold tree and haue all one taste.' 'Well, he is a good fellowe [*sign.* R. to get a benefyce wythal is worth a great deale of leamyng. iiiii.], let hym haue it,' quod the patrone, &c. Get you a grafte of thys tre, and I warrante you it shall stand you in better steade then all Sayncte Paules leamyng. Well, let patrons take hede, for they shall aunswere for all the soules that peryshe throughe theyr defaute." See too the Third Sermon, p. 145-6, Parker Soc., on the bribe-taking Judge flayd alive by Cambyses; the pudding-story, p. 140.

NOTES FOR PART I.

- p. 60*, note 2. The woodcut is at the back of the Dedication, p. 2*.
- p. 86*. See too the *Homily* against Idleness.
- p. 89*. Dice, wine, and women, wonne, drunke, & spent all,
And now he liues a vassall at each call.
1600. *Quips upon Questions*, sign. E. 2, back, 'On a ruind Gallant.'
- p. 95*. The cut of Irish Costumes is from the Additional MS. 28,330 in the British Museum: a Dutch 'Short Description of England, Scotland & Ireland,' 1574-
- p. 97*. There is no ornamental border round the original 1584 Title-page.
- p. 231. *Velure*, &c. See note p. 363-4, Dekker's Works, 1874, vol. iii.
- p. 232. Nash's *Anatomic of Abuses* was entered in the Stationers' Registers in advance, on Sept. 19, 1588.
- p. 236. *Farrefetched and deare bought*. "we vse to say by manner of

Notes for Part I, pp. 248—375. *Football, &c.* xxxviii†

Prouerbe, 'things farrefet and deare bought are good for Ladies.'" 1589. Puttenham, p. 193, ed. Arber.

p. 248. Andrew Boorde's cut is also alluded to in the Homily against Excess of Apparel; and by Dekker, p. 77* above.

p. 271, 273. *Women's face-painting.*

"Whers the Deuill? . . .

He's got into a boxe of Women's paint. . . .

Where pride is, thers the Diuell too."

1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. F. 2.

p. 280. See the Homily against Whoredom and Adultery.

p. 284. See the Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness.

p. 293. *Prisons.* See too in 1618, Geoffrey Mynshul's *Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners.*

p. 296. *Sunday Sports, &c.* See Humphrey Roberts's, 'An earnest Complaint of diuers vain, wicked and abused Exercises practised on the Sabbath day,' 1572. Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*, p. 360-1.

p. 307, at foot: *beaten with a Brewers washing bittle*, drunk.

"these people

Are all brainde with a Brewers washing beetle."

1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. F. 2, back.

p. 318. *Deaths at Football.* Coroner's inquest on one Gibbs kild in a game. "The Coroner, in summing up, advocated a return to the rules practised in football twenty years ago, for, *as now played, it was only worthy of a set of costermongers.*" See also the notice of the Mayor of Southampton prohibiting football under Association or Rugby rules, on the town's public lands.—*Echo*, Dec. 11, 1880. On Saturday . . . Mr. Joseph Hunter at Sheffield had his arm and three ribs broken; at Mexborough a young man named William Howitt had his arm and leg dislocated.—*Daily News*, Dec. 13, 1880.

p. 349. Insert *Abandon*, v. t. banish, 125. *Ames ace & the dice*, 37*. *Dause ace*, 272; a man's genitals.

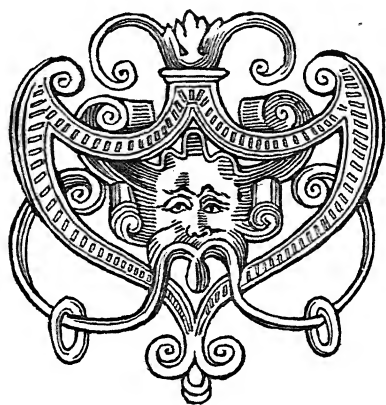
p. 352, col. 2. Insert *Breasts*: see Bare, and Naked.

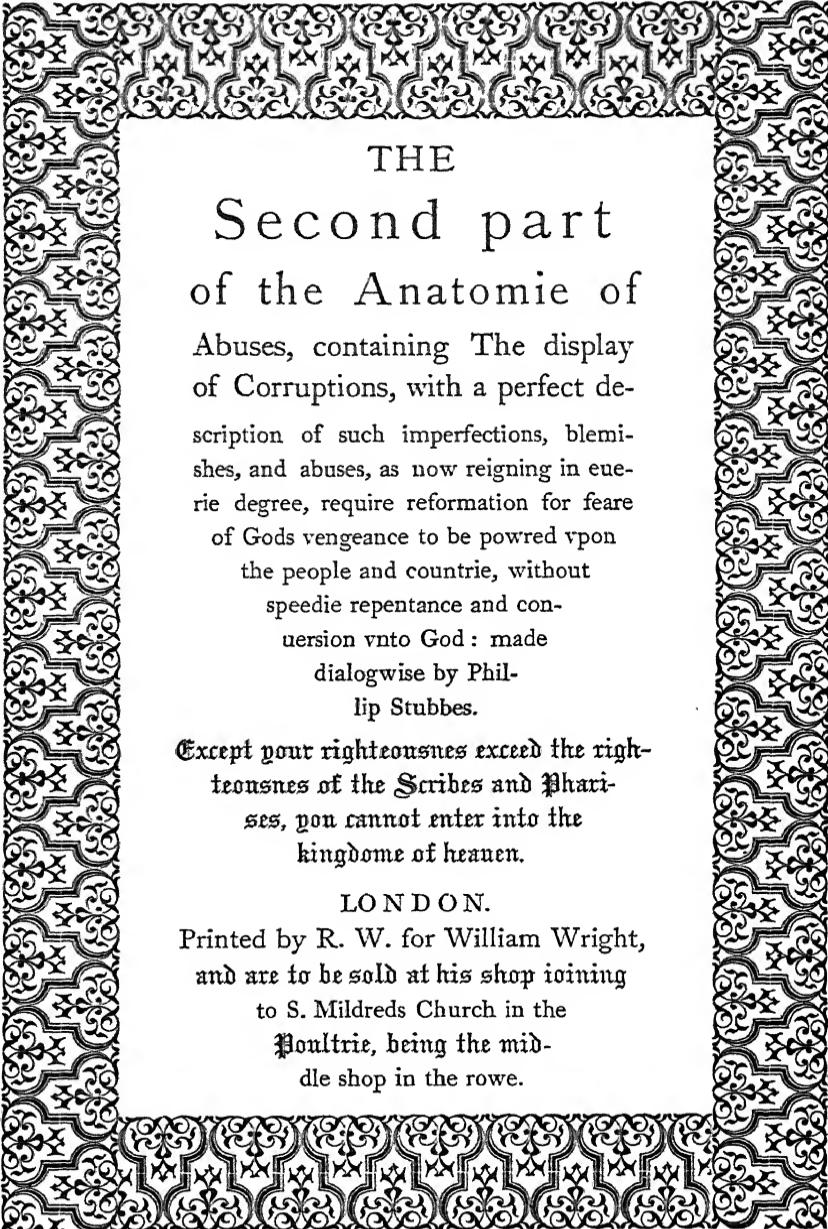
p. 356, col. 2. *Disgesture*, digestion. "Glut with gazing, surfet with seeing and relish with reading [my book]:—It may be there are some preseruatiues, not poyson, though harsh in *disgesture*. 1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. A. iij.

p. 362, col. 1. Insert *Honeymoon*, p. 376, n. 1.

p. 371, col. 2, to 'Spanish &c.' add 'boots, 242.'

p. 375, col. 1. Insert *Vendians* 250. '*Grecques*; f. Gregs, Gallogaskins, wide venitians.' 1611. Cotgrave; and *Venetian hose*, 56.





THE
Second part
of the Anatomie of
Abuses, containing The display
of Corruptions, with a perfect de-
scription of such imperfections, blemi-
shes, and abuses, as now reigning in eue-
rie degree, require reformation for feare
of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon
the people and countrie, without
speedie repentance and con-
uersion vnto God : made
dialogwise by Phil-
lip Stubbes.

Except yout righteousness exceed the righ-
teousnes of the Scribes and Phari-
ses, you cannot enter into the
kingdome of heauen.

LONDON.

Printed by R. W. for William Wright,
and are to be sold at his shop ioining
to S. Mildreds Church in the
Poultrie, being the mid-
dle shop in the rowe.

THE DISPLAY OF

corruptions, requiring refo-

mation for feare of Gods iudge-

ments to be powred vpon the people

and country without spee-

die amendement.

The speakers, THEODORVS and AMPHILOGVS.¹



OD bleffe you my friend, and well ouertaken.

Amphilogus. You are hartlie welcome, good fir,
with all my hart.

Theod. How farre purpofe you to trauell this way
by the grace of God?

Amphil. As far as *Nodnol* if God permit.

Theod. What place is that, I pray you, and where is it fcituate?

Stubbes is
going to London.

Amphil. It is a famous citie and the chiefeft place in *Dnalgne* :
haue you not heard of it?

Theod. No truely. For I am a ftranger, and newly come into
theſe countries, onely to ſee fafhions, and to learne the ſtate and con-
di²tion of thoſe things whereof I am ignorant.

Amphil. What country man are you, I pray you, if I may be
ſo bold as to aſke?

Theod. I am of the country and nation of the *Idumeans*, a cruell,
fierce, and ſeruile kind of people.

Amphil. I haue beene in thoſe countries my ſelfe ere now, and
therefore it is maruell that you knowe me not.

He ſays he's
been in Idumea.

Theod. Me thinke I ſhould knowe you, but yet I cannot call your
name to remembrance.

Amphil. My name is *Amphilogus*, ſometime of your acquaintance,
thogh now you haue (through tract of time, which is *Omnium*

¹ *Amphilogus* is Stubbes. The ſide notes are all mine. Stubbes put notes to
his Firſt Part only.

² B x, back. The headline all thro, is 'The Display of Corruptions.'

2 II. I. *England the wickedest Country under the Sun.*

rerum edax, A deuourer of al things) forgot the fame. But notwithstanding that you haue forgot me, yet I remember you very well : is not your name Maister *Theodorus* ?

Theod. Yes truly, my name is *Theodorus* ; I neither can, nor yet will, euer denie the fame.

Amphil. What make you in these countries, if I may aske you without offence ?

Theod. Truly I came hither to see the country, people, and nation, to learne the toong, and to see (as I told you) the state generally of all things.

Stubbes will describe the state of England.

[¹ Sig. B 2]

¹ *Amphil.* You are most hartily welcome, and I, hauing beene a traueler, borne in these countries, and knowing the state thereof in euerie respect, to congratulate your comming, will impart vnto you the substance and effect therof in as few words as I can.

Theod. I praie you then giue me leaue (vnder correction) to aske you such necessary questions, as are incident to my purpose, and which may serue for my better instruction in all the foresaide premises ?

Amphil. Go to then, aske on in the name of God, and I will addresse myself to satisfie your reasonable requests in anything I can.

Theod. What be the inhabitors of this countrie ? Be they a vertuous, godlie, and religious kinde of people, or otherwise cleane contrarie ?

No nation is so proud, drunken, and so full of mischief, as England is.

[² Sig. B 2, back]

Amphil. Surely they are, as all other countries and nations be for the most part, inclined to sinne, and wickednes, drinking vp iniquitie as it were water ; but yet I am perswaded that, albeit all flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of GOD, yet is there not any nation or countrey vnder the sunne, that for pride, whoredome, droonkennes, gluttonie, and all kinde of oppression, iniurie and mischief, may compare with this one country ² of *Dnalgne*, God be mercifull vnto it, and hasten his kingdome, that all wickednes may be done away.

Theod. Then, as in all other countries where euer I haue trauelled, so in this also is verified the old adage, namely, that the first age of the world was called *Aurea ætas*, the golden age, for that men liued godlie and in the feare of God ; the second age was called *Argentea ætas*, the siluer age, for that men began somewhat to decline, and fall from their former holinesse, and integritie of life, to sinne and wicked-

1. The Golden Age.

2. The Silver.

nes: the thirde and last age, which is this that we are fallen into, is and may iustlie be called *Ferrea* or *Plumbea ætas*, the yron or leaden age, in as much as now men are fallen from all godlinesse whatsoener, and are as it were wedded to iniquitie, committing sinne without any remorse, and running into all kinde of abomination and impietie, without restraint. All which things dulie in the good hart of a faithful christian considered & weied, may easily perswade a wise man to think their destruction to be at hand, except they repent.

3. The Iron or
Leaden Age, our
sinful one.

Amphil. You say verie well. Therefore I would with them to take heed to themselves, and to leaue their wickednes before the Lords wrath be gon out against them; for let them be ¹sure, that when the measure of their wickednesse is full, then will the Lord cut them off from the face of the earth, if they repent not, and truely turne to the Lord. The wise man saith, that a little before destruction come, the hart of man shall swell into pride, and wickednes. Our sauiour Christ saith, when men flatter themselves, and 'saie "peace, peace, al things are well, we neede not to feare anything," then, euen then, shall sudder destruction fall vpon them, as sorrow commeth vpon a woman traueiling with childe, and they shall not escape, because they would not knowe the Lord, nor the day of his visitation.' Which thing we see to be true through all the histories of the sacred Bible; for when the Sodomites and Gomorreans had filled vp the measures of their iniquitie, and faciate themselves in sinne, then came there fire and brimstone raining from heauen vpon them and their citie, and consumed them all, from the vpper face of the earth. When all the worlde in the daies of Noah, was given ouer to sinne, and wickednes, immediatelie came the flood of Gods vengeance, and destroyed them all, eight persons—to wit, Noah, his wife, his three sonnes and their wiues,—who serued the Lord in true simplicity of hart, onelie excepted. The Hierosolimitanes ²when their sinne was ripe, were they not confounded, and put to the edge of the sworde? When Pharaoh the king of Egypt his sinne was ripe, did not the Lord harden his hart to pursue the Israelits, and so drowned him and all his retinue in the read sea? Herod and Nabuchadnezer swelling in sinne, and rising vp against the maiestie of God in the malice of their harts, was not the one stricken dead in a moment, and eaten vp with worms, the other depofed from his kingdome, and constrained to eate

[¹ Sig. B 3]

But God 'll cut
the sinners off.

Destruction'll
follow Pride,

as it did with
Sodom and Go-
morrah,

in Noah's days,

[² Sig. B 3, back]

with Pharaoh,

Herod and
Nabuchad-
nezzar.

4 II. I. *England fertile. The 3 sorts of Englishmen.*

When Destruction is neereſt, folk are ſecureſt.

graſſe with the beaſts of the earth ; with the like examples, which, for the auoiding of prolixitie, I omit. By all which it appeareth, that when deſtruction is neereſt, then are the people the ſecureſt, and the moſt indurate and frozen in the dregs of their ſinne ; and being ſo, the ſequele is either conſuſion in this life, or perdition in the world to come, or both. And therefore I beſeech the Lord, that both this country, and all others, may repent, & amende euerie one their wicked waies, to the glorie of God and their owne ſaluation.

Theod. Is this country fruitfull, and plenty of all things, or barren, and emptie ?

England is a plentiful land,

¹ Sig. B 4]

Amphil. There is no nation or country in the world, that for ſtore, and abundance of all things, may compare with the ſame ; for ¹ of all things there is ſuch plentie (God haue the praiſe thereof) as they may ſeeme to haue neede of no other nation, but all others of them. In ſo much as if they were wiſe people (as they be wiſe enough, if they would vſe their wiſedome well) to keepe their owne ſubſtance within themſelues, and not to tranſport it ouer to other countries (as many couetous wretches for their owne priuate gaine doe) they might liue richly and in abundance of all things, whileſt other countries ſhould languish and want. But hereof more ſhall be ſpoken hereafter.

but covetous wretches export its goods.

Theod. I pray you how is this country adiacent vpon other countries ?

Amphil. It lieth inuironed with the ocean ſea rounde about ; vpon the one ſide eaſtwarde, it bordereth vpon the confines of France : vpon the other ſide weſtward, vpon Irelande ; towards the ſeptentrionall or north part, vpon Scotland ; and vpon the ſouth ſide it reſpecteth Germanie. And is inhabited with three ſundrie ſortes of people, Engliſhmen, Corniſhmen, and welchmen, all which, if not in lawes and conſtitutions, yet in language, doe differ one from another. But as they doe differ in toong and ſpeech, ſo are they ſubiect (and that *Patrio iure*, By iuſtice and law) ² to one Prince, and gouernour onely to whom they owe their allegiance.

It has Engliſhmen, Welſhmen, Corniſhmen, whoſe ſpeech differs from one another.

[² Sig. B 4, back]

Theod. Is the country quiet, peaceable, and at vnitie within it ſelfe, or otherwiſe troubled with mutenies, wars, and ciuill diſſentions ?

Amphil. The whole lande (God be praiſed therefore, and preſerue hir noble Grace by whom it is gouerned and maintained !) is,

and hath beene, at peace and vnitie, not onely within it selfe, but also abroad, for this foure or fūe and twenty yeeres. During all which time there hath beene neither wars, inuasions, insurrections, nor any effusion of blood to speake of, except of a fort of arch-traitours, who haue receiued but the same reward they deferued, and the same that I pray God all traitours with their complices may receiue hereafter, if they practise the same which they haue done. The like continuance of peace was neuer heard of, not this hundred yeeres before, as this country hath inioied since hir maiesties reigne: the Lord preserue hir grace, and roiall Maiestie for euer!

England has
been at peace for
25 years.

Theod. Are the other countries, lands, and nations about them (for as I gather by your former intimations, this country is scituate as it were in the centrie, or midft of ¹others) their friends, and well-

[¹ Sig. B 5]

Amphil. It is an old saieng and true: *Ex incertis, & ambiguis rebus optimum tenere sapientis est*: Of things vncerteine, a chriitian man ought to iudge and hope the best. They hope wel that all are their friends and welwillers: but it is thought (and I feare me too true) that they are so far from being their friends (*Nisi verbo tenus*, From mouth outward onely) that they haue vowed and sworne their destruction, if they could as easily atchiue it, as they secretly intend it. Which thing to be true, some of their late practises haue (yet to their owne confusion, Gods name be praised) proued true. For how manie times hath that man of sinne, that sonne of the diuell, that *Italian Antichrist of Rome*, interdicted, excommunicated, suspended, and accursed with booke, bell and candle, both the Prince, the Nobilitie, the Commons, and whole Realme? How often hath he sent forth his roring buls against hir Maiestie, excommunicating (as I have said) hir Grace, and discharging hir Highnesse liege people and naturall subiects, from their allegiance to hir Grace? How often hath he with his adherents conspired and intended the death and ouerthrowe of hir Maiestie and Nobilitie, by con²iuration, necromancy, exorcismes, art magike, witchcraft, and all kind of diuelrie besides, wherein the most part of them are skilfuller than in diuinity? And when these deuises would not take place, nor effect as they wished, then attempted they by other waies and meanes to ouerthrowe the estate, the Prince, nobles, people and country: sometime by secret irruption, sometime

But it has lip-
friends who
hate it.

That son of the
Devil, the Pope,

has conspired the
Queen's death,
[² Sig. B 5, back]

and tried to over-
throw the land.

6 II. I. *Bloodthirsty Papists and Devil's-agent Jesuits.*

The Pope has
sent here blood-
thirsty Papists

to stir up re-
bellious.

[¹ Sig. B 6]
These Devil's
agents are calld
Jesuits,

but their every
deed and word is
directly contrary
to Christ's.

They delude the
world with their
trash.

[² Sig. B 6, back

by open inuasion, insurrection, and rebellion, sometime by open treason, sometime by secret conspiracie, and sometimes by one meanes, sometimes by another. And now of late attempted they the ouerthrowe and subuersion of hir Maiestie, people, country, and all by sending into the realme a sort of cutthrotes, false traitors, and bloudthirstie Papists, who vnder the pretence of religious men (in whom for the most part there is as much religion as is in a dog) should not onely lurke in corners like howlets that abhorre the light, creepe into noble mens bosoms, thereby to withdrawe hir Maiesties subiects from their allegiance, but also moue them to rebellion, and to take sword in hand against Prince, country, yea, and against God himselve (if it were possible) and to dispense with them that shall thus mischieuoulye behaue themselues. And forsooth these goodlie fellows, the diuels agents, that must worke these feates, are called (in the ¹diuels name) by the name of Iesuites, seminarie preests, and catholikes, vsurping to themselves a name neuer heard of till of late daies, being indeed a name verie blasphemously deriued from the name of Iesus, and improperly alluded and attributed to themselues. But what will it preuaile them to be like vnto Iesus in name onely, or how can they, nay, how dare they, arrogate that name vnto themselues, whereas their doctrine, religion, life and whole profession, together with their corrupt liues and conuersations are directly contrarie to the doctrine, religion, life, and profession of Christ Iesus? There is nothing in the world more contradictorie one to another, than all their proceedings in generall are to Christ Iesus and his lawes, and yet will they, vnder the pretence of a bare and naked name, promise to themselues such excellencie, such integritie, and perfection, as GOD cannot require more, yea, such as doth merite *Ex opere operato*, Eternal felicitie in the heauens. And thus they deceiue themselues, and delude the world also with their trash: but of them inough.

Theod. Surely that country had neede to take heed to it selfe, to feare, and stand in awe, ²having so manie enemies on euerie side. And aboue all things next vnto the seruing of God, to keepe themselues aloofe, and in any case not to trust them, what faire weather soeuer they make them. The sweeter the *Syren* singeth, the dangerouiser it is to lend hir our eares: the Cocatrice neuer meaneth so much crueltie, as when he fawneth vpon thee and weepeth: then take heed, for he

meaneth to sucke thy bloud. The stiller the water standeth, the more perilous it is. Let them remember it is an old and true saieng: *Sub melle iacet venenum*, Vnder honey lieth hid poison. *Sub placidis herbis latitat coluber*, vnder the pleafantest grasse, lurketh the venemouft adder. Take heed of those fellowes that haue *Mel in ore, verba lactis*, sweet words and plausible speeches: for they haue *Fel in corde*, and *Fraudem factis*, Gall in their harts, & deceit in their deeds. So falleth it out with these ambidexters, these hollowe harted friends, where they intend destruction, then will they couer it with the cloke or garment of amity & friendship; therefore are they not to be trusted.

These Jesuits are
ambidexters,
hollow-hearted
friends,

Amphil. You say the truth. For I am thus persuaded, that he who is false to God (as all ¹Papists with their complices and adherents are) can neuer be true and faithfull, neither to prince nor country. Therefore God grant they may be taken heed of betimes.

[¹ Sig. B 7] never true to
prince or country

Theod. Considering that this country of *Dnalgne* is enuied abroad with so many enimies, and infested within by so many seditious Papists, and hollowe harted people, it is great maruell, that it can stand without great wars, and troubles. Belike it hath a wise politike prince, and good gouernors, either else it were vnpossible to preserue the same in such peace and tranquillitie, and that so long together. I pray you therefore by what prince is the same gouerned, and after what maner?

Amphil. The whole realme or country of *Dnalgne* is ruled and gouerned by a noble Queene, a chaste Maide, and pure Virgin, who for all respects may compare with any vnder the sunne. In so much as I doubt not to call hir sacred breast the promptuarie, the receptacle, or storehouse of all true virtue and godlines. For if you speake of wisdom, knowledge and vnderstanding, hir Grace is singular, yea, able at the first blush to discearne truth from falsehood, and falsehood from truth, in any matter, how ambiguous or obscure soeuer: so as it may iustly be called into question whether ²*Salomon* himselfe had greater light of wisdom instilled into his sacred breast, than hir Maiestie hath into hir highnes roiall minde. If you speake of learning and knowledge in the toongs, whether it be in the Latine, Greeke, French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, or any other vsuall toong, it may be doubted whether Christendome hath hir peere, or not. If you speake

England is
gouerned by a
noble Queen,

virtuous and
godly, wise and
understanding,

[¹ Sig. B 7, back]

learned in the
tongues,

modest, gentle,
affable,

merciful,

religious, just,

more divine than
earthly.

The Lord pre-
serve her !
[¹ Sig. B 8]

The Queens
Council are wise
and experienst
men,

who make the
laws, which are
carried out by
Magistrates.

[² Sig. B 8, back]

of sobrietie, modestie, mansuetude and gentlenesse, it is woonderfull in hir Highnesse; yea, so affable, so lowly and humble is hir Grace, as she will not disdaine to talke familiarlie to the meanest or poorest of hir Graces subjects vpon speciall occasions. If you speake of mercie, and compassion to euery one that hath offended, I stande in suspence whether hir like were euer borne. If you speake of religion, of zeale and feruencie to the truth, or if you speake of the vpright execution or administration of iustice, all the world can beare witnes, that herein (as in all godlinesse else) hir Highnes is inferior to none that liueth at this day. So that hir Grace seemeth rather a diuine creature, than an earthly creature, a vessel of grace, mercie and compassion, whereinto the Lord hath powred euen the full measures of his superabundant grace, and heauenlie influence. The Lord increase the same in hir ¹Highnes roiall breast, and preserve hir Grace, to the end of the world, to the glorie of God, the comfort of hir Maiesties subjects, and confusion of all hir enemies whatsoever.

Theod. What is hir Maiesties Councell? It should seeme that they must needs be excellent men, hauing such a vertuous Ladie and Phenix Queene to rule ouer them?

Amphil. The Councell are Honorable and noble personages indeed, of great grauitie, wisedome, and pollicie, of singular experience, modestie and discretion, for zeale to religion famous, for dexteritie in giuing counsell renowned, for the administration of iustice incomparable, finally, for all honorable and noble exploits inferior to none, or rather excelling all. So as their worthie deedes, through the golden trumpe of fame are blowne ouer all the worlde. The whole regiment of the Realme consisteth in the execution of good lawes, sanctions, statutes, and constitutions enacted and set forth by hir royall Maiestie and hir most honorable Council, and committed by the same to inferior officers, and maiestrates to be put in practise, by whose diligent execution thereof, iustice is maintained, vertue erected, iniurie repressed, and sinne seuerely punished, to the great glorie of God, and

²common tranquillitie of the Realme in euery condition.

Theod. Is the lande diuided into shires, counties, precincts, and seuerall exempt liberties, to the ende iustice may the better be maintained? And hath euery county, shire, and precinct, good lawes in the same for the deciding and appeasing of controuerfies that happen

in the same, so that they neede not to seeke further for redresse than in their owne shire?

Amphil. The whole land indeede is diuided (as you say,) into shires, counties, and seuerall precincts, (which are in number, as I take it, 40). In euerie which shire or countie, be courts, lawe daies, and leets, as they call them, euery moneth, or every quarter of a yeere, wherein any controuerfie (lightlie) may be heard and determined, so that none needs (except vpon some speciall occasions) to seeke to other courts for deciding of any controuerfie. But as there be good lawes, if they were executed dylie, so are there corruptions and abuses not a few crept into them. For sometimes you shall haue a matter hang in sute after it is commenced a quarter of a yeere, halfe a yeere, yea, a twelue month, two or three yeeres together, yea, seauen or eight yeeres now and then, if either friends or money can ¹be made. This deferring of iustice is as damnable before God, as the sentence of false iudgement is, as that blessed martyr of God, Maister *Latimer*, hath said in a sermon made before King *Edward* the sixt. Besides this deferring and delaieng of poore mens causes, I will not say how iudgement is perverted in the end. I reed them take heed to it that be the authors thereof. Therefore the reformed churches beyond the seas are worthie of commendations; for there the Iudges sit in the open gates, streets, and high waies, that euery man that will, may speake vnto them, and complaine if he haue occasion. And so farre from delaieng, or putting of ²poore mens causes be they, as they will not suffer any matter, how weighty soeuer, to hang in sute aboue one day, or two, or at the most three daies, which happeneth verie seldome. But if the lawes within euery particular countie or shire were dylie administred without parcialite, and truly executed with all expedition, as they ought, and not so lingred as they be, then needed not the poore people to run 100, 200, yea 300, or 400 miles (as commonly they doe) to seeke iustice, when they might haue it neerer home: through the want whereof, besides that their sutes are like to hang in ballance peraduenture seuen yeeres, ³they, hauing spent al, in the end fall to extreme beggerie; which inconuenience might easilie be remoued, if all matters and causes whatsoeuer were heard at home in their owne shire or countie with expedition. And to say the truth, what fooles

England is divided into shires and precincts, in each of which Law-Courts are held monthly or quarterly.

But abuses have crept in: causes are delayd, and that's as bad as false judgment, as *Latimer* said.

[¹ Sig. C 1]

Also poor folk have to go 100 miles off to get justice,

[³ Sig. C 1, back] and perhaps wait for 7 years.

are they (yea, woorthie to be inaugured fooles with the laurell crowne of triple follie) that, whilst they might haue iustice at home in their owne country, and all matters of controuerfie decided amongst their neighbors and friends at home, will yet go to lawe two or three hundred miles distant from them, and spend all that they haue to enrich a sort of greedie lawiers, when at the last a sort of ignorant men of their neighbors must make an end of it, whether they will or not. This, me thinke, if euerie good man would perpend in himselfe, he would neither go to lawe himself, nor yet giue occasion to others to doe the like.

They spend their all, too, on greedy lawyers.

Theod. I gather by your speeches that these people are very contentious and quarellous, either else they would neuer be so desirous of revenge, nor yet prosecute the lawe so seuerely for euery trifle.

Englishmen are very contentious, and fond of going to law.

[¹ Sig. C 2]

Amphil. They are very contentious indeed. Insomuch as, if one giue neuer so small occasion to another, sute must straight be commenced; and to lawe go they, as round as a ball, till ¹either both, or at least the one, become a begger all daies of his life after.

Theod. But on the other side, if they should not go to lawe, then should they sustaine great wrong, and be iniured on euery side.

The Law was made to do right and to still strife, but it's now perverted to contrary ends.

Amphil. Indeed the lawe was made for the administration of equitie and iustice, for the appeasing of controuerfies & debates, and for to giue to every man (*Quod suum est*) That which is his owne, but being now peruerterd and abused to cleane contrarie ends (for now commonly the law is ended as a man is fr[e]inded) is it not better to suffer a little wrong with patience, referring the reuenge to him who faith: *Mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam.* 'Vengeance is mine, and I wil reward,' than for a trifle to go to lawe, and spende all that euer he hath, and yet come by no remedie neither? Our sauieur Christ biddeth vs, if any man will go to law with vs for our cote, to giue him our cloke also, and if any man will giue thee a blowe on the one cheeke, turne to him the other, whereby is ment, that if any man will iniurie vs, and doe vs wrong, we should not resist nor trouble our selues, but suffer awhile, and with patience refer the due reuenge thereof to the Lord.

Christ teaches us to suffer wrong patiently, and let God revenge it.

[² Sig. C 2, back]

Amphil. Why? Is it not lawful then for one Christian ² man, to go to lawe with another?

Amphil. The Apostle faith 'many things are lawfull which are not

II. 1. *Going to law is right in certain cases.* 11

expedient,' and therefore, though it be after a fort lawfull, yet for euery trifle it is not lawfull, but for matters of importance it is. And yet not neither, if the matter might otherwise, by neighbors at home, be determined.

Theod. Yet soine doubt whether it be lawfull or no for one Christian man to go to lawe with another for any worldly matter, bringing in the apostle Paule rebuking the Corinthians for going to lawe one with another.

St. Paul rebukes the Corinthians, who were Christians, for going to law before Heathens.

Amphil. The apostle in that place reprehendeth them not for going to law for reasonable causes, but for that they, being christians, went to lawe vnder heathen iudges, which tended to the great discredite and infamie of the Gospell. But certeine it is, though some anabaptists *Quibus veritas odio est*, and certeine other heritikes have taught the contrarie, yet it is certeine, that one christian man may go to lawe with an other for causes reasonable. For it being true, as it cannot be denied, that there is a certeine singularitie, interest, and proprietie in euery thing, and the lawe being not onely the meane to conferue the same propriety, but also to restore it againe,¹ being violate, is therefore lawfull, and may lawfully be attempted out, yet with this prouiso, that it is better, if the matter may otherwise be apeased at home, not to attempt lawe, than to attempt it. But if any schismatikes (as alas the worlde is too full of them) should altogether deny the vse of the lawe, as not christian, besides that the manifest word of God in euery place would easilie conuince them, the examples and practises of all ages, times, countries, and nations, from the first beginning of the world, together with the example of our sauour Christ himselfe, who submitted himselfe to the lawes then established, would quicklie ouerthrow their vaine imaginations. The lawe in it selfe, is the square, the leuell, and rule of equitie and iustice, and therefore who absolutely contendeth the same not to be christian, may well be accused of extreeme folly. But if the lawes be wicked and antichristian, then ought not good christians to sue vnto them, but rather to sustaine all kind of wrong whatsoever.

But as it's Law's business to keep things straight, Christians may go to law.

[¹ Sig. C 3]

Law is the square and leuell of Equity.

Theod. Then it seemeth by your reason, that if the lawe be so necessarie, as without the which Christian kingdomes could not stand, then are lawiers necessarie also for the execution thereof.

² *Amphil.* They are most necessarie. And in my iudgement a man

[² Sig. C 3, b ck]

Lawyers are necessary, and can serue God; but English ones don't, they've such cheveril consciences.

Lawyers take bribes, and beggar the poor, and

turn Law topsyturvy.

Their fee is an Angel, xos.

[¹ Sig. C 4]

The abuses of our procedure and Prisons are frightful.

A man is clapt in irons, thrown into a dungeon, with only a little straw fit for a

dog; and there he lies, lice-bit, ill-fed, till he looks like a ghost, or dies.

He stops there for 3 months, 3 years, perhaps his whole life.

can serue God in no calling better than in it, if he be a man of a good conscience, but in *Dnalgne* the lawiers have such chauerell consciences, that they can serue the deuill better in no kind of calling than in that: for they handle poore mens matters coldly, they execute iustice parcially, & they receiue bribes greedily, so that iustice is peruerted, the poore beggared, and many a good man iniuried therby. They respect the persons, and not the causes; mony, not the poore; rewards, and not conscience. So that law is turned almost topsie turvie, and therefore happy is he that hath leaft to doe with them.

Theod. The lawiers must needes be verie rich if they haue such large consciences.

Amphil. Rich, quoth you? They are rich indeede toward the deuill and the world, but towards God and heauen, they are poore inough. It is no meruaile if they be rich and get much, when they will not speak two words vnder an angell (for that is called a counsellers fee.) But how they handle the poore mens causes for it, God and their owne consciences can tell; and one day, I feare me, they shall feele to their perpetuall paine, except they repent and amend.

¹ *Theod.* How be iudgments executed there vpon offenders, transgressours, and malefactors? with equitie, & expedition, or otherwise?

Amphil. It greeneth me to relate thereof vnto you, the abuses therein are so inormous. For if a felone, homicide, a murtherer, or else what greeuous offender soeuer, that hath deserued a thousand deaths, if it were possible, happen to be taken and apprehended, he is straightway committed to prison, and clapt vp in as many cold yrons as he can beare, yea, throwne into dungeons and darke places vnder the ground, without either bed, clothes, or anything else to helpe himselfe withall, saue a little straw or litter bad inough for a dog to lie in. And in this miserie shall he lie, amongst frogs, toades, and other filthie vermine, till lice eate the flesh of² his bones. In the meane space hauing nothing to eate, but either bread and water or else some other modicum scarce able to suffice nature; and many times it hapneth, that for want of the same pittance they are macerate and shronke so low, as they either looke like ghosts, or else are famished out of hand. And this extreme misery they lie in some time (perhaps) a quarter of a yeere, sometimes halfe a yeere, a

II. 1. *Reprieves & Pardons are bought in England.* 13

tweluemonth, yea, sometimes two or three yeeres, and perchance ¹all their life, though they have deserued death, by their flagitious facts committed. Who seeth not that it were much better for them to die at once, than to suffer this extreme miserie? Yea, the sufferance of this extremitie is better vnto them, than the tast of present death it selfe. And therefore in the cities reformed beyond seas, there is notable order for this: for as soone [as] any fellow or malefactor whatsoever that hath deserued death is taken, he is brought before the magistrate, witnesse comes in, and giues euidence against him, and being found guilty, and conuict by iustice, is presently, without any further imprisonment, reparation or delay, condemned, and being condemned, is led presently to the place of execution, and so committed to the sword.

[¹ Sig. C 4, back]

The oversea Reformed Cities try culprits at once, and execute em.

Theod. What is the cause why they are kept so long before they go to execution in *Dnalgne*.

Amphil. Sometimes it commeth to passe by reason of (will doe all) otherwise called mony, and sometimes by freends, or both, for certeine it is, the one will not worke without the other. Hereby it commeth to passe, that great abuses are committed. For if any man that hath freends and mony (as mony alwaies bringeth freendes with him) chance to haue ²committed neuer so heinous, or flagitious a deed, whether robbed, stollen, flaine, killed or murdered, or whatsoever it be, then letters walke, freends bestir them, and mony carrieth all away: yea, and though the lawe condemne him, iustice conuicteth him, and good conscience executeth him, yet must he needes be reprieved, and in the meane time his pardon, by false suggestion forsooth, must be purchased, either for friendship or mony.

Will-do-all or money.

In England the delay's due to *Will-Do-All*, money.

[² Sig. C 5]

If a felon or murderer has freends and money, he's safe to get reprieved or pardoned.

Theod. That is a great abuse, that he whom the lawe of God and of man doth condemne, should be pardoned. Can man pardon or remit him whom God doth condemne? Or shall man be more mercifull in euill, then the author of mercie himselfe? it is God that condemneth, who is he that can saue? Therefore those that ought to die by the lawe of God, are not to be saued by the lawe of man. The lawe of God commandeth that the murderer, the adulterer, the exorcist, magician and witch, and the like, should die the death. Is it now in the power or strength of man to pardon him his life?

Amphil. Although it be wilfull and purposed murder, yet is the

14 II. 1. *One law for the Rich, another for the Poor.*

The crime is set down to chance medley, accident.

[¹ Sig. C 5, back]

prince borne in hande that it was plaine chance medley (as they call it) meere casuall, and fortunate, and therefore¹ may easily be dispensed withall. Indeede, the wisdom of God ordeined, that if any man chanced to kill an other against his will, he should flie to certeine cities of refuge, and so be saued, but if it were proued that he killed him wittingly, willingly, & prepenfedly, then he should without al exception be put to death. And herein is great abuse, that two hauing committed one and the same fault, the one shall be pardoned and the other executed. If it be so that both haue committed offence worthy of death, let both die for it; if not, why should either die? Experience proueth this true, for if a Gentleman commit a greuous offence, and a poore man commit the like, the poore shall be sure of his *Sursum collum*? But the other shall be pardoned. So Diogenes, seeing a sort of poore men going to hanging, fell into a great laughter. And being demanded wherefore he laughed, he answered at the vanitie and follie of this blind word. For, saith he, I see great theeues lead little theeues to hanging. And to say the truth, before God, is not he a greater theefe that robbeth a man of his good name for euer, that taketh a mans house ouer his head, before his yeeres be expired, that wresteth from a man his goods, his lands and liuings wherupon he, his wife, children and familie should² liue, than he that stealeth a sheepe, a cow, or an oxe, for necessities sake onely, hauing not otherwise to releue his neede? And is not he a great theefe that taketh great summes of mony of the poore (vnder the names of fees), and doth little or nothing for them? Though this be not theft before the world, nor punishable by penall lawes, yet before God it is plaine theft, and punishable with eternall torments in hel. Let them take heede to it.

Theod. Cannot the prince then pardon any malefactor?

Amphil. Some are of opinion that the prince, by his power imperiall and prorogatiue, may pardon and remit the penaltie of any law, either diuine or humane, but I am of opinion that if Gods lawe condemne him, no prince ought to saue him, but to execute iudgement and iustice without respect of persons to all indifferently. But in causes wherein Gods lawe doth not condemne him, the prince may pardon the offender, if there appeere likelyhoode of amendment in him. And yet let the prince be sure of this, to answere at the day of

If a Gentleman and a Poor Man commit the same offence, the Gentleman gets pardoned, and the Poor Man hung.

Yet isn't a grasping landlord or lawyer, a bigger chief than the poor man who steals from hunger?

[² Sig. C 6]

No prince should pardon him whom God's law condemns.

iudgement before the tribunall seate of GOD, for all the offences that the partie pardoned shall commit any time of his life after. For if the prince had cutte him off when the ¹lawe had passed on him, that euill had not been committed. To this purpose I remember I haue heard a certeine pretie apothegue vttered by a iester to a king. The king had pardoned one of his subiectes that had committed murther, who, being pardoned, committed the like offence againe, and by meanes was pardoned the second time also, and yet filling up the measure of his iniquitie, killed the third, and being brought before the king, the king being very forie, asked why he had killed three men, to whom his iester standing by replied, saieing: "No (O king) he killed but the first, and thou hast killed the other two: for if thou hadst hanged him vp at the first, the other two had not beene killed, therefore thou hast killed them, and shalt answere for their blood." Which thing being heard, the king hanged him vp straightway, as he very well deserued: yet notwithstanding, I grant that a prince by his power regall and prerogatiue imperial may pardon offenders, but not such as Gods lawes and good conscience doe condemne, as I said before. The power of a prince is comprehended *In Rebus licitis in Deo*, but not *in Rebus illicitis contra Deum*: In things lawfull in God, not in things vnlawfull contrarie to God. No power or principalitie vpon the earth ¹whatsoever may dispense with the lawe of God, but what it setteth downe must stand inuiolable. Therefore if it be asked me wherein a prince may pardon any malefactor, I answer, for the breach or violation of any humane lawe, ordinance, constitution, statute, or sanction, but not against Gods word and lawe in any condition.

[1 Sig. C 6, back]

How a king was shown by his jester that, by pardoning a murderer, he had kild 2 men.

[1 Sig. C 7]

A prince can only pardon breaches of man's law, not God's.

Theod. How is iustice miniftered there, sincerely and truly, so as the poore haue no cause iustly to complaine, or otherwise?

Amphil. If any haue cause to complaine (as alas too many haue) it is for want of due execution of the lawes, not for lacke of good lawes. For, God be praised, there be many good lawes, but indeed now and then through the negligence of the officers they are coldly executed. But if the lawes there in force were without parcialitie duly executed, there shuld be no iust occasion for any to complaine. And truly to speake my conscience there is great parcialitie in the magistrates and officers, nay, great corruption. For if a rich

There's great partiality in English magistrates and officers.

16 II. 1. *Lawyers suck marrow out of poor folks' bones.*

The rich man is
favoured against
the poor.

[¹ Sig. C 7, back]

Judges should go
by justice, not
by bribes.

Lawyers rob
their poor clients
by taking big
fees,

and fees from 3
people when they
can only do one's
work.

The fees for
warrants, &c.
are too high.

[² Sig. C 8]

The marrow's
suckt out of
poor men's bones.
Bailliffs take
bribes to let de-
fendants get
away.

All officials
should act with
a single eye to
God's glory.

man and a poore man chance to haue to doe before them, the matter I warrant you shall quickly be ended, and, my life for yours, shall go vpon the rich mans side, notwithstanding the poore mans right be apparent to all the world. But ¹if two poore men of equall estate go to lawe together, then their sute shall hang three or foure yeeres, peraduenture seuen yeeres, a dozen, yea twentie yeeres, before it be ended, till either the one or both be made beggers. For reformation whereof, I would wish iudges and officers to respect the cause, not the persons, the matter, not the gaine? and not to regard either letter or any thing else, which might be sent them to peruert true iudgement. And iustice being ministred, then to read ouer their commendatorie letters in Gods name, remembring what the wise man saith: 'Gifts blinde the eies of the wise, and peruert iudgement.' The lawiers I would wish to take lesse fees of their clients. For is not this a plaine theft before God, to take ten, twentie, or fortie shillings of one poore man at one time, and so much of a great fort at once, and yet to speake neuer a word for the most part of it? And notwithstanding that they can be present but at one barre at once, yet will they take diuers fees of fundry clients to speake for them at three or foure places in one day. The other officers who grant forth the warrants, the *Subpoenas*, the *Scire facias*, and diuers other writs, and those who keepe the seales of the same, I would wish to take lesse fees also. For is not ²this too vnreasonable, to take a crowne, or ten shillings for writing six or seuen lines, or little more. And then the keeper of the seale, for a little waxe, he must haue as much as the other. And thus they sucke out (as it were) euen the very marrowe out of poore mens bones. The shirifs, bailifs, and other officers also, I would wish, for fees, for bribes, for friendship and rewards, not to returne a *Tarde venit*, or a *Non est inuentus*, when they haue either sent the partie word to auoid couertly, or else, looking through their fingers, see him, & will not see him, forcing herby the poore plaintife to lose not only his great & importable charges in the lawe, but also peraduenture his whole right of that which he sueth for. Thus let euery officer by what kind of name or title soeuer he be called, or in what kind of calling soeuer he be placed, doe all things with single eie, and good conscience, that God may be glorified, the common peace maintained, iustice supported, and their owne consciences dif-

II. 1. *No Subject may take Arms against his Prince.* 17

charged againſt the great daye of the Lorde, when all fleſh ſhall be conuented before the tribunall ſeate of G O D all naked as euer they were borne, to render accounts of all their dooings, whether they bee good or badde, and to receiue a rewarde according to their deeds. ¹By all which it appeareth, that if any for want of iuſtice have cauſe to complaine, it is thorow the corruption of iniquitie, auarice, and ambition of greedy and infaciable cormorants, who, for deſire of gaine, make hauocke of all things, yea, make ſhipwracke of bodies and ſoules to the deuill for euer, vnleſſe they repent.

[¹ Sig. C. 8, back¹

Theod. How farre are princes lawes to be obeied, in all things indifferently without exception?

Princes are to be obeyd in all things not contrary to God's law.

Amphil. In all things not contrarie to the lawe of God and good conſcience, which, if they be againſt God and true godlineſſe, then muſt we ſay with the apoſtles, *Melius eſt deo obedire, quam hominibus*, It is better to obey God than man.

Theod. If the prince than doe ſet foorth a lawe contrarie to the lawe of God, and do conſtraine vs to doe that, that Gods word commandeth vs we ſhall not doe. In this or like caſe, may ſubiects lawfully take armes, and riſe againſt their prince?

Amphil. No, at no hand, vnleſt they will purchaſe to themſelues eternall damnation, and the wrath of God for euer. For it is not lawfull for the ſubiects to riſe up in armes againſt their liege prince for any occaſion what²ſoeuer. For prooſe whereof we read that our ſauour Chriſt was, not onely obedient to the maigiſtrates, and ſuperior powers in all things, but alſo taught his apoſtles, diſciples, and in them all people and nations of the world, the very ſame doctrine. And therefore the apoſtle faith, *Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſuperioribus ſubdita ſit*: Let euery ſoule ſubmit himſelfe to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. And he that reſiſteth this power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God, and purchaſeth to himſelfe eternall damnation. Peter alſo giueth the like charge, that obedience in all godlines be giuen to the ſuperior powers, and that praiers and interceſſions be made for kings and rulers, and giueth the reaſon why, namely, that we may lead *Vitam pacificam*, A peacable life vnder them.

But their ſubiects muſt'n't in any caſe take arms againſt them.

[² Sig. D. 1]

If ſubiects do, they reſiſt God's ordinance.

Theod. Why? How than? If we ſhall not reſiſt them, then we do obey them in any thing either good or bad.

If princes order
things against
God's law,
subjects must
lay down goods
and life, and

[¹ Sig. D. 1, back]

put their necks
on the block,
rather than dis-
obey God.

Amphil. No, not so neither. In all things not contrarie to Gods word we must obey them, on paine of damnation. But in things contrarie to the word and truth of God, we are thus to doe. We must depose and lay foorth ourselues, both bodie, and goods, life, and time, (our ¹ conscience onely excepted, in the true obedience whereof we are to serue our God) euen all that we haue of nature, and committing the same into the hands of the prince, submit our selues, and lay downe our necks vpon the blocke, choosing rather to die than to doe any thing contrarie to the lawe of God and good conscience. And this is that, that the apostles ment when they saide: It is better to obey God than man. Not that obedience to man in all godlineffe is forbid, but that obedience to God is to be preferred before the obedience to man.

Theod. What if the prince be a tyrant, a wicked prince, and an vn godly, is he notwithstanding to be obeied?

Even if the
prince is ungodly,
he's sent by God,

Amphil. Yea, truly in the same order as I haue shewed before. For whether the prince be wicked, or godlye, hee is sent of GOD, because the Apostle saith: There is no power but of GOD. If the prince be a godlye prince, then is hee sent as a great blessing from GOD, and if hee be a tyrant, then is he raised of GOD for a scourge to the people for their sinnes. And therefore whether the prince be the one, or the other, he is to be obeied as before.

and is to be
obeyd.

[² Sig. D. 2]

Theod. And bee kings and rulers to ²bee beloued, and praied for of their subiects.

Every one is to
love his prince as
himself.

Amphil. That is without all doubt. For hee that hateth his prince in his hart, is a contemner of Gods ordinance, a traitour vnto GOD, and to his countrey: yea, hee is to loue his prince as well as himselfe, and better, if better can bee, and to praye for him as for himselfe. For that an infinite number doe rest and depend vppon his Maiestie, which doe not so vppon himselfe. So that the miscarrieng of him, were the destruction (peraduenture) of manye thousands.

Theod. This being so, then hath *Dnalgne* great cause to praye for their prince, by whose woorthye indeour, and wise gouernement, the state of that realme is so peaceably maintained.

May every Eng-
lishman who
won't love and
pray for Queen
Elizabeth, die
straight off!

Amphil. They haue great cause indeede not onely to loue hir Maiestie, but also to praye for hir Grace, and whofoeuer will not doe so, I beseech the LORDE in the bowels of his mercie, to stoppe their

breath, and to take them away quicklſe from the face of the earth. For by hir Highneſſe wiſe gouernement, the realme is in peace, Gods word flouriſheth, and aboumdance ¹ of al things floweth in the ſame, [Sig. D. 2, back] the Lord God be praiſed therefore, and preferue hir noble Grace long to reigne amongſt vs. Amen.

Theod. Let vs proceed a little further: I pray you how is the youth As to Education, of that country brought vp, in learning or otherwiſe?

Amphil. The youth truely is well brought vp, both in good letters, nurture, and maners for the moſt part. For the better performance whereof, they haue excellent good ſchooles, both in cities, townes, and countries, wherein abundance of children are learnedly brought vp. But yet notwithstanding, ſome parents are much to be blamed in the education of their children, for the moſt keepe their ſonnes to ſchoole but for a time, till they can write and read, and well if all that too, and very ſeldome or neuer doe they keepe them ſo long at their bookes, as vntill they attein to any perfect knowledge indeed. So that by this means learning doth, and is like, greatly to decay. And if one aſke them, why they keepe not their children to ſchoole till they prooue learned, they will anſwer, “ Bicauſe I ſee learning and learned men are little eſteemed, and ne thinke the beſt of them can hardly live by the ſame. And therefore I will ſet him to an occupation, which will be alwaies ſure.” As herein they ſay ² true, for I cannot but lament the ſmall preferment now adaies that learning getteth in the world amongſt men, & the ſmal account that is made of the ſame. This is the cauſe why learning doth, and will in time, greatly decay. For who is he, that hauing ſpent all his ſubſtance vpon learning, yea, his bodie, ſtrength, and all, and yet can hardly liue thereby, and maintaine himſelfe withall, that will couet after learning, which is both ſo chargeable, and painfull to be come by?

Theod. Be there not Vniuerſities, colledges, and free ſchooles, where youth may bee brought vp in learning *Gratis* without any charges to their parents? The free Colleges and Schools are abuſed and perverted

Amphil. There are ſuch places indeed. But alas they are abuſed & peruerted, to other ends than was intended by them at the firſt. For whereas thoſe places had great liuings, rents, reuenues & poſſeſſions giuen to them, it was to this onely end and purpoſe, that thoſe poore children whoſe parents were not able otherwiſe to main-

from poor children to rich ones.

[¹ Sig. D. 3, back]

Unless a father can bribe the Master,

his son 'll not get into College or School.

The places are jobd, not given to the needy.

In poor schools, Schoolmasters are so badly paid that pupils snort in palpable ignorance all their days.

[² Sig. D. 4]

Every Schoolmaster should be examined for character and knowledge,

and then pay no fees to teach.

taine them at learning, should be brought vp vpon the charges of the house, and not those whose parents are able to maintaine them of themselves. But now we see the contrarie is true, and whereas they were giuen to maintaine none but the poore only, now ¹ they maintaine none but the rich onely. For except one be able to giue the regent or prouost of the house, a peece of mony, ten pound, twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a hundred pound, a yoke of fatte oxen, or a couple of fine geldings, or the like, though he be neuer so toward a youth, nor haue neuer so much need of maintenance, yet he comes not there, I warant him. If he cannot preuaile this way, Let him get him letters commendatory from some of reputation, and perchance he may speed, in hope of benefite to infue. So that the places in the vniuersities and free schooles, seeme rather to be solde for mony and friendship, than giuen *gratis* to them that haue neede, as they ought to be.

Theod. Are there not many inferior scholes in the country besides, both for the instruction and catechising of youth?

Amphil. There are so, almost in euery parish. But alas, such small pittance is allowed the schoolmaisters, as they can neither buy the libraries, nor which is lesse, hardly maintaine themselves; which thing altogether disuadeth them from their bookes, and is occasion why many a one snorteth in palpable ignorance all daies of their life.

Theod. Would you haue any man without exception, to take vpon him the office of a ² schoolmaister, and to teach the youth?

Amphil. No, at no hand. First I would wish that euery one that is a schoolmaster, how learned or vnlearned soeuer, should be examined, as wel for his religion, and his sufficiencie in knowledge, as also for his integritie of life, & being found sound in them all, to be allowed & admitted to teach. For if euerie one that wold, should take vpon him to teach without further triall, then might there great inconuenience follow. For papists and other schismatices, apostataes, or else whatsoeuer, might thrust in themselves, & so corrupt the youth. Ignorant & vnlearned would take vpon them high learning & so delude their schoolers. And if his life should not be answerable to his profession, then should he peruert his auditories also. Therefore in my iudgement is there great choise to be made of schoolmaisters. Thus they being tried, let them be admitted *gratis*,

II. I. *Schoolmasters, Artisans, & rich Merchants.* 21

by authoritie. But now there is great abuses herein, for being found sufficient in all respects, yet must he be constrained to take a license, whether he will or not, and must pay xxvi. or xx. shillings for it, & yet will this serue him no longer than he tarieth in that dioces, & comming into another he must pay as much there for y^e like license also, whereas peraduenture he shall scarcely get ¹so much cleere in three or foure yeeres in that dioces, they haue such fat pasture. But if they would needes haue them to haue licenses, (which I grant to be very good,) I would wish they might haue them *gratis*, without mony, for if it be lawfull for them to teach for mony, it is also lawfull without. And if they be not woorthie it is pittie that mony should make them woorthie; and againe, if they be woorthie, it is pittie that without mony they cannot be so accepted.

Now he must pay 26s. or 30s. for a license for every diocese he teaches in.

[¹ Sig. D. 4, back.]

Licenses should be given to fit men gratis.

Theod. What way were best to be taken for the good education of youth?

Amphil. It were good (if it might be brought to passe) that in euery parish throughout the Realme, there were an indifferent able man appointed for the instruction of youth in good letters, hauing a reasonable stipend alowed him of the same parish for his paines. But now they teach and take paines for little or nothing, which vtterly discourageth them, and maketh manie a cold schooler in *Dnalgne*, as experience daily teacheth.

Every Parish ought to have its Schoolmaster with a good stipend.

Theod. Be there men of all kinde of trades, occupations, and artes, as there be in other countries.

As to Tradesmen,

Amphil. Yea, truely: there are men of all sciences, trades, mysteries, faculties, occupa²tions, and artes whatsoever, and that as cunning as any be vnder the sunne. Yea, so expert they be, as if they would let a thing alone when it is well, they were the brauest workmen in the world. But as they seeke to excell and surpass all other nations, in finenes of workmanship, so now and than they reape the fruits of their vaine curiosity, to their owne detriment, hinderance, and decay.

English Artisans are as cleuer as any under the sun.

[² Sig. D. 5]

Theod. How liue the marchant men amongst them? are they rich and wealthy, or but poore?

Amphil. How should they be poore, gaining as they do, more then halfe in halfe in euerie thing they buy or sell? And which is more, fometimes they gaine double and triple; if I said quadruple, I lied not.

The Merchants are rich, making from 100 to 400 per cent.

22 II. I. *Merchants export goods wanted at home.*

Theod. I pray you how can that be so?

They buy up the whole stock of an article, hold it till it gets dear, and then sell it at their own price.

Amphil. I will tell you. They haue mony to lay foorth vpon euerie thing, to buy them at the first and best hand, yea, to ingroffe, and to store themselues with abundance of al things. And then will they keepe these marchandize till they waxe verie scarce, (and no maruaile, for they buy vp all things) and so consequently deere. And then will they sell them at their owne prices, or else (being able to beare the mony) they will keepe them still. By this ¹meanes they get the deuill and all; besides these, they haue a hundred flights in their budgets to rake in gaine withall.

[¹ Sig. D. 5, back]

Theod. I pray you, what be those?

Merchants also buy up English goods and export them.

Amphil. They will go into the countries, and buy vp all the wooll, corne, leather, butter, cheefe, bacon, or else what marchandize foeuer they knowe will be vendible, and these they transport ouer seas, whereby they gaine infinit summes of mony.

Theod. That is woonderful that they are so permitted: are there no lawes, nor prohibitions to the contrarie, that no wooll, corne or leather, shoulde be transported ouer seas?

Traitors to God and their country they are, dodging the laws by buying the Queen's license,

Amphil. There are good lawes, and great restraints to the contrary, in so much as they be apparent traitors to God, their prince and country, that carrie any of the foresaid things ouer without speciall licence thereto. Yet notwithstanding, either by hooke or crooke, by night or day, by direct or indirect meanes, either knowne or vnknowne, they wil conueigh them ouer, though their owne country want the fame. But to auoide all dangers, they purchase a licence & a dispensation for mony, bearing the prince in hand that they do it for some good cause, when indeed the cause is their owne ²pruate gaine. And for the speedier obtaining of their desires, they demand license for the cariage ouer but of so much and so much, when in truth they conuey ouer, vnder the colour of this their license, ten times, twenty times, yea, a hundred times, fise hundred times, yea, a thousande times as much more. And thus they delude their prince, impouerish their country, and inrich themselues, feeding, clothing and inriching our enimies with our owne treasure. Hereby it commeth to paffe that all things are deerer, and scarfer, than otherwise they would be if restraynt were had, and I warrant them many a blacke curse haue they of the poore commons for their doing.

[² Sig. D. 6]

and then exporting 500 times as much as they've leave to. They thus make things dear; and

many a black curse do they get from the poor for it!

Theod. Would you not haue licenses granted for the transporting ouer of such things for no cause?

Amphil. Yes. But first I would haue our owne people serued, that they wante not in any case. For it is very vnmeete to feede forren nations, and our owne country famish at home. But if it were so, that *Dnalgne* flowed in abundance and plentie of all things, whatsoeuer are necessarie for the vse and sustentaion of man in this life, and other nations (prouided that they bee our freendes¹ and of christian religion) wanted the same then would I wishe that some of our superfluitie might be erogate to them, to the supplie of their necessities, but not otherwise. And this standeth both with the lawes of God, charitie, and good conscience.

We ought to feed our own folk first.

Then we may export our surplus to friendly lands.

[¹ Sig. D. 6, back,

Theod. These are marueilous sleights to get money withall. But I pray you, haue they no more?

Amphil. They want none, I warrant you; for rather than to faile, they haue their false weights, their counterfet ballances, their adulterate measures, and what not, to deceiue the poore people withall, and to rake in money. But the Wise man telleth them, that false ballances, counterfet weightes, and vntrue measures, are abomination to the Lord. And the Apostle telleth them, that God is the iust reuenger of all those that deceiue their brethren in bargaining. And yet shall you haue them, in the sale of their wares, to sweare, to teare, and protest, that 'before God, before Iesus Christ, as God shall saue my soule, as God shall iudge me, as the Lord liueth, as God receiue me, as God helpe me, by God and by the world, by my faith and troth, by Iesus Christ,' and infinite the like othes, that such a thing cost them so much, & so much, and it is woorth² this much and that much, when in truth they sweare as false, as the liuing Lord is true, as their owne consciences can beare them witnesse, and I feare me will condemne them at the day of the Lord, if they repent not. For if a thinge cost them ten shillings, they will not blush to aske twentie shillings for it. If it cost them twentie shillings, they will not shame to aske forty shillings for it, and so of all others, doubling, tripling, and quadrupling the price thereof, without either feare of God, or regard of good conscience.

Merchants use false weights and measures too.

And they swear by all that's holy that their wares cost so much, and are worth so much, lying loudly.

[² Sig. D. 71

They'll not blush to ask 20s. for what cost 'em 10s. I having no fear of God.

Theod. What say you of the Drapers and cloth sellers? liue they in the same order that the other doe?

And the Drapers
are as bad.

They rack and
stretch their
cloth, so that it
won't keep out
rain.

[1 Sig. D. 7, back]
They have dark
shops, to take
buyers in.

They charge 100
per cent. profit,
and swear the
goods cost em all
the money.

The Clothmakers
are a bad lot
too.

They use bad
wool; get the
Fuller to thicken
it, and the
Clothier to shear
it low; then they
sell it for fine
cloth.

[Sig. D. 8]

They stretch it
too.

Our Goldsmiths

Amphil. Of Drapers I haue little to say, fauing that I thinke them cater cofins, or cofin germans to merchants. For after they haue bought their cloth, they cause it to be tentered, racked, and so drawne out, as it shall be both broader and longer than it was when they bought it almost by halfe in halfe, or at left by a good large fise. Now the cloth being thus stretched forth in euery vaine, how is it possible either to endure or hold out; but when a shower of raine taketh it, then it falleth and shrinketh in, that it is shame to see it. Then haue they their shops and places where they ¹sell their cloth commonly very darke and obscure, of purpose to deceiue the buiers. But *Caueat emptor* (as the old saieng is) Let the buiers take heed. For *Technas machinant, & retia tendant pedibus*, as the saieng is: 'They meane deceit, and lay snares to intrap the feet of the simple.' And yet notwithstanding, they will be sure to make price of their racked cloth, double and triple more than it cost them. And will not flicke to sweare, and take on (as the other their confraters before) that it cost them so much, and that they doe you no wrong. God giue them grace to haue an eie to their consciences, and to content themselues with reasonable gaines.

Theod. I thinke there is great fault to bee found in the first makers of the cloth, for the naughtinesse thereof, as well as in the Drapers, is there not?

Amphil. No doubt of that. For some put in naughty wool, and cause it to be spun & drawne into a very small thred, and then compounding with the Fuller to thicke it very much, and with the Clothier also to sheare it very lowe, and with some liquide matter to lay downe the wooll so close, as you can hardly see any wale, and then selleth it as though it were a very fine cloth indeed. Other some mixe good ²wooll and naughty wooll together, and vsing it as before, they will sell it for principall good cloth, when it is no thing lesse. And then for their further aduantage, euery vaine, euery ioint, and euery thred must be so tentered and racked, as I warrant it for euer being good after. Now, it being thus tentered at his hands, and after at the Drapers handes, I pray you how should this cloth be ought, or endure long?

Theod. Be there Goldsmithes there any store also, as in some other countries there be?

Amphil. There are inow, and more than a good meanie. They are (for the most part) very rich and wealthie, or else they turne the fairest side outwards, as many doe in *Dnalgne*. They haue their shops and stalles fraught and bedecked with chaines, rings, golde, siluer, and what not woonderfull richly. They will make you any monster or antike whatfoeuer, of golde, siluer, or what you will. They haue store of all kinde of plate whatfoeuer. But what? Is there no deceit in all these goodlye shewes? Yes, too many. If you will buy a chaine of golde, a ring, or any kinde of plate, besides that you shall paye almost halfe in halfe more than it is woorth (for they will persuade¹ ²you the workmanship of it comes to so much, the fashion to so much, and I cannot tell what:) you shall also perhaps haue that golde which is naught, or else at least mixt with other droffie rubbishage, and refuse mettall, which in comparison is good for nothing. And sometimes, or for the most part, you shal haue tinne, lead, and the like, mixt with siluer. And againe, in some things some will not sticke to sell you siluer gilt for gold, and well if no worfe too now and then. But this happeneth very seldome, by reason of good orders, and constitutions made for the punishment of them that offend in this kind of deceit, and therefore they seldome dare offend therein, though now and then they chance to stumble in the darke.

Theod. Haue you good wines in *Dnalgne*?

Amphil. Indeede there are excellent wines as any be in the world, yet not made within the Realme, but comming from beyond seas: which when the vintners haue once got into their clouches, and placed in their fellers, I warrant you they make of one hogshead almost two, or at left, one and a halfe, by mixing & blenting one with another, & infusing other liquor into them. So that it is almost vnpossible, to get a cup of pure wine of it selfe at the tauerne. But harthe, rough, stipticke, and hard³ wine, neither pleasant to the mouth, nor wholsome to the bodie. And notwithstanding that they gaine (welneare) one hogshead in another, yet shall their measures, their gallons, pints, and quarts be so spare, and their prices so hie, that it is woonderful to see. And if a poore simple man go to drinke a pint of wine for the strengthening of his bodie, and for necessitties sake onely, he shall be sure to haue that wine brought him, that is too bad, though his monie (I am sure) is as good as the rich mans. But

are very rich, and have shops and stalls loaded with gold and silver ornaments.

[¹ usade orig.]
[² Sig. D 8, back]
Goldsmiths mix gold with base alloy; and some sell silver-gilt for gold.

Vintners mix bad wine with good;

[³ Sig. E 1]

give short measure, and palm off bad wine on poor men.

26 *Butchers' Tricks. Greedy Grasiers' profits.*

if a man of countenance come to drinke for pleasure & nicenesse, he shall haue of the best wine in the feller, though his mony be no beter than the poore mans. With infinite the like abuses, which I omit.

Theod. Haue you anything to say of Butchers, and those that kill and sel meate to eate?

Butchers are impudent enough to try and make 100 per cent profit!

Butchers let the blood soak into their meat.

[¹ Sig. E 1, back]

They puff lean meat up with air, and pin fat on it.

Some 'll also sell meat that has died in a ditch.

[² for for, orig.]

[³ Sig. E 2]

Meat is dear. Greedy grasiers keep up the price of beasts.

Amphil. Nothing but this: that they are not behind in their abuses, fallacies, and deceits. For whereas they pay a certeine price for a fat beefe, they are so impudent that they thinke their market is naught, except they may gaine halfe in halfe, or the best quarter at the least. And to the end their meate may be more saleable to the eie, the fairer, and the fatter, they will kill their beasts, and suffer the blood to remaine within them still, for this cause that ¹it may incorporate it selfe in the flesh, and so thereby the flesh may not onely be the weightier (for in some places they buy all by waight) but also may seeme both fresher, fairer, newer, tenderer, and yonger. And, which is more commonly, they vse to blowe and puffe it vp with winde, to the end it may seeme bigger, fatter, and fairer to the eie. Or if the meate it selfe be leane, and naught, then will they take the fat of other meate, and pin vpon the same very artificially, and all to delude the eies of the beholders. And though it be neuer so old meate, tough, and stale, yet will they sweare, protest, and take on woonderfully, that it is very new, fresh and tender. So that no more in them than in others, there is little conscience at all. There be some of them also now and then that will not sticke to sell meate which hath died (perchance) in a ditch, if it be worth the eating (which is most lamentable), and yet wil beare the world in hand that it is excellent meate, that it died kindly, and so forth. So that hereby infinite diseases are caught, and manie times present death insueth to the eaters thereof.

Theod. Is meate deere or good cheape there for ²the most part?

Amphil. It is commonly deere, feldom good ³cheape, and the reason is, bicause a sort of infaciable cormorants, greedie grasiers I meane, who, hauing raked together infinite pasture, feed all themselves, and will not sell for anie reasonable gaine, and then must the Butchers needes sell deere, when as they buie deere.

11. 1. *Evils of enclosing Commons & making Parks.* 27

Theod. Why? would you haue no grafiers? then how coulede there bee anie meate fatted?

Amphil. Yes I would haue grafiers. But I would not haue a few rich cobs to get into their clowches almost whole countries, so as the poore can haue no releefe by them. For by this meanes pastures and groundes are not onely excessiue deere, but also not to be got of any poore men for monie, whereby it commeth to passe, that the poore are impouerished, and the rich onlie benefited. Yea, so greatly are the poore hereby intrhalled, that they can hardly get a peece of ground to keepe so much as a poore cow or two vpon for the maintenance of themselues, and their poore families. This is a great abuse: for by this meanes rich men eate vp poore men, as beasts eate vp graffe.

A few rich cobs get whole countries into their hands,

and stop poor folk keeping a cow.

Rich men eat up poor ones as beasts do grass.

Theod. Doe the gentlemen and others, take in commons & inclosures (as your words seeme to imple) for their better feeding?

¹*Amphil.* Yea, almost all indifferently. For whereas before was any commons, heathes, moores, plaines, or free places of feeding for the poore and others, euen all in generall, now you shall haue all feuerall, inclosed, and appropriate to a few greedy gentlemen, who will neuer haue inough, till their mouths be full of clay, and their bodie full of grauell. Commons and moores which were woont to be the onely staie of the poore, & whervpon eche might keepe cattle, both neate and sheepe, according to his estate, are now taken from them, wherby manie are constrained either to famish, or else to beg their breade from doore to doore. So that in proces of time, if these inclosures be suffered to continue, the state of the whole Realme will mightily decay, a few shall be enriched, & many a thousand poore people, both men, women, and children, in citie and country, vtterlie beggered. Oh it was a goodlie matter, when the poore man might turne out a cow, or two, & certeine numbers of sheepe to the commons, and haue them kept well vpon the same, both winter & sommer, freely without costing them ought; whereas now they are inclosed, made feuerall, and imploied to the priuate commoditie of a few ambitious gentlemen, so as the poore man cannot keepe so much as a pig or a goose vpon ²the same.

[¹ Sig. E 2, back]

The gentry enclose the poor folk's commons,

and make em starve.

A good time it was when a poor man could keep a cow on the common!

Now he can't keep a goose.

[² Sig. E 3]

Theod. It is great pittie that such oppression of the poore should be borne withall or suffered in any of what degree fouer.

Then vain rich
men pull down
villages to make
parks and
warrens;

and their conies
eat up poor
men's corn.

Parks must not
be made out of
poor men's
livelihoods.

[¹ Sig. E 3, back]

[² read Too]

Commons are
inclosed; and in-
stead of a village
you've only a
shepherd and
a dog.

Some grasiers
keep from 500
to 20,000 (?)
sheep.

[³ Sig. E 4]
They cheat in
selling their
wool, mixing
bad with good:

Amphil. It is so. But what than? You shall haue some that, not for the benefit of graſing and feeding onely, will take in commons, and incloſures, but alſo ſome that for vaine glorie, worldly pompe, promotion & fooliſh pleaſure, will not ſticke to pull downe whole townes, ſubuert whole pariſhes, and turning foorth all a begging, rather than to faile, make them parkes, chaſes, warrants, and I cannot tell what of the ſame. And when they haue thus done, their bucks, their does, their ſtags, harts, hinds, conies and the like, not onely not fead *intra gyrum ſuum*, Within their circuit, but eate vp and deuoure all the poore mens fields, corne, graſſe and all. So that it is hard if any poore maus corne ſcape their fangs within a dozen myles compaſſe, which is a pitifull and a lamentable caſe.

Theod. Would you not haue parkes, and chaſes for game?

Amphil. I diſallow them not. But I would not haue them to be made of the poore mens liuings, nor yet to ſtand to the preiudice of the whole country adioining. Therefore if they ¹ will haue parkes and chaſes, Firſt let them ſee that they be of their owne proper lande, and then that they be no annoiance to the country about, and then let them haue them, in the name of God.

Theod. Be there any graſiers of ſheep there alſo?

Amphil. Two ² manie, if it pleaſed God. For nowe euerie meane gentleman, if he can pretend (though neuer ſo little) title to any common, heath, moore or paſture, he will haue it, *quo iure, quauē iniuria*, Either by hooke or crooke. And wheras before time there hath bin a whole pariſh or towne maintained vpon the ſame, now is there no bodie there dwelling, but a ſheepeheard and a dogge lolling vnder a buſh. Thus are whole pariſhes and townes made praies to rich graſiers. Yea, you ſhall haue ſome graſiers to keepe five hundred, a thouſand, five thouſand, ten thouſand, twentie thouſand ſheepe of his owne at one time: now iudge you what infinite commodities ariſeth hereof. Beſides that, when they ſell their wooll (as though they gayned not inough otherwiſe), it is a worlde to ſee what ſubtilties, (I will not ſaie what falſities), they vſe in the ſale thereof. As firſt to intermixt and blente the good and naughtie wooll ³ together, to winde it vppe clooſelie that it ſhall not be ſeene within. And which is more, becauſe they ſell all by waight, they will not ſticke to vſe finifter meanes to make it peaſe well in waight. Some lay it, after it

II. 1. *Landlords rack Tenants. Incoming Fines.* 29

is clipped from the sheepes backe, in a moyft feller, vnderneath the grounde, to the ende that the moyfture, humiditie and wette of the feller may infill into it, and fo may peafe the more. Otherfome will caft wette falt into it, which in time will liquifie, and caufe it to be the waightier. With manie other the like wicked sleights and leger-dimeanes, whereof, for that I would rather giue them a tafte in hope of amendment, then a plaine defcription for feare of displeafing them, at this time I will omit to fpeake any more till further occafion be offered.

wetting it
putting falt into
it, &c.

Theod. Is the lande there poffeffed in common, or elfe is their propertie in all things, and fo confequently landlords?

Amphil. There is not onelie a propertie in lands there, but alfo in all things elfe, and fo landlords inow more than be good ones iwis.

Landlords

Theod. Doe they let out their lands, their farmes, and tenements, fo as the poore tenants may liue well vpon them?

¹*Amphil.* Oh no. Nothing leffe. But rather the contrarie is moft true. For when a gentleman or other hath a farme or a leafe to let: firft he caufeth a furueior to make ftrict inquirie what may be made of it, and how much it is woorth by yeere; which being found out, and fignified to the owner, he racketh it, ftraineth it, and as it were fo fetteth it on the tenter hookes, fretching euery vaine, and ioint thereof, as no poore man can liue of it. And yet if he might haue it freely for this racked rent too, it were fomewhat well. But (out alas, and fie for fhame) that cannot be. For though he pay neuer fo great an annuall rent, yet muft he pay at his entrance a fine, or (as they call it) an income of ten pound, twenty pound, forty pound, threescore pound, an hundred pound, whereas in truth the purchafe thereof is hardly woorth fo much. So that hereby the poore man, if hee haue scraped any little thing togethèr, is forced to difburfe it at the firft dafh, before he enter the doores of his poore farme, wherein, what through the exceffiue fine, and the vnreafonable rent, he is fcarfe able to buy his dog alofe, liuing like a begger, or little better, all his life after. The time hath beene, and not long fince, when men feared God & loued their brethren, that one might haue had a houfe, with pasture ²lieng to it, yea good farmes, leafes and liuings for little or nothing. Or (as fome hold) for a Gods penie, as they called it. But howfoeuer it be, certeine it is, that that farme or

[¹ Sig. E 4, back]

get their farms
valued, and not
only rack the
rent higher,

but make the
tenant pay a fine
as an Incoming,

so that he's
hardly enough
left to buy his
dog a loaf.

[² Sig. E 5]

30 II. 1. *Landlords should not grind their Tenants.*

Rents have risen
twentyfold of
late years.

leaſe, which one might haue had then for ten ſhillings, is now woorth ten pound. For twentieth ſhillings, now is woorth twentieth or threeſcore pound. For fortieth ſhillings, is now woorth fortieth pound, or a hundred pound and more.

Theod. Then I perceiue, they let not out their land after the old rent : doe they ?

Amphil. No. You may be ſure of that, they loue nothing worſe. They cannot at any hand brooke or digeſt them that would counſel them to that.

Theod. Why ? Haue not landlords authoritie, and may they not make as much of their owne lands as they can ? They count that good policie, and I haue heard them ſay : Is it not lawfull for me to liue vpon mine owne, and to get as much for it as I can ?

Landlords
should think
that they've
only the use of
the land ; and ſo
they ought to
give the poor a
chance of living
by it.
[¹ Sig. E 5, back]

Amphil. They muſt firſt conſider that the earth is the Lords (as the Pfalmograph ſaith : *Domini eſt terra, & plenitudo eius*, The earth is the Lords, and the fulneſſe thereof) and all that dwelleth therein. And therefore being the Lords in propertie, it is theirs but in uſe onely. And yet not ſo. But that they ſ¹ought to lay it forth to the ſupport of the poore, that all may liue iointly together, & maintaine y^e ſtate of the common wealth to Gods glorie. For other wiſe, if a few rich cobs ſhuld haue al, & the poore none, it ſhuld come to paſſe, that the ſtate of the common wealth would ſoone decay, & come to confuſion. They ought alſo to conſider how they came by their lands, whether by right or wrong. If by right, then are they bound by Gods lawe, and good conſcience, to let forth the ſame ſo as the poore may well liue vpon them. But if they poſſeſſe them wrongfully, then ought they to ſurrender their tytle, and giue it to the right heire : but take them with that fault, & cut of their necks : No man ought to poole and pill his brother, nor yet to exact and extort of him more than right and reaſon requireth, being ſure that the ſame meaſure which he meaſureth to others, ſhal be meaſured to him againe. Euery one muſt ſo deale with his owne, ſo let it out, & ſo liue, as others may liue by him, and not himſelf alone, for the earth is comon to al *Adams* children ; & though fortune haue given more abundance to ſome than to other ſome, yet dame nature hath brought forth al alike, & will receiue them againe into hir wombe alike alſo. And therefore ought euerie chriſtian to doe to others, as they would wiſh to

No man ought
to plunder his
fellow-man,

but do to him as
he'd be done by.

II. I. *How Landlords pillage their poor tenants.* 31

be done to : which ¹lawe, if it were obserued well, would cut of all [¹ Sig. E 6] oppreffion whatfoeuer.

Theod. I pray you, how came noble men and gentlemen by their lands at the firft?

Amphil. *Cicero* faith that in the beginning, before the world was impeopled, men comming into huge & waft places inhabitable, either toke to themfelues as much land as they would, or elfe wan it by y^e fword, bought it by purchafe, had it by gift, or elfe receiued it from their forefathers, by lineal difcent, or hereditary poffeffion. Which faing of his muft needes be true, both in the people of the former world & in vs alfo. Then feeing this is fo, ought not euery good chriftian to fet forth his lande, fo as poore men may liue upon it as wel as himfelfe : whofoeuer doth not this, efchewing al kind of exaction, polling, pilling & fhauing of his poore tenants, he is no perfect member of Chrift, nor doth not as he would be done by.

Christian landlords are bound to let their land at moderate rents.

Theod. You talked before of fines, and incomes : what if a poore man be not able to paye them, what then?

Amphil. Then may he go fue y^e goofe, for houfe gets he none, y^e deuill fhall haue it before him, if he will giue him mony enough : no, if y^e fine be not paid (thogh the rent be neuer fo gret) he fhall haue a fig, affone as a houfe. If y^t a poore man haue got neuer fo litle a flock to liue vpon and to ²maintaine his occupation or trade withall, yet fhall he be constrained to fell the fame, yea, peraduenture all the goods and implements he hath, to pay this fine, fo that during y^e whole terme of his life, he fhall hardly recouer the fame againe. And then his leafe being expired, out of doores goes he, for that he is not able to pay as great a fine or greater than before. Thus are many a one, with their wiues, children, and whole families, turned out a beging, and die, not a fewe of them, in extreeme miferie.

[² Sig. E 6, back] Poor men haue to sell all their stock to pay Fines to Landlords;

and at the end of their lease, out they go.

Theod. I thought one might haue had a farme or a leafe for a reasonable rent yeerely, without any fine or income paieng.

Amphil. One would thinke fo. For, paieng as much yeerely, as can be made of the thing it felfe : I wonder what deuill put it into their heads to receiue fuch fines and incomes, to vndoe the poore withall. The deuill himfelfe, I thinke, will not be fo ftraite laced, nor yet fo nigard to his feruants, as they are to their poore tenants. For whereas they will not let out a farme or a leafe for one and twentie yeeres

The Devil himself is not so niggardly as some Landlords.

[¹ Sig. E 7]

Some cheat their tenants out of the first year or two's rent when paid in advance.

Landlords force tenants to renew their Leases at heavy fines,

and make 'em forfeit their Leases too.

[² Sig. E 7, back]

Leases and Conveyances are also terribly long, and contain so many provisos that a poor man can hardly keep 'em all.

without a great fine, the deuill will giue them his whole territorie and kingdome of hell, to their inheritance for euer, and that freely, paieng nothing for the same. And yet notwithstanding all this. There are some landlords, (nay lewdlords) that hauing racked their rents to the vttermoſt, exacted fines, & made all that euer they can of their farmes, will yet proceede further, and as men neuer content with inough, will haue their poore tenants to pay a yeere or two yeeres rent before hande, promiſing them (before they haue it) that they ſhall pay no more rent yeerlie, till the ſame be runne vp. But when they haue it, they pay their yeerely rent notwithstanding, and neuer receiue any reſtitution for the other. And at euerie change forſooth they muſt take newe leaſes, and pay new fines, being borne in hand that their leaſes before are inſufficient, and of no effect. And ſometimes foure or fiue yeres, yea ten, twentie, fortie, or fiftie yeeres before their former leaſe be expired, ſhall they be conſtrained to renew their leaſes, and diſburſe great ſomes, or elſe haue their houſes taken ouer their heads. Befides, as though theſe pollages and pillages were not ill enough, if their leaſes be not warely and circumspectly made (all quirks and quiddities of the lawe obſerued), they will finde ſuch meanes (or elſe it ſhal go verie hard) that the poore man ſhall forfeit his leaſe, before his leaſe be expired: which thing if it happen, out goes the poore man, ²come on it what will.

Theod. Are the inſtruments, the writings, & conueiances in that land ſo intricate, as they are hard to be kept, for ſo I gather by your words?

Amphil. Yea, truly. For whereas in times paſt when men dealt vprightly, and in the feare of God, fixe or ſeuē lines was ſufficient for the aſſurance of any peece of land whatſoeuer, now 40. 60. 100. 200. 500. nay a whole ſkin of parchment, and ſometimes 2. or 3. ſkins will hardly ſerue. Wherin ſhalbe ſo many prouiſoes, particles, & clauſes, & ſo many obſeruances, that it is hard for a poore ignorant man to keep halfe of them: and if he fail in one of the left, you knowe what followeth. In former time a mans bare word was ſufficient, now no inſtrument, band, nor obligation can be ſure inough. Fy vpon vs! what ſhal become of vs? we are they of whom the prophet ſpeaketh, ſaieng: There is no faith, there is no truth nor righteouſneſſe left vpon the earth. God be mercifull vnto vs!

II. 1. *Landlords the cause of Dearness. Tailors.* 33

Theod. Seing that farms and leases are so deere, I am persuaded that euerie thing else is deere also: is it not so?

Amphil. Yea truly it cannot be chosen. And yet it is strange, that in abundance of althings there shuld be dearth of all things, as there is.

Theod. Who is it long of, can you tell?

¹*Amphil.* Truly of the landlords onlie in my simple iudgment: for whenas they inhance the rents, & set their fines on tenter as they do, how should the poore man do? Must he not sell al his things a great deale the dearer? Else how shuld he either saue himselfe, pay his rent, or maintaine his familie: so that these greedy landlords are the very causers of al the derth in *Dnalgne*; for truly they are worse than the caterpillers & locusts of Egypt, for they yet left some thing vndeouored, these nothing; they spoiled but for a time, these for euer: those by commandement from God, these by commission from the diuel.

[1 Sig. E 8]

Landlords are the only cause of high prices.

Landlords are worse than the Locusts of Egypt.

Theod. How, I pray you, doe these iollie fellowes spend these wicked gotten goods?

Amphil. I shame to thinke, & I blush to tell you how. For, for the most part, they spend it in dicing, carding, bowling, tennise plaieng, in rioting, feasting & banketing, in hauking, hunting, & other the like prophane exercises. And not onlie vpon these things do they spend their goods (or rather the goods of the poore) but also in pride their *Summum gaudium*, & vpon their dancing minions, that mince it full gingerlie, God wot, tripping like gotes, that an egge would not brek vnder their feet. But herof enough, & more than perchance wil please their deinty humors.

They spend their ill-gotten gains in rioting, prophanities, and women.

Theod. Do they exceed in pride of apparel, or are they very temperate, & sober minded people?

As to Apparel,

²*Amphil.* They are not onely not inferior to any nation in the world in the excessse of apparell, but are farre woorsfer, if woorsfer can be. For the taylers doe nothing else but inuent new fashions, disguised shapes, and monstrous formes of apparell euery day. Yea truly I thinke they studie more in one day for the inuention of new toies, and strange deuises in apparell, than they doe in seauen yeeres, yea, in all the daies of their life, for the knowledge of Gods word.

[2 Sig. E 8, back]

Tailors inuent new fashions every day,

Theod. Me thinke then by your reasons it seemeth, that Tailors

34 II. I. *Tricks of Tailors. Cheating Drapers.*

and are the
causers of all the
monstrous
English dress.

are the causers of all that monstrous kind of attire worne in *Dnalgne*, and so consequently are guiltie of all the euill committed by the same.

Amphil. You say very truly. For *Mali alicuius author, ipsius mali, & malorum omnium, quae ex inde orientur, reus erit coram Deo*, The author of any euill, is not onely guiltie before God of the euill committed, but also of all the euill which springeth of the same. Therefore I would wish them to beware, and not *Communicare alienis peccatis*, To be partakers of other mens finnes, for be sure they shall finde inough of their owne to answer for. But so far are they from making conscience hereof, that they heape vp sinne vpon sinne.

[Sig. F 1]

Tailors ask
one fourth too
much cloth, and
more lace, for
a coat.

For if a man laske them how much cloth, veluet, or filke wil make a cote, a dublet, a cloke, a gowne, hosen, or the like, they must needs haue so much, as they may gaine the best quarter thereof to themselves. So play they with the lace also: for if tenne yards would serue, they must haue twentie; if twentie would serue, they must haue fortie; if fortie would serue, they must haue sixtie; if sixtie would serue, they must an hundred, and so forward. Besides that, it must be so drawne out, stretched, and pulled in in the fowing, as they get the best quarter of it that way too. Then must there as much go

And they charge
too high for
making it.

for the making, as halfe the garment is woorth. Besides this, they are in league, and in fee, with the Drapers and Clothfellers, that if a man come to them to desire them to helpe them to buy a peece of cloth, and to bring them where good is, they will straightway conduct them to their feer, and whatsoever price hee setteth of the cloth, they persuade the buier it is good, and that it is woorth the money, whereas indeed it is nothing so, nor so. And thus they betwixt them diuide the spoile, and he (the tailor) receiues his wages for his faithfull seruice done. If a man buy a garment of them made, hee shall haue

They're in
league with the
Draper, to cheat
their customers.

[2 Sig. F 1, back]

it very faire to the eie (therfore it is true: *Omne quod gliscit non 2^{est} aurum*, Euerie faire thing is not the best) but either it shall be lined with filthie baggage, and rotten geare, or else stretched & drawne out vpon the tenter, so as if they once come to wetting, they shrinke almost halfe in halfe, so as it is a shame to see them. Therefore I aduise euery one to see to his garments himselfe, and according to the old prouerbe: *Sit oculus ipsi coquus*, Let his eie be his best cooke, for feare lest he be serued of the same sauce, as manie haue benee to their great hinderance.

II. 1. *Great Ruffs worn. Starching-Houses for Ruffs.* 35

Theod. I haue heard it faide that they vse great ruffles in *Dnalgne*: As to Ruffs,
do they continue them still as they were woont to doe, or not?

Amphil. There is no amendement in any thing that I can see,
neither in one thing nor in other, but euery day woorser and woorser,
for they not only continue their great ruffles still, but also vse them men wear bigger
ones than ever,
such as the
Devil himself
'ud be ashamd
to put on.
bigger than euer they did. And whereas before they were too bad,
now they are past al shame & honestie, yea most abhominable and
detestable, and such as the diuell himselfe would be ashamed to weare
the like. And if it be true, as I heare say, they haue their starching
houses made of purpose, to that vse and end only, the better to
trimme and dresse their ruffles to please the diuels eies withall.

Theod. Haue they starching houses of purpose made to starch in?
Now truly that passeth of all that euer I heard. And do they nothing [¹ Sig. F 2]
in those brothell houses (starching houses I shuld say) but onelie starch
bands and ruffles?

Amphil. No, nothing else, for to that end only were they
erected, & therefore now are consecrate to Belzebub and Cerberus,
archdiuels of great ruffles.

Theod. Haue they not also houses to set their ruffles in, to trim and Trimming
Houses too
them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in?

Amphil. Yea, marry haue they, for either the same starching houses
(I had almost said farting houses) do serue the turn, or else they haue
their other chambers and secret closets to the same vse, wherein they for these
Cartwheels of
the Devil's
chariot.
tricke vp these cartwheels of the diuels chariet of pride, leading the
direct way to the dungeon of hell.

Amphil. What tooles and instruments haue they to set their ruffles
withall. For I am perswaded they cannot set them artificially inough
without some kind of tooles?

Amphil. Very true: and doe you thinke that they want any thing
that might set forth their diuelrie to the world? In faith sir, no,
then the diuell were to blame if he should serue his clients so, that
maintaine his kingdome of pride with such diligence as they doe.
And therefore I would you wist it, they haue their tooles and instru-
ments for the purpose.

² *Theod.* Whereof be they made, I pray you, or howe?

Amphil. They be made of yron and Steele, and some of brasse [² Sig. F 2, back]
They've metal
Tools too,
kept as bright as siluer, yea, and some of siluer it selfe; and it is well,

like a Squirt or
Squib,

call'd *Putters*
or *Putting-Sticks*.
Setting-Sticks
they have too,
for their cursed
Ruffs.

if in proceſſe of time they grow not to be gold. The faſhion where-
after they be made, I cannot reſemble to anything ſo well as to a
ſquirt, or a ſquibbe, which little children uſed to ſquirt out water
withall; and when they come to ſtarching, and ſetting of their ruffes
then muſt this inſtrument be heated in the fire, the better to ſtiffen
the ruffe. For you know heate will drie and ſtiffen any thing. And
if you woulde know the name of this goodly toole, forſooth the deuill
hath giuen it to name a putter, or elſe a putting ſticke, as I heare
ſay. They haue alſo another inſtrument called a ſetting ſticke, either
of wood or bone, and ſometimes of gold and ſiluer, made forked wiſe
at both ends, and with this (*Si diis placet*) they ſet their ruffes. But
bicauſe this curſed fruit is not yet grown to his full perfection of
ripenefſe, I will therefore at this time ſay no more of it, vntil I here
more.

Theod. What is the leather in that country? excellent good, and
wel tanned, or but indifferently? I haue heard ſome complaine of it.

[¹ Sig. F 3]

¹*Amphil.* There is of both forts, as of all things elſe; but as there
is ſome naught (I can not denie) ſo is there otherſome as good as any
is vnder the ſunne. And yet I muſt needes confeſſe, there is great
abufe in the tanners, makers, curriers, and dreſſers of the ſame: for
you ſhall haue ſome leather ſcarcely halfe tanned, ſo that within two
or three daies or a week wearing (eſpecially if it come in any weat)
wil ſtraight-way become browne as a hare backe, and which is more,
fleete and run abroad like a diſhelout, and which is moſt of all, will
holde out no water, or very little. And the ſaieng is (*Erubeſco dicere*,
I ſhame to ſpeake it) that to the ende they may ſaue lyme and barke,
and make the ſpeedier returne of their mony, they will take vp their
hides before they bee halfe tanned, and make ſale of them. And as
herein they are faultie and much to be blamed, ſo in the ſurpriſing of
their hides, they are worthie of reprehention. For that which they
buy for ten ſhillings, they will hardly ſell for twentie ſhillings; that
which they buy for twentie ſhillings they will not willingly ſell for
fortie ſhillings. And thus by this meanes, they make ſhooes unrea-
ſonable deere.

Some *Leather*
is only half
tand,

and won't
keep out water.

Theod. Then the fault is not in the ſhoomakers onely, that ſhooes
be ſo deere?

[² Sig. F 3, back]

²*Amphil.* There is fault inough in them alſo. For whereas the

others inhanse the price of their hides exceßiue, theſe felowes racke it very vnconcionably. And yet if the ſhooes were good, though deere, it were ſomwhat tollerable; but when they ſhall be both naught, and yet deere too, it is too bad, and abhominable. Now if you aſke the ſhoomakers in whom the fault doth conſiſt, they will anſwere you ſtrait, in the tanner. But this is certeine, that as there is a horrible fault in the tanner, ſo there is more, or as much in the ſhoemaker. For firſt of all the ſhoemaker liquoreth his leather, with wateriſh liquor, kitthen ſtuffe, and all kinde of baggage mingled together. And as though that were not ill inough, they ſaie they uſe to put ſalt in the liquor, wherewithall they greaſe the leather of purpoſe, to the ende that the leather ſhal neuer hold out water. And truelie it is verie likelie they doe ſo, or ſome ſuch like thing, for ſurelie almoſt none of their leather will holde out water, nor ſcarſelie durt neither. Beſides this, it is a worlde to ſee how lowſely they ſhall be ſowed, with hotte alles, and burning threedes, euerie ſtitch an inch or two from another, ſo as with-in two or three daies you ſhall haue them ſeamerent and all too betorne. And yet as though this were not ¹ill inoughe, they adde more. Sometimes they will ſell you calues leather for cow leather, horſe hides for oxe hides, and truelie I thinke rotten ſheepe ſkins for good ſubſtantial & dureable ſtuffe. And yet ſhall a man pay for theſe as well as for better ſtuffe. And to the ende they may ſeeme gaudie to the eie, they muſt be ſtitched finelie, pincked, cutte, karued, rafed, nickt, and I cannot tell what. And good reaſon, for elſe would they neuer be ſold. The inwarde ſoole of the ſhooe commonlie ſhall be no better than a cattles ſkinne, the heeles of the ſhooes ſhall be little better. And if the ſooles be naught (as they be indeede yet muſt they be vnderlaied with other peeces of leather, to make them ſeeme thicke and excellent ſtuffe, whereas indeede they are nothing leſſe. And to make the ſooles ſtiffe, and harde, they muſt be parched before the fire, and then they are moſt excellent ſooles, And ſuch as will neuer be worne, no, I thinke not in halfe a cooople of daies, which is a woonderfull thing. Oh, farewell former worlde, for I haue hearde my Father ſaie, and I thinke it moſt certeinly true, that a paire of ſhooes in thoſe daies woulde haue kept a man as drie as a feather, though he had gone in water all the daye thorowe, ²yea, all the weeke thorow, to the very laſt day, and would haue

Shoemakers

liquor their leather,

and ſalt it, ſo that it won't keep out water.

They ſow with hot awls and rotten thread

[¹ Sig. F 4]

They ſell you horſe-hide for ox-hide,

and uſe cat-skin for inſide ſoles.

They parch the ſoles too.

Why, in my Father's days, a paire of ſhoes 'ud keep the wet out, and laſt a year.

[² Sig. F 4, back]

38 II. 1. *Of Brokery. Rascally Brokers of clothes, etc.*

Now, they'll
hardly last a
month.

serued a man almost a whole yeere together, with a little repairing. But now fīue or fixe paire, halfe a score, yea, twentie paire of shooes will scarcely serue some a yeere, such excellent stufte are they made of. But let all shooemakers, tanners, and the rest, take heed, for at the day of iudgement they shal render accounts for this their doing. And here-of hitherto.

Theod. Be there any Brokers, or such kind of fellows in your country?

Amphil. If it be a thing that is good, it is a doubt whether it be there, or no, but if it bee naught (as brokerie is) then past peraduenture it is there.

Brokers are

Theod. What maner of fellows are those Brokers, for truly their profession, and the vse thereof, is vnknowne to me, saue onely that I haue heard of some of their dealings?

jolly fellows

[*Sig. F 5*]

who, not being
able to liue by
anything else,

make friends
with thieves,
and buy every-
thing these steal,

Amphil. Seeing that you are ignorant of this goodly mysterie, and high profession of brokerie, and also so desirous to knowe the truth of them, I will in few words (as briefly as I can) declare vnto you the substance thereof. These Brokers are iolly fellows forfooth, and such as in the beginning of their occupation, haue either iust nothing, or else very little¹ at all, who, when they haue attempted, and assaid by all kind of meanes and waies to liue, and cannot by any of them al either any thing thrive, or which is lesse, not so much as maintaine their poore estate withall, though but meanly, then fall they into acquaintance with loose, dissolute, and licentious persons, either men or women, to whom all is fish that comes to net, and who haue limed fingers, liuing vpon pilfering, and stealing, and of these they buy for little or nothing, whatsoever they shal haue filched from any. And thus by this meanes in proceffe of time, they feather their nests well inough, and growe (many of them) to great substance and wealth.

Theod. Will they buy any thing whatsoever commeth to hand?

Amphil. Yea, all things indifferently without any exception. All is good fish with them that comes to net. They will refuse nothing, whatsoever it be, nor whom-soeuer bringeth it, though they be neuer to suspitious, no, although it be as cleere as the day, that it hath benee purloined by sinister meanes from some one or other. And can you
for half its value : blame them For why? They haue it for halfe it is woorth.

II. 1. *Dunghill Brokers bring men to the Gallows.* 39

Amphil. What wares be they (for the most part) which these Brokers doe buy and sell?

¹*Amphil.* I told you they wil refuse nothing. But especially they buy remnants of filks, veluets, fatins, damasks, grograins, taffeties. lase, either of filke, gold, siluer, or any thing else that is worth ought. Otherosome buy cloakes, hosen, dublets, hats, caps, coates, stockings, & the like. And these goodly marchandize, as they haue them good cheape, so they will sel them againe to their no small gaines.

[Sig. F 5, back]
drapers' and
haberdashers'
goods chiefly.

Theod. If this be true, that they will receiue all, and buy al that comes to hand, than it must needes be that this is a great prouocation to many wicked persons, to filch & steale whatsoever they can lay their hands vpon, feing they may haue such good vent for y^e same. Is it not?

Amphil. You say very true. And therefore I am perswaded that this dunghill trade of brokerie newly sprong vp, & coined in the deuils minting house, the shoppe of all mischief, hath made many a theefe more than euer would haue bin, & hath brought many a one to a shamefull end at Tiburne, & else where. Yea, I haue hard prisoners (and not any almost but they sing the same song) when they haue gone to execution, declaime & crie out against brookers. For, said they, 'if brokers had not bin, we had not come to this shamefull death; if they would not haue receiued our stollen goods, we woulde neuer ²haue stollen them; and if we had not stollen them, we had not bin hanged.'

This dunghill
Broker's made
many thieves,
and brought
many a man to
the Gallows.

Theod. Then it seemeth by your reasons, that brokers are in effect accessary to the goods feloniously stolen, & are worthie of the same punishment *that* the others that stole them are worthy of?

Brokers ought
to be hung with
Thieves.

Amphil. They are so, if before they buy them they know precisely that they are stolen, & yet notwithstanding will not onely willingly buy them, but also rather animate, than disanimate them to perseuere in their wickednes, as this their greedy buieng of their wares doth argue *that* they doe. This maketh many a tailor to aske more cloth, more filk, veluet, & lace, than he nedeth, & all to the ende the broker may haue his share; for, be they neuer so litle scraps or shreds or short ends of lace, or smal peces of veluet, fatan, filk or y^e like, the broker will giue mony for them, with a wet finger. This maketh many seruants to pilfer, filch, & purloin from their masters,

Brokers' willing-
ness to buy

makes Tailors
cheat, and

servants pilfer.

Brokers are seed-
beds of villainy.

some a yard or two of veluet, fatin, taffety, lace, filk, & what not, some hats, cots, cloks, & the like, & some one thing, some another: this hindereth the merchant man, is discomodious to y^e tailor, & beneficial vnto none, but to themselues: & therefore, as they be the feminarie of wickednes, so I beseech God, they may be sup-
planted, except they amend, which I hardly looke for at their hands.

[¹ Sig. F 6, back]

¹*Theod.* What woulde you haue them to do, that they may exercise their trade, with good conscience, both before God, and the world?

To deal honestly,
Brokers should
buy only goods
honestly come-
by,

Amphil. I would wish them to doe thus, which, if they would doe, they might vse their trade in the feare of G O D, both with good conscience before the Lord, with honestie before the world, and finally to the lesse detriment of the common wealth. First, let them be sure, that the goods which they buy be truely and iustly come by of the sellers thereof. And to the end, that herein they may not be deceiued, Let them examine the matter strictly, where they had it, whose it is, vpon what occasion they would sel it. And in conclusion not to buy it, vntill they haue gone themselues to the right owners of the goodes, and if they find all things well, that they may with good conscience buy it, let them give reason for it, else not. And if euerie brooker would deale thus, their would not so many false knaues bring them such lauish of stollen goods, as they do, neither should their trade grow, as it doth, into hatred and contempt.

and should
find out the
owners them-
selves.

Theod. You saide before (except I be deceiued) that if they know before they buy any wares, that the same is stollen, if they than buy them, they are accessary to the same goods so ²feloniously stollen, & so are worthie of the same punishment, that the principals are woorthie of. I pray you, what punishment is inflicted vpon accessaries in *Dnalgne*.

[² Sig. F 7]

Amphil. Accessaries are punishable by the lawes of *Dnalgne* with the same punishment that the principals are to be punished withall (for so the lawe standeth); but in the execution thereof, we see the cleane contrarie practised. For when as a theefe, or a fellow stealeth any thing, hee bringeth it to his receiuer, who, though he knowe it to be stollen, yet with alacritie admitteth it into his custodie, and reteineth it, hereby making himselfe accessorie, and guiltie of the felonie committed. And yet notwithstanding when execution is to be done for the same, the principall is (peradventure) hanged vp, the other that

Brokers get out
of the claws of
Justice.

is the accessorie is not once spoken of, nor none can saie 'blacke is his eie.' But howsoever it be, I cannot be otherwise perswaded, but that the receiuers and accessories are a great deale more woorthie of death (by the penall lawes) than he who stealeth the thing it selfe, whatsoever it be. Bicause if they had [not] any to receiue their stolen goods, they would not steale at all. And therefore are the receiuers (in my simple opinion) rather the authors, and the principals (especially if they know before they receiue it, that it is stolen) then they that commit the fact, and being the authors of the euill committed, they are to be punished rather than the perpetrators of the fact it selfe. But for want of due punishment to be executed as well vppon the one as vppon the other, we see greuous crimes, and flagitious facts without all remorse, or feare of God, daily committed. Good lawes there are, both for the repressing of these, and al other enormities whatsoever, but the want of the due execution thereof, is the cause why all wickednes and mischiefe dooth reigne and rage euerie where as it doth: God amend it, if it be his good pleasure! And thus much briefly of the noble science of brokerie.

Theod. What hospitalitie is there kept, or reliefe for the poore?

Amphil. Very smal. For as for the poore tenants and-commons, they are not able to maintaine any hospitalitie, or to giue any thing to the poore, their rents are so raised, & their fines so inhanfed, and yet notwithstanding they minister (I am perswaded) more releefe to the poore than the rich & wealthie doe: more poore are fed at their doores than at the rich: more clothed at their hands than at the rich, & more lodged and harboured in their poore houses, than in the²rich. But yet can I not denie but that the gentlemen, & others, keepe sumptuous houses, lusty ports, and great hospitalitie, but so as the pore hath the left part thereof, or rather iust nothing at all. If the poore come to their houses, their gates be shut against them, where they, standing³ frost and snow, haile, wind or raine whatsoever, are forced to tary two houres, 3. 4. yea sometimes halfe a day, and then shal they haue but the refuse, and the very scraps neither. And well if they haue anything too; in steed whereof they are sometimes sent to prison, clapt in irons, maniced, stocked, and what not. This is the almes that most men giue.

³ ?=suffering, putting up with; or is 'in' left out?

But Receivers deserve hanging more than the Thieves they tempt.

[Sig. F 7, back]

Against these, and like evils, we have good Lawes, but they're not put in force.

As to Hospitality, the poor can't afford it,

tho in fact they help other poor more than the rich do.

[² Sig. F 8]

Gentlemen keep grand houses, but make poor folk stand for hours in the cold for a few scraps.

Theod. Then it seemeth that the poore are simplie prouided for?

Of Beggers

Amphil. They are so indeed, God amend it. And yet I am not so full of foolish pittie that I would haue all kind of beggers indifferently without any exception to be fed and nourished vpon the sweat of other mens browes.

Theod. Doe you make a difference of beggers then? Are there two sorts of them?

we have two
kinds, the Strong,
who won't work;

[¹ Sig. F 8, back]

Drones, who
ought to be put
in prison till
they *do* work ;)

and the old,
sick, and
diseased.

Amphil. Yea, there are two sorts. One sort is of stout, strong, lustie, couragious, and valiant beggers, which are able to worke, and will not. These at no hand are not to be relieued (for *qui non operatur non manducet*, ¹faith the apostle, He that will not worke, let him not eat) but are to be compelled to worke, and not to liue vpon other mens labours. For he that releueth these, maintaineth them in their idleness, and taketh awaie the childrens bred, and giueth it to dogs. These are as drone bees, that liue vpon the spoile of the poore bees that labour and toile to get their liuing with the sweat of their faces. If such fellowes as these will not worke, but liue vpon begging, let them be punished and imprisoned till they be content to worke. The other sort of beggers are they that be old, aged, impotent, decrepite or lame, sicke, fore, or diseased: these I would wish should be looked vnto: and these are they that euerie Christian man is bound in conscience to releue.

Theod. What order would you haue obserued in these respects?

The Sturdy
Beggers who
can work, and
won't,

I'd just hang.

[² Sig. G 1]

The aged and
sick ones I'd
have kept in
their own
parish, and
rate richer
parishes for em.

Amphil. The former sort of sturdie valiant beggers, which are able to worke and will not, I would wish them to be compelled to worke, or else not to haue any releefe giuen them. And if they would not work, to punish them; if that will not serue, to hang them vp. But herein I would wish a prouiso, that being content to worke, they might haue maisters prouided them, with reasonable wages, for many would faine ²worke, and can get none; and than if they will not worke, to Tiburne with them. The other sort of beggers, which are either halt, lame, impotent, decrepite, blind, sicke, fore, infirme and diseased, or aged and the like, I woulde wish that they should be maintained, euerie one in his owne parish, at the costs and charges of the same. And if the parish be not able to maintain so manie, then that there should be collections & contributions made in other parishes to supplie their want, and so the former poore people

to be maintained therevpon. For wante of which godlie order and constitution, there are infinite of the foresaid persons that die, some in ditches, some in holes, some in caues and dens, some in fields, some in one place, some in another, rather like dogs than christian people. For notwithstanding that they be neuer so impotent, blind, lame, sick, old, or aged, yet are they forced to walke the countries from place to place to seeke their releefe at euery mans doore, except they wil sterue or famish at home, such unmercifulnes is in *Dnalgne*. Yea, in such troupes doe they flocke, and in such swarmes doe they flow, that you can lightlie go no way, but you shall see numbers of them at euerie doore, in euerie lane, and in euerie poore caue; and as though this were not extremity inough ¹they driue them from citie to citie, from parish to parish, from towne to towne, from hundred to hundred, from shire to shire, and from country to country, like flocks of sheepe. Here they dare not tarrie for this Iustice, nor there for that Iustice, here for this man, nor there for that man, without a licence or a pasport, wheras a man woulde thinke their old age, their hoare haire, their blindnesse, lamenesse, and other infirmities, shoulde bee pasports good inough for them to go abroad withal, if they cannot get releefe at home. But if the former order, that euery parish should maintaine their poore, were taken, then should they neither need to go abroad, nor otherwise want their daily releefe.

Theod. Are there no hospitals, spittles, lazar houses, almes houses, nor the like, for the releefe of these poore people?

Amphil. Yes there are some such in cities, townes, and some other places, wherein manie poore are releued, but not the hundred part of those that want. For the supplie wherof would God there might be in euerie parish an almes house erected, that the poore (such as are poore indeede) might be maintained, helped and relieued. For vntill the true poore indeed be better provided for, let them neuer thinke to please God. Is it not great pity when a man can passe ²no waie almost neither citie nor country, but shall haue both halt, blind, lame, old, aged, sicke, sore, & diseased, hanging vpon his sleue, and crauing of releefe? Whereas, if the former order were established, then should none at al need to go abroad, but al shuld haue sufficient at home. The reformed churches beyond seas, and euen the French, Duch, & Italian churches in *Dnalgne* are worthie of great com-

Now, many die in the fields like dogs.

They get no relief except by wandering about and begging.

You see poor aged and sick Beggars at every door; and they're driven from town to town like flocks of sheep.

[¹ Sig. G x, back]

Not a hundredth part can be relieved in our Hospitals.

We want an Almshouse in every Parish,

[² Sig. G z]

and then the poor 'ud get enough at home.

44 II. I. *Our Husbandmen are skilful, but rack-rented.*

The Reformed Churches abroad and the forin ones here, set us a good example in this.

mendations herin, & shal rise vp at the day of iudgment to our condemnation except we repent & amend our vnmercifulneſſe towards the poore. Theſe good churches, ſolowing the counſel of the almighty who biddeth that there be no begger amongſt vs, ſuffer neuer a one of their countrymen, nor yet any other dwelling in their pariſh, to beg or aſke almes without his pariſh, nor yet in his pariſh neither; but by mutual contributions and collections maintaine them, & miniſter to their neceſſities in all things, Which thing G O D grant the churches of *Dnalgne* may once begin to practiſe amongſt themſelues, that God may be glorified, and the poore members of Chriſt Ieſus releued and maintained.

Our Husbandmen, or Farmers, are as ſkilful as any in the world.

Theod. Be there huſbandmen there & ſuch others as manure and till the ground, for the further increaſe of fruits, to the maintenance of the commonwealth?

[¹ Sig. G 2, back]

¹ *Amphil.* There are of ſuch indeed good ſtore, and as excellent men in that kinde of exerciſe, as any be vpon the earth. They know exactly, I warrant you, the times and ſeaſons of the yeere, when euerie kinde of graine is to be ſowed, and what ground is beſt for euerie kinde of corne. They are not ignorant alſo, howe to culture & dreſſe the ſame; and if it be barren, what kind of dung is beſt to fatten the ſame againe. They know the nature, the propertie, and qualitie of euerie foile, and what corne it will bring. They know alſo when the ground is to be tilled, when not, how long it will bring forth good corne, how long not, when it ought to reſt, when not, with all things elſe incident to the ſame.

Theod. I thinke they haue good farmes and tenements, that are able to furniſh their ground in this ſort, for otherwiſe they were not able to keepe their oxen, their horſes, their ſeruants, and other neceſſaries, belonging thereto: haue they not ſo?

But many haue very poor farms,

Amphil. No truly haue they not. For ſome haue ſuch fatte farmes, and tenements, as either will bring forth no corne at all (in a manner) or if it doe, verie little, and that not without great coſt beſtowed vpon it. Otherſome haue houſes with no lande belonging to ²them at all, and yet notwithstanding ſhall pay a good round ſome for the ſame alſo. And no marueile, for landlords and gentlemen take all the lands and lyuelode wherevpon there poore tenants ſhoulde liue, into their owne hands, and ſuffer not the poore huſband-

and others only houses with no land.
[² Sig. G 3]

men to haue so much ground as will finde them corne for the maintenance of their poore families, nor which is more, scarcely to keepe one cow, horse, or sheepe vpon, for their continuall releefe. Or if they haue any, they shall pay tenne times so much as it is worth, to their vtter vndooing for euer. But if landlords would consider that the earth is the Lords, and all that is therein, and that it is theirs, but onely in title, interest and propertie (hauing their souereigntie, or chieftie thereof) and the poores in vse and possession, and if they would remember that the poore ought to liue vpon the earth as well as they, than would they not vse such tirannie, such exactions, such pooling, and pilling, and the like, as they doe without all compassion.

or hardly enough
to keep a cow on

Landlords are
so grasping.

Theod. There being such store of husbandmen, and the same so expert in their agriculture as your words import they be, it must needs follow, that there is great plentie of corne, and all kinde of other graine, and the same verie good cheape : is it not so ?

We've lots of
Corn,

¹*Amphil.* There is great store of corne, and all kind of graine, no nation vnder the sunne like vnto it ; but as I told you before, thorowe the insatiable greedines of a few couetous cormorants, who for their owne priuate commoditie, transport ouer seas whole mountaines of corne, it is made sometimes very scarce. Other-wise there would be gret store at al times. And whereas you say it is good cheape, it is nothing lesse², as euerie daies successe proueth true.

[² Sig. G 3, back]

but the
export of it
often makes it
scarce.

Theod. How can that be, that there being such store of corne, yet should be deare also.

Its dearness
comes from

Amphil. I will tell you. It commeth to passe three manner of waies. Firft, for that landlords racke their rents so extreemely, and aduance their fines so vnreasonably, that the poore man is forced to sell euerie thing deere, otherwise he should not be able to pay his landlord his due, whereas if he had his fearme good cheape, he might afforde to sell good cheape. The second cause is (as I haue said), for that the same is carried and conueighed ouer Seas. The third cause is, thorow a sorte of ingraters, or forestallers, who intercept euerie thing before it come at the market, or else being come to the market, and hauing mo³ney at will, buy vp either all, or the most part, and carieng it into their celles, and garners at home, keepe it till time of the yeere that corne is scarce, and so consequentlie deere.

1. Rack-rents,

2. Export over
seas,

3. Ingraters or
Forestallers
buying it up,
[³ Sig. G. 4]
and keeping it
till it gets
scarce and deare.

² It's any thing but that. It's dear.

These hellish
Ingraters make
everything dear.

And when there is want of it, then they sell it deere, and when there is plentye, then they make it deerer by buying it vppe in whole heapes as they doe. Thus you see, by this meanes, these hellithe ingratours, and foreftallers make corne and all thinges else deere, all times of the yeere. Nowe iudge you what a horrible abuse is this, for one man to buy vppe all things, and that not for anie neede or want in himselfe, but to sell it againe, deerer then they bought it, thereby to inriche himselfe with the impouerishing of many a thousande.

Theod. Is there not punishment for this horrible abuse, for me thinke great inconueniences doe followe it?

We have laws
against Fore-
stallers, but
they invent put-
offs to dodge
the Law.

[¹ Sig. G 4, back]

They buy only
for their fami-
lies; they grow
all their corn;

they get a man
to buy for
em, &c.

But these jolly
fellows

can't take-in
God. He'll ex-
pose em.
[² Sig. G 5]

Husbandmen,

Amphil. There be great penalties, and forfeitures ordained, as well for the repressing of this, as of any other outrageous abuse; but they play with this as with all other good lawes, they inuente quirrkes and quiddities, shiftes, and put offes ynough ¹ to blinde the eies of the magistrates, and to deliuer themselues (trimly, trimly) from the danger and penaltie of the lawe. For they will say that they buy but for the necessarie prouision of their owne families, and not to sell againe. And then when they doe sell it againe, they will beare you in hande it was of their owne tillage. Or if this way will not serue the turne, then procure they another man to buy it with their owne mony vnder his owne name, and so to sell it againe when hee seeth tyme; but who hath the commoditie, iudge you. But if all these waies faile, then buie they it couertly, and sell it againe as couertly; and thus they buy and sell their owne soules for corruptible monie, which in the last day shall beare witnesse against them, and consume them: yea, as Saint Iames saith: The monie which they have vniustlie got with the polling and pilling of the poore, shall rise vp in iudgement against them, and the rust thereof shall eate and deuoure their flesh as it were a canker. But let these iollie felowes (as subtil and as politike as they would seeme to be) take heed vnto themselues, and beware: for though they can blinde mens eies, and deceiue their iudgements, yet let them be sure that they can not deceiue the iudgement of the Lord, but he ² that made the eies shall surely see, and he who knoweth the secrets of all harts, shall one day declare the same to their perpetuall confusion, except they repent.

Theod. What be these husbandmen? honest, plaine dealing and

II. I. *Our Husbandmen can teach the Fox to cheat.* 47

simple persons, and such as in whom there is no abuse; or else fraudulent, deceitfull and craftie persons?

Amphil. They are for the most part verie simple and plaine men in outward appeerance, yea, such as if you sawe them, and heard them talke, you would thinke they had no gall, or that there were nothing in them in the world. But if you looke into their dailie exercises, practises, and deeds, you shall find them as craftie and subtil in their kind, as the deuill is in his, if it be possible. For the simplest of them all, if he make a bargaine with another, he wil be sure to make it so as he himselfe may gaine by it. And it is well, too, if the other though neuer so wise, circumspect, or prouident, be not vtterly deceiued (or to speake in plainer termes, cosoned at their hands), such subtiltie, such policie, and such craftie conueiance, they practise vnder the garment of simplicitie. Yea truly, it is growne to be almost their profession to deceiue, defraud, and beguile their brethren, insomuch as they count him a wise man, a worldly ¹ fellow, and such a one as will liue in the world, that can not deceiue, and beguile men in bargaining. This is their ² *Columbina simplicitas*, (Nay rather, *Vulpina, et serpentina astutia*) which Christ would haue al his children to practise in all things, all daies of their life. But so farre from this christian simplicitie are many, that their whole life (almost) is nothing else, than a continuall practise of fraud, and deceit, as for example: You shall haue some that, sending corne to the market to be sould, they will put good corne in the top or mouth of the bag, to seeme faire to the eie, and in the bottome of the sacke, very good also (that when it is powred forth of the same, it may yet seeme exceeding good still,) but in the middest shall be neuer a good corne, but such as is mustie, sprouted, and naught. Whereof can be made neither good bread nor drinke, for mans bodie. I haue knowne otherfome, that hauing a barren cow, and being desirous to put hir away, haue taken a calfe from another melch cowe, and so solde the former barren cowe with hir adulterate calfe, for a melche cowe, whereas there was nothing lesse.³ With infinite the lyke sleights, which for breuities sake I omit.

Theod. I perceiue then it is good for a man to be warie, that deales with these simple ⁴fooles?

tho they look so simple,

are as crafty as the Devil himself.

It's almost their business to cheat

[¹ Sig. G 5, back]

Nearly their whole life is a fraud.

They'll put musty corn in the middle of a sack.

They'll sell a barren cow with another cow's calf as if it were hers.

[⁴ Sig. G 6]

² *Orig.* there.

³ Anything but that. See p. 45; p. 54, l. 2.

48 II. 1. *Sellers to be honest & tell Faults in Goods.*

The Fox may go
to school to em.

They tell lies
about the animals
they want to sell.

Every seller
ought to tell the
buyer the faults
of the things he
sells.

[¹ Sig. G 6, back]

We should do to
others as we
wish they'd do
to us.

But we can't live
without husband-
men;

[² Sig. G 7]

Amphil. It were good so indeede, else he may chaunce to cough himselfe a dawfe for his labour. For I tell you, the foxe, for all his craft, may go to schoole to these felowes, to learne the rudiments of deceit and craft. Such skilfull Doctors are they herein. If they sell you a cow, an oxe, a horse, or a mare, they will set the price on him, I warrant you, and with-all will protest and take on woonderfullie, that hee is but this olde, and that olde, this yoongue, and that yoongue. And which is woorst of all, though they knowe a hundred faultes by them, yet will they not reueale anye vnto him that buyeth the same, which is a playne, and a mainfest deceite before the LORDE, and one daye shall be answered for, I dare be their warrant.

Theod. Would you haue euerie man to declare to the buyers the faultes and imperfections, which they knowe to be in those things they sell? then should he sell but a little.

Amphil. Every true christian ought to do so, or else, besides that he doth not to others, as he would wish to be done to (for this is the chaine wherwith euery christian is bound to another,) he also breketh the cords of charity, & commiteth ¹ most horrible cofonage, and wilful presumptuous deceit before God, which is a fault punishable in the iustice of God, with eternall death, in the lake that burneth with fire and brymestone for euer. And seing we ought to doe to others as we would wish to be done vnto vs, let the deceiuer aske of himselfe when he goeth about to deceiue, these questions: Would I be coofoned? Would I be vndone and spoiled? Would I count him an honest man, or a good christian, that would supplant me in bargaining? Oh no. No more ought I to doe to others, that which I would not should be done to my selfe. Besides this, consider that the apostle saith, The Lord is the reuenger of all such as deceiue their brethren in bargaining. If they would fall into this or the like confideration, I doubt not, but fraude, deceit, lieng, diffimulation, coofonage, and guile, would be abandoned and put to flight in shorte time; which God grant.

Theod. Well, notwithstanding, I cannot see how we could liue without husbandmen anie maner of waie, could we?

Amphil. No truly. Neither king, prince, earle, duke, lord, knight, esquire, high nor low, rich nor poore, nor yet any potentate, power or principalitie vpon the earth (how great a monarch soeuer)

II. I. *Chandlers' tricks, and their bad Candles.* 49

could liue or continue without the vse of husbandrie and husbandmen. And therefore they are not only to be beloued of vs, but also to be preferred and to be made much of amongst vs, without whose industrie and labour no man could liue long vpon the face of the earth. For this cause we read the vse of husbandry to be commended vnto vs in fundry places of holy scripture; and which is more, the kingdome of heauen many times to be compared and assimiled to the husbandman for diuers purposes and respects. And when Adam our first parent was expulsed paradise, he was by God himselfe inioined to manure, to dresse and till the ground; whereby we may see both the antiquitie, auncientie, and excellencie of husbandrie, euen from the verie beginning of all things. And therefore doubtles is it to be had in reuerence and estimation of all men. But hereof enough.

their labour is
needful for our
life.

Adam was bid-
den by God to
till the ground.

Theod. Be there any Chandlers there as in other places?

Chandlers

Amphil. Yea, that there are inow, I warrant you, and more than deale iustly in euerie respect.

Theod. What do they sell for the most part?

Amphil. Almost all things, as namelie butter, cheefe, fagots, pots, pannes, candles, and a thousand other trinkets besides.

sell cheese, pots,
pans, and other
trinkets.
[^t Sig. G 7, back

Theod. What be the abuses which they commit, I pray you?

Amphil. Abuses, quoth you? They dare not commit anie, I trowe. But seeing you would to faine knowe, I will giue you an inkling of them. First they buy that butter, cheefe, and other things, which is naught, bicause they may haue it for a little monie, and then sell it for verie good: this, manie a poore prentise and other can tell to be true. Or if they buy that which is good, then they either sell it wonderfull deere, or else keepe it till it be past the best, and yet vtter it for as much and more than it cost them. Besides this, that they keepe their butter & cheefe till it be mustie and mould, yea, till it smell that no man can eate it, they haue also their false weights & counterfet measures to deceiue the poore people withall. And notwithstanding that they buy sometimes 2. or 3. fagots for a penie, yet wil they not sel one, be it neuer so litle, vnder a penie, gaining aboue the one halfe in the other. And as for the stuffe whereof they make their candles, I am ashamed to speake of it. For whereas they should make them of good liquor and sweet, they make them of all kind of kitchen stuffe, & other stinking baggage, so that they shal waste &

They buy bad
goods cheap, and
sell em dear.

They haue
false weights and
measures.

They make their
cand'es of stink-
ing baggage,

50 II. 1. *Stubbes in the Barber's Shop, being trimd.*

[¹ Sig. G 8]

and their wicks
of rope-ends.

consume ¹away like vnto ware against the fire, and yet shall neuer burne cleere, nor giue good light, but run ouer, and about the candle-sticke too shamefully. And as for the wikes within them, they are of hurds, rope ends, & such other good stuffe. Besides all this, they haue sleights to make the liquor of the candles alwaies to remaine soft, to the end it may waste & consume the faster, with legions of the like diuises, God be mercifull vnto vs!

Barbers :

Theod. What say you of the barbers and trimmers of men? are they so neate, and so fine fellowes as they are said to be?

There are no
finer fellows
under the sun!

Amphil. There are no finer fellowes vnder the sunne, nor exparter in their noble science of barbing than they be. And therefore in the fulnes of their ouerflowing knowledge (oh ingenious heads, and worthie to be dignified with the diademe of follie and vain curiositie) they haue inuented such strange fashions and monstrous maners of cuttings, trimmings, shauings and washings, that you would wonder to see. They haue one maner of cut called the French cut, another the Spanish cut, one the Dutch cut, another the Italian, one the newe cut, another the old, one of the brauado fashion, another of the meane fashion. One a gentlemans cut, another the common

Our Barbers
have all kinds of
cuts of beards.

[² Sig. G 8, back]

cut, one ²cut of the court, an other of the country, with infinite the like vanities, which I ouerpasse. They haue also other kinds of cuts innumerable; and therefore when you come to be trimmed, they will aske you whether you will be cut to looke terrible to your enimie, or amiable to your freend, grime & sterne in countenance, or pleasant & demure (for they haue diuers kinds of cuts for all these purposes, or else they lie.) Then, when they haue done al their feats, it is a

They ask you
whether you'll
be trimd to look
fierce or pleasant.

Your Mous-
tachios are
twisted up like
horns; the scis-
sors go snip snap,

world to confider, how their mowchatowes must be preferued and laid out, from one cheke to another, yea, almost from one eare to another, and turned vp like two hornes towards the forehead. Besides that, when they come to the cutting of the haire, what snipping & snapping of the cycers is there, what tricking & toying, and al to tawe out mony, you may be sure. And when they come to washing, oh how gingerly they behaue themselues therein. For then shall your mouth be bossed with the lather, or some that riseth of the balles (for they haue their sweete balles wherewith-all they vse to washe); your eyes closed must be anointed therewith also. Then snap go the fingers, ful brauely, god wot. Thus this tragedy ended, ³ comes me

your face is
washt with sweet
balls;

snap go the
fingers;

[³ Sig. H 1]

warne clothes, to wipe and dry him withall; next, the eares must be picked, and closed together againe artificially forfooth. The haire of the nostrils cut away, and euery thing done in order comely to behold.

warm cloths are brought, your nostril-hairs cut,

The last action in this tragedie is the paiment of monie. And leaft these cunning barbers might seeme vnconscionable in asking much for their paines, they are of such a shamefast modestie, as they will aske nothing at all, but standing to the curtesie and liberalitie of the giuer, they will receiue all that comes, how much soeuer it be, not giuing anie againe, I warrant you: for take a barber with that fault, and strike off his head. No, no, such fellowes are *Raræ aues in terris, nigrisque similimi cygnis*, Rare birds vpon the earth, and as geafon as blacke swans. You shall haue also your orient perfumes for your nose, your fragrant waters for your face, wherewith you shall bee all to besprinkled: your musicke againe, and pleafant harmonie, shall found in your eares, and all to tickle the same with vaine delight. And in the end your cloke shall be brushed, and 'God be with you Gentleman!'

and then you're to pay 'What you please, Sir.'

You haue fragrant waters, and music;

your cloak brushed, and good-bye!

Theod. All these curious conceits, in my iudgement are rather done for to allure and prouoke the minds of men to be bountifull and 'liberall towards them, than for any good else, which they bring either to the bodie or health of man?

[¹ Sig. H r, back]

Amphil. True it is that you say, and therefore you must needs think they are maisters of their science that can inuent al these knacks to get money withall. But yet I must needs say (these nifties set apart), barbers are verie necessarrie, for otherwise men should grow verie ougglifom and deformed, and their haire would in proesse of time ouergrowe their faces, rather like monsters, than comlie sober christians. And if it be said that any man may cut off the haire one of another, I answer, they may so, but yet not in such comelie and decent maner as these barbers exercised therein can doe, and besides, they knowe that a decorum in euerie thing is to be obserued. And therefore I cannot but maruell at the beastlinesse of some ruffians (for they are no sober christians) that will haue their haire to growe ouer their faces like monsters, and sauage people, nay rather like mad men than otherwise, hanging downe ouer their shoulders, as womens haire doth: which indeed is an ornament to them, being giuen them as a signe of subiection, but in man it is a shame and reproch, as

Barbers are necessary.

Without em men wd look like monsters.

I wonder at the beastliness of some ruffians letting their hair grow so long.

52 II. 1. *Surgeons and Physicians look only to money.*

the Apostle proueth. And thus much of barbers and their
science.

[¹ Sig. H 2]

Theod. Haue you surgeans, and phyicians there, as in other places, and are they skilfull and expert in their mysterie; and not onelie skilfull, but also conscionable in their dealings, as well toward the poore as toward the rich?

Surgeons and Physicians

Amphil. There are both surgeans and phyicians, good store. And as they be manie, so are they verie vnconscionable in their dooinges, for, as for both the one and the other, so farre from godlinesse and good conscience in all things are they, as if a poore man that hath not monie to giue them at their pleasure, stande in need of their helpe, they will either not come at him, or if they doe, they will so handle him, as it were better for him to be hanged, than to sustaine the paines that they will put him to. But for the most part, neither of them both will come at him, but rather contemne him, and reiect him as a thing of naught, yea, as much will they doe for the diuell himselfe, as for a poore man, if hee haue not money. And againe, as long as moneye runneth, they will applye gentle and easie potions, medicines, and salues, bearing their patient in hand, that he shall recouer without ²all doubt, with what disease, maladie, or sore soeuer he be infected, wheras in truth they can do nothing lesse. But *Deficiente pecunia*, Monie wanting, they applie bitter potions, nipping medicines, gnawing corrosiues, and pinching plaistures to greeue their patient withal, therby to straine out what liquor of life (that is, what monie or goods) they are able to giue. And thus they abuse their gifts, to the dishonor of God, the hurt of their felow brethren, and their owne damnation, except they repent.

'll only work for money.

Doctors 'll do

nothing for a poor man without money.

[² Sig. H 2, back]

As soon as that fails, they give you the nastiest stuff they can.

Theod. Are surgeans and phisitions then necessarie in a common wealth, as you seeme to inferre?

Amphil. *Salomon* saith the Phisition (by the which worde he vnderstandeth both the phisition and the surgean, bicause the one is coosin germaine to the other) is to be honored for necessitie. And if for necessitie, then must it needes follow, that the same is most necessarie in a common wealth. But as the good, learned, and discreet phisitions and surgeans, are necessarie, and may doe much good, so the vnlearned, and naughtie (as the world is to full of them) may and doe much hurt dailie, as experience teacheth.

We've many ill-taught doctors.

II. 1. *Every Ignoramus is allowd to practise Physic.* 53

Theod. You say truth. But are all indifferently suffered to practise the same noble mil'iteries of phisicke and surgerie, without any choyse or exception at all? [Sig. H 3]

Amphil. There is to great libertie permitted herein. For now a daies euerie man, tagge, and ragge, of what insufficiencie soeuer, is suffered to exercise the misterie of phisick, and surgerie, and to minister both the one, and the other, to the diseased, and infirmed persons; but to their woe, you may be sure. Yea, you shall haue some that know not a letter of the booke (so farre are they from being learned, or skilful in the toongs, as they ought to be, that shoulde practise these misteries) both men and women, yoong and old, that, presuming vpon experience forsooth (for that is their greatest skill) will arrogate great knowledge to themselves, and more than the learnedst doctor vpon the earth will doe. And yet notwithstanding, can doe in manner nothing at all. But if they chance at any time to doe any good (as *forte luscus capiat leporem* somtime by chance a blind man may catch a hare) it is by meere chance, and not by any knowledge of theirs. And yet shall this exploit of theirs be founded foorth with a trumpet, which indeede may hardly be blowne vp with an oten pipe, for any praise it deserueth. This bringeth the laudable sciences of phisick and surgerie, into hatred, obloquy, & contempt, ²maketh it of no estimation in the world, and vtterly discrediteth it amon[g]st men. For when as any sick, infirmed, or diseased, either miscarieth vnder the hands of his phisition or surgean, or else when the medicine or salue worketh not his effect, then fall they to accuse the science it selfe, and to reproch it altogether, whereas in truth the whole blame consisteth in the ignorance of the practitioner himselfe. Great pitie it is therefore, that there is such libertie in permitting euery one that lust, to prophane and to abuse these venerable sciences of phisicke and surgerie as they doe. For euery man, though he know not the first principles, grounds or rudiments of his science, y^e lineaments, dimensions, or compositions of mans body, the poores, arteries, temperament, or constitution, no, nor yet so much as the naturall complexion, qualitie, or disposition of the same, will yet notwithstanding take vpon him the habite, the title, y^e name, and profession, of a phisition or surgean. This we see verified in a fort of vagarants, who run stragling (I wil not saie roging) ouer the countries,

Any man, tag and rag, can practise both phisic and surgery.

If any person makes a cure, he puffs it everywhere.

[² Sig. H 3, back]

If any doctor loses a patient, then the Science is a.us'd.

Any Ignorant

can set up as a Surgeon or Physician. Vagrant Quacks make a lot of money.

[^r Sig. H 4]

and beare men in hand of gret knowledg, when as there is nothing lesse in them. By which kind of theft, (for this coofoning shift is no better) they rake in great somes of mony, which when they haue got, they leaue their ¹cures in the dust, I warrant you, and betake them to their heeles as to their best refuge. And thus be the noble sciences of phisicke and surgerie vtterly reproched, the world deluded, and manie a good man and woman brought to their endes, before their time.

Theod. If phisicke be good, would you not haue euery man to practise it that will, without restraint?

I'd let no stupid
Dolt or Woman
practise medicine
or surgery except
gratis.

Amphil. Phisicke is good, and yet would I not haue euerie ignorant dolt that knoweth not the vse nor benefit thereof, to practise the same. For that maketh it to take so little effect, and so smally to be esteemed of, as it is now a daies; (for reformation wherof) I would wish that euery ignorant dolt, & especially women, that haue as much knowledg in phisick or surgery as hath Iackeanapes, being but smatterers in the same noble sciences (nor yet al that), should be refrained from the publike vse therof, yet not from priuate exercise thereof either for their owne singuler benefit, or any other of their freends (prouided that they do it *gratis*) not making an occupation of it, but rather for desire to helpe, then for lucre of gaine. Than would I wyshe that the others who shoulde exercise the vse of Phisicke and Surgerie shoulde first bee Graduates in ²either of the vniuersities; and being graduates, yet not to be admitted therefore, but first to be tried and examined, as well for their knowledge, discretion, and sufficiencie in their art, profession and calling, as also for their godlines, christian zeale, pure religion, compassion, and loue to their brethren; and being found sufficient for the foresaid respects, to be admitted and licensed, vnder hand and seale authentike, by those that be of authoritie. And if he abuse himselfe or his facultie, then out with him, let him be *Officiperda*, Iacke out of office, make him a *Quondam*, and let him go to plow and cart, rather than to robbe the poore (as manie of them doe) yea, to murder and kil them without reprehension. And as I would wish none but godlie, learned, and such as feare God, to be admitted to the exercise and practise hereof, so I would wish, that either they might be allowed anual stipends, for their better succouring of the poore diseased, or else

I'd have all doc-
tors Graduates,
[^r Sig. H 4, back]
examin'd for
character as well
as learning,

and then licenst
to practise;
and if they did
wrong, out with
em!

I'd pay em

II. 1. *Doctors' and Apothecaries' tricks. Astrologers.* 55

might be constrained to take leſſe of their poor patients than they doe. For now they ruffle it out in filckes and veluets, with their men attending vpon them, whereas many a poore man (GOD wot) ſmarteth for it. Yea, ſo vnreaſonable, and ſo vnconſcionable are they, as ſome of them will not ſet one foot out of his owne doores, without ¹twentie ſhillings, fortie ſhillings, three pound, twentie nobles, ten pound, twentie pound, and ſome more, ſome leſſe. And hauing this importable fee, If they miniſter anything to the partie diſeaſed, than beſides, muſt they haue twenty ſhillings, for that that ſtands them not in twentie pins; fortie ſhillings, twentie nobles, for that that coſt them not twentie pence, & ſo foreward. This is a great wickednes, God be mercifull vnto vs, and ſuch as the Lord will one day reuenge, if they preuent not his iudgements by ſpeedy repentance. Beſids theſe abuſes, there are otherſome, that if they owe euill will to any, man or woman being ſicke, or if they hope for any preferment by their deaths, will not make any conſcience of it, to giue them ſuch medicines, ſuch potions, and drinckes, as will ſoone make a hand of them; and this ſhall be done inuiſible in a clowde, Vnder the pretence of phicke, forſooth; and if he die, why it was not the medicine that killed him (no it were *Blasphemia in ſanctos ruminare*, blaſphemie to thinke it of theſe holie fathers) but it was death, that cruell tyger, that ſpareth none. And to ſuch corruption are they grown, that for mony I am perſuaded they can make away with any whom they haue acceſſe vnto. Therefore I aduiſe euery man to be careful to whom ²he committeth the cure of his bodie. They are likewiſe in league with the apothecaries, in whome there are great abuſes alſo, as well in compounding and mixing of their elements & ſimples together, as alſo in ſelling chalke for cheeſe, one thing for another, & the like, ſo as it is hard to get anything of them that is right pure and good of it ſelfe, but druggie baggage, and ſuch counterfeit ſtuffe as is ſtarke naught. But of them inough.

Let vs ſpeake a worde or two of a certeine kinde of curious people, and vaine glorious, called aſtronomers, and aſtologers, the corruptions and abuſes of whom are inexplicable. This done, we will make a final ende at this time of ſpeaking any further concerning the abuſes, corruptions, and imperfections, of the temporalitie, till occaſion of more matter hereafter ſhall be offered.

good ſtipends to attend the poor.

[¹ Sig. H 5]

Now, their charges are tremendously high.

Doctors ſometimes make away with patients.

[² Sig. H 5, back]

Apothecaries

sell druggie baggage.

*Aſtronomers,
Aſtologers,*

Theod. These names of astronomers, astrologers, prognosticators, and the like, are so vnquoth and strange to my eares, that I knowe not what to make of them. Wherefore I pray you shewe me as neere as you can, the meaning of them, and what kinde of marchants the professors thereof be?

and *Prognosticators* are fantastical fellows.

[¹ Sig. H 6]

They affect to foretell things by the stars,

and go poking about into God's secrets

[² Sig. H 6, back]

Christ

Amphil. The astronomers, astrologers, prognosticators (and all others of the same societie, and brotherhoode, by what name or title soeuer they be called) are a certaine kinde of curious phantasticall and vaine glorious fellows, who *secreta dei temere remantes*, Searching the secrets of God rashlie, which he would haue kept close from vs, and onely knowne to himselfe, take vpon them, & that vpon these grounds (forfooth), namely, the obseruation of times & seasons, the aspects & coniunctions of the signes and planets, with their occurens, to presage, to diuine, and prognosticate, what shall come or happen afterwards, as though they fate in Gods lap, knew his secrets, & had the world and the disposement thereof in their own hands. It is an olde saieng, and verie true, *Quæ supra nos, nihil ad nos*, Those things that are aboue our reach, conserne vs not, and therefore we ought not to enter into the bowels & secrets of the Lord—(for as the wise man saith, *Qui scrutatur abscondita dei, obruetur gloria eius*, hee that seacheth out the hidden things of GOD, shall bee ouerwhelmed with the glorie of the same,—but to content our selues with so much as hee hath reuealed vnto us in his sacred worde, committing the euent, the succeffe, and disposement of all things else to his sacrede Maiestie, the GOD of all glorie. For to them that goe about, and labour so buselye by speculations, by astronomie, ²astrologie, and the like curious arts to iudge of things to come, and thinke they can tell all things by the same (but *Dum par-turiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus*, whilst the mountains doe trauell, a feely moufe will be brought forth) Christ our sauour saith, *non est vestrum nosse tempora, & momenta temporum, quæ ipse pater in sua ipsius constituit potestate*, It is not for you to knowe the times and seasons, which the Lord God hath referued to himselfe. And how much our sauour Christ disliketh this vaine curiositie, of astronomicall & astrologicall speculations, we may gather by that vehement reprehension or commination in the 16. of Matthew, thundred out against the people of the Iewes, who were, as it seemeth, too much addicted

to the same. Where he sharply rebuketh them, and calleth them dissembling hypocrites, in that they obserued and marked with such serious attention and diligence, the elemental signes & tokens in the firmament, being in the meane time, ignorant of greater things, namely of the signes and tokens of the sonne of GOD Chrifte Iesus, the true Messias, and fauour of the world.

rebukes em,
and calls em
hypocrites.

Theod. Vpon what grounds, certainties, rules, and principles doth this curious science consist?

¹*Amphil.* It standeth vpon nothing else, but meere coniectures, supposals, likelihoods, ghessees, probabilities, obseruations of times and seasons, coniunctions of signes, starres, and planets, with their aspects, and occurrents, and the like, & not vpon anie certaine ground, knowledge, or truth, either of the word of God, or of natural reason. But to argue the vntruth and the vncertaintie of this foolish curious science, we need not to go farre for examples and arguments. For the contrariety that euer hath beene in all ages amongst the verie doctors and maisters themselues, but most specially of late, doth approoue the same to be most fantastickall, curious, vaine, vncerten and meere prophane. For there being a maruellous strange coniunction (as they said) of two superiour planets, So manie as writ of the same, neither iumped together in one truth, nor yet agreed together, either of the day, houre, or moneth, when it should be: but in all things shewed themselues like themselues, that is, plaine contradictorie one to another. Infomuch as they writ in defence of their errors, and confutation of the contrarie, one against another, shamefully to behold. By which more than presumptuous audacitie, and rash boldnesse of these, they brought the world into a woonderfull perplexitie and cease, expecting either a woonderfull alteration of states and kingdoms (as these foolish starre tooters promised) or else a finall consummation and ouerthrowe of all things. Or if not so, yet the strangest things should happen, that euer were heard or seene since the beginning of the world. Whereas, God be thanked, at the verie houre and moment when (as some of them set downe) these woonders and portents should haue happened, there was no alteration nor change of any thing seene or heard of, the element being as faire, as bright, as calme, and as pleasant, and euerie thing as silent, and in as perfect order and forme, as euer they were since the beginning of the world,

[¹ Sig. H 7]

Their science is
founded only
on guesses and
star-gazing.

On April 28, 1583
(see *Holinshed*,
1587, iii. 1356), or
some other day
that they couldn't
agree on,

[² Sig. H 7, back]

the foolish star-
tooters foretold
fearful events,

and yet every-
thing passed off
quietly as usual.

58 II. I. *Infinite fooleries, these Astrologers pretend to.*

By all which appeereth the vanitie and vncerteintie of their curious science. I woonder where these fellowes fate, whether vppon the earth, or in the firmament of heauen, when they saw these coniunctions. Or with what eies they could see that, that no man else could see. But peradventure they haue *Argus* eies, and can see all things, euen those things that be not. I maruell whether they haue dwelt in the region of the aire, and who told them the names, the scituation, the houses, aspects, and locall places of the signes and planets, of the funne, moone, and starres, with the number ¹ thereof also, which indeed are innumerable. I woonder what spirite tolde them which planets were higher than other, and which lower than other, which be good and which be euill, which be moist and which be drie, which bee colde, and which be hote, which be gentle and affable, and which bee cruell and terrible, which giue good fortune, and which giue euill, which be good to take iourneies in hand, or to attempt any great thing, and which bee naught, which bee good for a man to take a wife in, that she may be amiable and gentle, and which be contrarie, which be dangerous to take diseases in, or to fall sicke, and which bee not, with infinite the like fooleries, which I ouerpasse. Now from whence they haue learned these things I cannot tell, but certeine I am, that out of the booke of GOD, they neuer fetched them, the same being in euerie point contrarie vnto them, and reproouing, yea, condemning to hell, their vaine curious searching of Gods secrets, and the succeffe of things by such fallible and vncerteine accidents.

Theod. Me thinke this is the next way to withdrawe men from GOD the Creator, to depende and hang vpon creatures, is it not?

²*Amphil.* It is the onely waie: For who, hearing that the creatures, as the sun, the moone, the starres, the signes & planets doe giue both good things and euill, blessing and cursing, good succeffe, and euill succeffe, yea, life and death, at their pleasure (as these brainedick fooles hold they doe) and that they rule, gouerne, and dispose al things whatsoeuer, yea, both the bodies and soules of man (for so some shame not to say) who, hearing this, I say, would not fall from God, and worship the creatures that giue such blessings vnto man? What can be a neerer way to withdrawe the people, not onelie from God, but also to hale them to idolatrie, and wholly to depend vpon creatures as the heathen do to their eternall damnation for euer.

[¹ Sig. H 8]

Where did these
astrologing
fellowes learn all
their fooleries?
Not in the book
of God, I know.

[² Sig. H 8, back]
For if the Planets
give good and
evil,
and rule men,

men 'll turn from
God, and worship
the stars.

II. I. *God, and not the Stars, rules Men & their Fates.* 59

But, say they, though we giue authoritie, great power, great rule and gouernement to the creatures, yet we giue vnto God the cheefest stroke and the cheefest rule in all things, all other creatures being but the instrumentall, or secundarie causes, or (that I may speake plainlie) as it were his deputies, substitutes, or instrumentes whereby he ruleth and worketh all things. Is this any thing else, than to saie with certeine heretikes, that though God made all things, yet he ruleth them not, nor hath no care ouer them, but hath committed the rule¹ and gouernement of them to his creatures. Then which, what blasphemie can be greater? is not this a flatte deniall of the prouidence of God, which scripture so much setteth forth and commendeth vnto vs? Shall we thinke that God made all things, and now as one wearie of his worke, committeth the gouernement of them to other creatures? Saith not our Sauour Christ, *Pater et ego operamur*, my father worketh, and I worke? Meaning thereby, that as he wrought in creating all things, so he worketh still in ruling them by his power, gouerneing them by his wisdom, and preferuing them by hys prouidence, and will do to the end of the world. But when they haue proued that he hath committed the rule and gouernement of his creatures, to his creatures, then I will saye as they say. In the meane time I say & holde, that it derogateth greatly from the glorie and maiestie of God, to saye or affirme that creatures haue the gouernement of all things committed vnto them. For if there should be many kings, princes and rulers in any one realme or country, must not the dominion and rule of the chief prince or regent be lesse, than if he ruled and gouerned alone? Woe were vs, if wee were at the rule and gouernement of creatures; but blessed be our God, who, as he knoweth our² frailtie (hauing therefore compassion of our infirmities) so he ruleth and gouerneth all things, whether in heauen, earth, hell, or else wherfoeuer, according to the good pleasure of his will. In the 1. and 2. chapters of Genesis, besides infinit the like places in holie scriptures, we read that the sun, the moone, the stars, with all creatures else, were created & made for the vse and commoditie of man, being made subiect to him, and he constitute lord ouer them; & yet notwithstanding, are they becom now his lords, and he their subiect, vassal bondslaue? This is preposterous geare, when Gods ordinance is turned topsie turuie, vpside downe. It is time these phantastically

To pretend that Planets are God's deputies, is blasphemous nonsense too.

[² Sig. I. r.]

God works and rules still, as he did at the Creation.

[² Sig. I. r. back]

God made the stars for the use of man. Who made them his lords?

60 II. I. *The 12 Signs governing Men's Limbs.*

These fantastical fellows turn God into a Jack out of office.

fellowes were looked to in time, that wil go about to difthronize the mightie God Jehoua of his regall throne of maiestie and glorie, makin gan *Officiperda* of him, a iacke out of office, & to pul him (as it were) *E caelis*, Out of the heauens, downe to the earth, giuing him no power nor authoritie at all.

Theod. Haue the signes and planets then no power nor authoritie at all vpon things on the earth?

[Sig. I. 2.]

Amphil. Yes, they haue their power, their operation, force, strength and effect in those things whereto G O D hath created them, as namely in the growing, increasing, cherishing, fostering, renewing, comforting & reuiuing of 'all natural things, And also they haue their influence & operation in mans bodie, for letting of bloud, receiuing of purgations & the like. But to say they worke these effects of their own proper force & strength, or that they rule or dispose the spirits & soules of man, is vtterly false, & at no hand true. And yet notwithstanding, so

The busy-headed astronomers assign every kind of man to a particular Sign,

far infatuated are these busie headed afronomers, & curious serching astrologers, that they attribute euery part of mans body to one particular signe & planet, affirming that part of the bodie to be ruled by that signe, or planet. And therefore to Aries they haue assigned the gouernement of the head & face. To Tau[rus] the necke and throte. To Gem[ini] the shoulders, the armes & the hands. To Leo the hart and back. To Can[cer] the breff, stomake and lungs. To Lib[ra] the raines and loines. To Vir[go] the guts & bellie. To Scor[pio] the priuie parts & bladder. To Sag[ittarius] the thighs. To Capr[icornus] the knees. To Aqu[arius] the legs. To Pisc[es] the feet. And thus haue they, & doe, beare the world in hand that the whole bodie of man both *Interne & externe*, within & without,

and every month too.

is ruled and gouerned by the xii. signes, by starres, and planets, & not by God only. For the confirmation of which fained vntruth, they pretend the xii. moneths in the yere to be ruled & gouerned by the xii. signes in the element, and the seuen daies in the weeke to be ruled by the seuen planets ²also. Besides this, they haue their particular houres, times and seasons, wherein they chiefly worke their effects, and haue greatest strength. So that by their reasons, no moneth in the yere, nor day in the weeke, no, nor houre in the day nor night, but it is ruled and gouerned by the influence and constel-

The 7 Days they put to the 7 Planets.

[Sig. I. 2. back]

II. I. *If the Stars give Life & Death, they're Gods.* 61

lation of the starres and planets, and nothing is effected or brought to passe, but what they will, and intend.

Theod. Are the signes and planets, living creatures and reasonable, But these Signs and Planets or insensible creatures, and things without life?

Amphil. They are no living or reasonable creatures, it is without all controuersie, but meerely insensible, and without life. And being without life and reason, how is it possible that they should bring life or death (as these fellows hold) sicknesse or health, prosperitie or aduersitie, heate or cold, faire weather or foule, beautie or deformitie, long life or short, or any thing else? And if they be not able to giue these things, how much lesse able are they then, to gouerne, rule, and dispose all thinge[s] in heauen, earth, the aire, or else wherfoeuer, to ouerthrowe monarchies, kingdoms, nations, countries, and people, and finally to work althings after their owne desire and will? Will they are without life and reason. ¹haue dumbe and vnreasonable creatures to rule the reasonable? If How then can they rule the World and Men? that were true, why should God be praised either for his mercie, or feared for his iustice and iudgement, and not rather the planets, signes, and starres, which worke all in all in all creatures? If blessing come by the influence of starres and planets, then let men praise them, and not God, for the same. And if curses proceed from the starres, let them be feared for them. Briefly, if life and death, and all things else, come by the force of the elementall creatures, and celestiall bodies, then let them be honoured with diuine worship. If these effects issued from creatures, then why should the homicide, the murtherer, adulterer, or wicked person be punished, whereas he might say, it was not I, it was *Planetarum iniuria*, The force of the planets that compelled me to sinne*? Or why should the godlie man be praised for dooing well, whereas he is inforced thereto, by the starres and planets? *In Summa*, why should not planets and starres be adored and worshipped as gods, if they could worke these effects? They that attribute thus much to the starres, not onelie rob the maiestie of God of his honour, but also strenhthen the hands of the heathen, pagans, infidels, and idolatrous people, to perseuere in their cursed ido²latrie still. Nay, do they not rather shake hands with them, that as they worship the But these Signs and Planets are without life and reason. How then can they rule the World and Men? [² Sig. I. 3-1] If blessings and curses come from the Stars, they should be worshipt as Gods, But this robs God of his honour. [² Sig. I. 3. back]

* Cp. Edmund in *Lear*, I. ii. 134-5: "Drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence."

62 II. 1. *Absurdity of man's Fate depending on Stars.*

sunne, the moone, the starres, fire, water, and other creatures, for their God, so doe these worship the same, though not for their chiefe Gods, yet for their second gods, whereby they commit most filthie idolatrie, and are giltie of most hainous transgression. Indeede, I confesse they haue effects and operations, but yet are they not the efficient causes of any thing either good or bad. Otherwise than thus, that it pleaseth the maiestie of God to worke by them, as by his instruments, whatsoeuer is his good wyll and pleasure, and not after any other sort.

I confess that
Stars have
effect; but yet
they're not
Efficient Causes.

Theod. I haue heard of some of these astronomers that would take vpon them to tell a mans fortune, onely by their constellation: forsooth, is it possible, suppose you?

Amphil. No, at no hand. For if it were so, that all things were, and man himselve, gouerned and ruled by the stars alone (as who is so forsaken of God to beleuee it?) And that they knew the minds, the purposes, the intents, the inclination, the disposition & qualities of euery starre, then might it be (peraduenture) true, that they might tell the fortune, and destiny of any man. But otherwise they can tel as much as a horse. I would faine learne of these starre 'gaifers, who teach that man is drawne to good or euill by the constellations, and influence of stars, whether all the people that were euer borne since the beginning of the world, or shal be borne to the ende of the same, were al borne vnder one planet or star? For they had all one fortune, all finned in *Adam*, & all were in the iustice of God condemned to euerlasting fire. I would know also whether all the Sodomits and Gomorreans being consumed with fire & brimstone from heauen were borne all vnder one starre & planet? For they had all one destinie, and all one end. Whether all the whole world in the daies of *Noah*, was borne vnder one and the same star, or planet, for they had all one destinye, being ouerwhelmed with an vniuersall deluge. Whether the whole host of *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, were borne all vnder one star or planet, who had al one iudgment, one destinie, and one kind of death. Whether all the host of *Pharao* were borne vnder one and the same starre and planet, who all sustained one kinde of death, and had all one destinie. Whether *Esau*, and *Iacob* were not borne both in a moment, and both at one birth, and yet had they contrarie natures, qualities, dif-

Let these star-
gazers show me,
if they can,

[*Sig. I. 4.*]

that all the sin-
ners in Sodom
and Gomorrah,
who had one
fate, were born
under one star;

why Esau and
Jacob, who were
born under one
star, had different
ends;

positions and ends. Finally I would learne of them, whither none that euer liued since the first beginning of the worlde, nor any that shall be borne to the end of the same, hath not, or may not be borne in the same houre, and vnder the same planet & constellation, that Christ Iesus was borne in. If they say there haue not beene any borne in the same houre that Christ Iesus was borne in, common reason, and daily experience would disprooue them, for there is not one minute of an houre wherein there are not infinite children borne into the world. And if they say that there are that haue beene borne in the same houre, and vnder the same starre and planet, than must it needes follow (if man should necessarily be ruled, gouerned, disposed & affected according to the naturall disposition, and inclination of the planets & stars) that he that hath bin, is, or shall be, borne in the same howre, and vnder the same planet or star that Iesus Christ was borne vnder, should bee as good & as perfect in euery respect, as Christ Iesus himselfe; and so should we haue had manie christs before this time. But God blesse all his children from once thinking of any such impietie, and blasphemie. By all which reasons and arguments it apareth manifestly that man is nothing lesse, than ruled, gouerned or destined, after the inclination, or influence of stars or planets, but onely by the liuing God, who doeth ²whatsoever pleaseth him in heauen & in earth. This being so, twise vnhappy be those parents that thinke any moneth, day or houre, infortunate for their children to be borne in, or that some be more fortunate and happie than other-some. And thrise cursed be those wicked deuils, that taught them those lessons. What? Doe they thinke that the Lorde is a sleeper those houres; or being wake, hath no power to rule? Hath he not made all things pure and good? Then cannot the good creatures of God make vs euil, or incline vs to sinne. But it is the malice of the deuill, the corruption of our nature, and the wickednes of our owne harts, that draweth vs to euill, and so to shamefull destinies, and infamous ends, and not the starres, or planets. Whereof if we were truly perswaded, we wold leaue of, when we come to any shamefull end, to saie: "Oh, I was borne to it, it was my destiny," and I cannot tell what: whereas in truth we were borne to no such ends. But rather to glorifie our heauenly father by integritie of life & godlines of conuersation, whilst we liue vpon the face of the earth. Certain

[¹ Sig. I. 4. back]

why the children
born when Christ
was, were not
like him.

Man is not
swayed by Stars,
but by the living
God.

[² Sig. I. 5]

It's the Devil
and our own
wickedness, and
not planets, that
make us sin.
(Cf. Edmund in
Learn I. ii.)

64 II. I. *Folly of the Zodiacal Signs influencing men.*

The God sees
that some men
will come to a
bad end, he
doesn't fore-
daine them to it.

[¹ Sig. I 5, back]

Serve God, and

He'll preserve
you

Some say that
the 12 Signs of
the Zodiac and
the 7 Planets and
their Aspects fix
men's natures
and fates.

[² Sig. I 6]

But what a
drunken reason
they give for it!

Because a Bull
is a yoke-beast
here, *therefore* a
man borne under
him shall be a
bond-slave!

it is, that God by his prouidence, & psecience, doth foresee that such a man through his wickednes shall come to such an ende, yet did not the Lord foreordeine, or foreappoint him to the same, ¹but rather dehortheth him from comitting that wickednes, which may purchase such an end. Wherefore to conclude. Seing it is finne that bringeth man and woman to shamefull ends, and neither fate, destonie, birth-star, signe or planet, constellation, nor anything else whatsoever, let euerie one endeavour himselfe to serue his GOD truelie, in singleness and purenesse of heart, and himselfe to liue well and vprightlie, Walking in the lawes, and commandements of the Lord; and I warrant him for euer comming to anie euill end or destinie. That God whom he hath serued, will keepe him as he kept *Sidrach*, *Misaac*, and *Abednago*, from the rage of the fire, *Susanna* from the stake, *Daniel* from y^e chawes of the greedie lions, & manie others that serued him in feare.

Theod. I haue hea[r]d some that would take vpon them to tell a man whither he shoulde be poore or rich, a seruant or a lord, a theefe or a true man, cruell or gentle, and what kinde of trades he shoulde haue prosperous succeffe in: how shoulde they doe this?

Amphil. I will tell you how they pretende to doe it. There are (as they saye) certeine signes in the element (but yet I maruell what Apollo tolde them so, when they were there, and sawe them, or how they knew the shape ²and proportion of them) as Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Pisces, with their planets, and aspects, as Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurie, Iupiter, Venus, and Saturne. Now say they, he that is borne vnder Aries, (which is a signe in the *Nusquam region*, Like to a ramme, or sheepe vpon earth) shall be a riche man and too too wealthie. And whie so? Marke their droonken reason. Forfooth because the same is a fruitfull beast vpon earth, and yeldeth to his master two or three fleeces a yeere. Againe, he that is borne vnder Taurus (which is a signe (say these liars) in the element like vnto a bull, vpon earth); now fir, he that is borne vnder him, shall be pore, & a bondslaue all his daies. And why so? Mary, say they, bicause the bull on earth is a beast vsed to the yoke, and to much flauerie & drudgery. He that is borne vnder Leo (which is a signe quoth these iuglers like to a lion) shal be strong, couragious, & feared of

II. I. *Folly of the Zodiacal Signs influencing men.* 65

al men, & shal be lord & ruler ouer many, And why so? Bicause the lion is a strong & mightie beast, & is lord & king ouer all other beafts. He that is borne vnder Scorpio, shal be a murtherer, a robber, a theefe, and a wicked person. Why so? Forsooth bicause the Scorpion is a serpent full of poyson & malice vpon earth. ¹He that is borne vnder Gemini shal be rich, and haue manie children, bicause Gemini is a signe of two twinnes. He that is borne vnder Virgo shal be beloued of women, shall be amiable, faire, gentle, and I cannot tell what, bicause maids are so affected. He that is borne vnder Cancer, shal be crabbed and angrie, bicause the crab fish is so inclined. He that is borne vnder Libra, shal be fortunate in merchandize, in waights and measures, bicause Libra is a signe of a paire of ballance. He that is borne vnder Sagittarius, shal be a good shooter, bicause Sagittarius is a signe like to a shooter. He that is borne vnder Capricornus shal be a slouely, ill fauoured, and vncleane fellowe, bicause the goate is a beast filthie, stinking and vncleane. He that is borne vnder Aquarius and Pisces shal be fortunate by water, bicause watermen haunt the waters, and fishes swim in the same. These be cupstantiall reasons and well reasoned arguments, and as strong to prooue their purpose, as a castell of paper to resist the enimie. Thus you may see they haue no other reasons, than to heape one lie vpon another. As first that these signes and planets in the heauens are like to earthly creatures, then that their natures, and qualities are knowne by the natures and qualities of ²earthly creatures. Iesu God, what cunning felowes are these, that can knowe the nature of heauenly bodies, and celestiall creatures, by these terrestriall bodies and earthly creatures? These are profound fellows indeed, and by all likelihood, haue dwelt long in the clouds, that are so perfect in euery thing there, and can iudge of future accidents with such singular dexteritie. By this time I thinke they are ashamed of their profession, therefore I need to say no more of them, till further occasion be offered, beseeching the Lorde God to giue them grace to search for the truth of the worde of God, letting all such curious searchings of Gods secrets alone to God, who onely knoweth all secrets whatsoever.

Theod. If you condemne astronemie, and astrologie altogether, as you seeme to doe, then it followeth that you condemne prognosticators, and such as make almanacks for euerie yeere: doe you so?

[¹ Sig. I 6, back]

He that's borne under Capricorn shall be uncleanly, *because* the goat's a stinking beast!

[² Sig. I 7]

These Astrologer fellows must have livd long in the clouds to know so much about heavenly bodies.

Prognosticators and Almanac-makers I condemn too,

Amphil. I neither condemne astronomie nor astrologie, nor yet the makers of prognostications, or almanacks for the yeere. But I condemne the abuse in them both, and with they were reduced to the same perfection that they ought, and to be vsed to the same endes and purposes which they were ordeined for. ¹The sunne, the moone, the starres, and the celestiaall bodies whatsoeuer, created by the Lord not onelie to fructifie and increase the earth by their influence, but also to shine and giue light to man in this life, and to diuide the light from darknesse, the day from the night, winter from sommer, and to distinguish one season and time from another. Now how much may make or conduce to the knowledge hereof, so much I doubt not is verie tollerable, and may be vsed. But when we go about to enter into Gods secrets, and to diuine of things to come, by coniectures, and gesses, then make we the same wicked and vnlawfull. Therefore prognosticators are herein much to be blamed, for that they take vpon them to foresheew what things shall be plentie, and what scarce, what deere, what good cheape. When shal be faire weather, when foule, and the like, whereas indeede the knowledge of these things are hid in the secrets of GOD, and are beyond their reach, therefore ought they not to meddle with them. But if they would keepe them within their compasse, as namely to shew the times and seasons of the yere, festiuals, vigils, to distinguish winter from sommer, spring from haruest, the change of the moone, the fall of euerie day, the ecclipses, epacts, dominical letter, golden num²ber, circle of the sunne, leape yeere, and other the like necessarie points, then were their profession laudable, and greatly for the commoditie of the commonwealth. And thus much with their patience be it spoken briefly hereof.

[¹ Sig. I 7, back.]

when they pretend to pry into God's secrets,

and foretell what 'll be plentiful and what scarce.

Let Almanac-makers keep to their proper business,

[² Sig. I 8]

and then they'll be useful folk.

Here ende the abuses of the
Temporalitie.



THE CORRVPTIONS

AND ABUSES OF THE

SPIRITVALITIE.

Theodorus.



Auing now spoken sufficiently of the corruptions and abuses of the temporalitie, if I might be so bold, I would request you somewhat to say concerning the corruptions and abuses of the spiritualitie, or (as some call it) of the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. For I am fully persuaded, that the one being so corrupt, the other can hardly bee without blemish.

As to the corruptions of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy,

¹*Amphil.* I am verie loth to enter into that felde, the view where- of offereth such store of matter to intreat of, as if I shoulde enter the same, I shoulde rather not knowe where to end, then where to begin. Besides, you knowe the olde prouerbe, *Non bonum est ludere cum sanctis*, It is not good to meddle with these holie ones, for feare of thunderbolts, to insue. But for that, he is not onely a false prophet, and a traitor to the truth, that teacheth false doctrine, but as well he that knoweth the truth, and either for feare of death, or desire of life, wil not expresse the same to the worlde. And for that, not onely the author of any euill or mischiefe is gilty of offence before God, But also he that might by ² discouerie thereof preuent the same, and yet either will not, or for feare of death dares not. And for that as the olde prouerbe saith, *Qui tacet, consentire videtur*, he that concealeth the truth, seemeth to consent to errors, for these and the like causes, I will laye downe vnto you some such corruptions and abuses, as seeme to be inormous, and stande in neede of reformation, omitting in the meane time to speake perticularly of all (for that they be innumerable) vntill I see how these fewe will be brouked of them.

[¹ Sig. I 8, back]

let the meddler with them look out for thunderbolts.

But I'll tell you some of our worst Abuses in the Church.

68 II. 2. *All Churches are markt off into Parishes.*

[¹ Sig. K. r.]

For it is a point of good phyficke, you knowe, to see how the former
¹meate receiued into the stomacke, will be digested, and concocted,
 before we receiue any more into the same.

Theod. You say very well. Giue me leaue then (by your
 patience) to aske you such questions as I thinke conuenient for
 my further instruction, that by your good meanes, I knowing the
 truth, may praise God in you, and also haue iust occasion to giue
 you thanks for the same.

Amphil. Aske what you thinke good, in Gods name, and I will doe
 the best I can, to resolute you in anything that you shall demand.

All our churches
 and congrega-
 tions

Theod. Then this shall be my first demand. Be the churches,
 congregations, & assemblies there, distincted into particulars, as into
 parishes and precincts, one exempt from another, or are they disperfed
 here and there abroad, without any order, exemption, or limitation of
 place at all?

are diuided into
 parishes,

Amphil. Euerie particular church, congregation, assemblée, or con-
 uenticle, is diuided one from another, and distincted into parishes and
 precincts, which feuerall precincts and parishes are so circumgired
 and limited about with bounds and marks, as euerie one is knowne
 of what parish he is, and vnder whose charge he liueth. So that
 euerie shepheard knoweth ²his flocke, euerie pastor his sheepe. And
 againe, euerie flocke knoweth his shepheard, and euerie sheepe his
 pastor, verie orderlie and well, in my simple iudgement.

[² Sig. K. r. back]
 so that every
 flock knows its
 pastor.

Theod. Doe you allow then of this partition of churches, and of
 one particular congregation from another?

In early days,

Amphil. Yea trulie. It is not amisse, but a verie good order, for
 thereby euerie pastor doth knowe his owne flock, euery shepheard his
 owne sheepe, which without this diuision could not be. Besides that,
 we read that euen in the apostles daies (who writ to particular
 churches themfelues, as to the Rom. Corint. Thes. Phil, &c.) in the
 daies of Christ, & in the times of the prophets before Christ, churches,
 assemblies, and congregations were euer distincted one from another, &
 diuided into feuerall flocks, companies, and charges. So that although
 they had not the name of this word 'parish' amongst them, yet had
 the thing ment thereby, in effect.

assemblies were
 always separate.

Theod. Then it followeth by your reason, that there are infinite
 churches in *Dnalgne*; and I haue learned out of the book of God

II. 2. *Of Churches, The Church, and their Rulers.* 69

that there is but one true church, and faithful spouse of Christ vpon the earth. How reconcile you these two places?

Amphil. Verie well. For although there be infinite particular churches, congregations, and assemblies in the world, yet doe they all make but one true church of God, which being diuided in time and place, is notwithstanding one church before God, being members of the mystical body of Christ Iesus, & fellow members one of another, so as they can neuer be diuided, neither from themselues, nor from their head, Christ.

[¹ Sig. K. 2.]

But these separate churches all make up One true Church,

Theod. Who doe you constitute the head of the vniuersall church of Christ vpon earth? Christ Iesus, the pope, or the prince?

Amphil. Christ Iesus, whose the bodie is, must needs be, & is the onely true head of the vniuersall church. Then next vnder him euerie christian prince in his kingdom. And as for the pope, he is head ouer the malignant church, the church of the deuil, and not of Christ Iesus. No, he is so far from being head ouer the vniuersal church of Christ, that he is no true member of the same, but rather the childe of perdition, the first borne of satan, a diuell incarnate, and that man of sin (euen Antichrist himselfe) that must be destroyed with the breath of Gods mouth.

whose Head is Christ; under Him each King in his kingdom,

(The Pope's the head of the Devil's Church,

Theod. By whom be these particular churches and congregations gouerned & ruled?

Amphil. By bishops, pastors, and other inferiour officers.

and under them Bishops, Pastors, &c.,

Theod. Do you shut out the prince then from gouerning the church?

²*Amphil.* No, God forbid. For take away *Brachium seculare*, The lawfull power, and gouernement of the temporal magistrate from the regiment of the church, and ouerthrow the church altogether. And yet notwithstanding the necessitie hereof, the dooting anabaptists and brainesicke papists haue most deuillishly denied the same. The anabaptists denie (most absurdly) the authoritie of the magistrate altogether. The papists seeing themselues conuinc'd by the manifest worde of GOD, denie not their authority absolutely; but that their authority extendeth to the gouernement of the church, forsooth they vtterly denie, hereby exempting themselues, and plucking away their neckes from vnder the yooke of christian obedience due vnto

[² Sig. K. 2. back]

and temporal Magistrates.

The Anabaptists deny the temporal power altogether; the Papists deny its extending to Church Government.

70 II. 2. *A Sovereign's Rights and Duties in his Church.*

magistrates¹, contrarie to the expresse word of our sauiour Christ, and his apostles, who saith *Omnis anima subdita sit potestatibus supereminentibus!* Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. And therefore they are to be obeyed as the ministers of God of all whatsoeuer.

But every King is supreme head over the Church in his realm.

[² Sig. K. 3]

Theod. Well than I gather thus much, that euery king, prince, or potentate, is supream head next vnder God, ouer the church of GOD disperfed through his kingdomes, and domini²ons: is not this true?

The Pope is a mere greasy priest, like other oiled shauelings are.

Amphil. Verie true. And therefore that antichrist of Rome, hath plaide the traitor a long while, both to Christ Iesus and all christian kings, in arrogating and vsurping to be supream head ouer all the world. Whereas indeed he, being a greasie priest, & smered prelate, hath no more authority than other oiled shauelings haue, nor so much neither, and yet that authoritie is but ouer the malignant church of antichrist, and not of Christ Iesus. I beseech the Lord therefore to breake of that power, to grind in peces that stumbling blocke of offence, and to wipe off the heads of that monstrous hidra, so as neuer any mo may growe thereof againe. ^z

A King has to see good Pastors elected, proper rites establisht, and Church censures executed.

[³ Sig. K. 3. back]

Theod. Seeing you say that euerie prince is supream head ouer the church of God within his dominions, what authoritie therfore assign you to the prince to execute in the church.

Amphil. It is the office and dutie of a prince, not onely to see elected, sent forth, & called, good, able, & sufficient pastours, for the instruction of the church, but also to see that good orders, constitutions & rites be established, and duely performed, that the worde be preached, the sacraments truely ministred, excommunication, discipline and ecclesiasticall censures orderly ³executed to the honor of God, and benefit of his church. But if it be said that these thinges are to bee executed of the ecclesiasticall persons onely, I answere, true it is; but if the ecclesiasticall magistrate be negligent, secure, slouthfull, and carelesse about the execution hereof (as who seeth not some be) than ought the prince to shew his authoritie in commanding and inioining them to doe their office. Besides this, it is the office of the prince to see all kind of sinne, as well in the church men themselues, as in all others of the church, seuerely punished.

The King should see sin punisht

¹ *Orig.* migistrates.

II. 2. *Of the King, Papal Antichrist, and Bishops.* 71

And though I grant the prince to haue the soueraigntie and primacie ouer the church of G O D, within his dominions, yet my meaning is not, that it is lawfull for the prince to preach the word, to minister the sacramentes, or to execute the sentence of excommunication, and other ecclesiasticall discipline and censures of the church, but (as before) to see them done, of them to whom it apperteineth. For saith the apostle, *nemo sumat sibi honorem, nisi qui legitime vocatus fuerit, ut fuit Aaron.* And againe, *unusquisque in ea vocatione, qua vocatus est, maneat apud deum?* But in times past the papists bare the worlde in hande, that no temporall power whatsoeuer could, nor ought not, to meddle wyth the clergie, and therefore made they vassals of most christian Princes. Yea, that pernicious antichrist of Rome, in those daies of ignorance hath not bene ashamed to make Kings, Queenes, Emperours, Dukes, Lords, and all other, how honorable or noble soeuer, his lackeys, his pages, his horsekeepers, and compelled them to hold his stirrups, to leade his horse, and to prostrate themselves before him, whilest he trod vpon their neckes. But God be praised, this great antichrist is discouered to all the world, and his shame so laid open, as euery childe iustlie laugheth him to scorne.

and the Church's orders carried out.

[¹ Sig. K. 4.]

The Antichrist of Rome formerly had kings as lackeys,

but his shame is laid open now.

Theod. You said before, that the churches there were gouerned by bishops, and pastors: how by them?

Amphil. The bishops are graue, ancient, and fatherlie men, of great grauitie, learning, and iudgement (for the most part) constituted by the Prince ouer a whole country or prouince, which they call their dioces. These graue fathers hauing authoritie aboue all other of the ministerie, in their dioces, do substitute vnder them in euerie particular church a minister, or ministers according to the necessitie of the same. And thus doeth euery bishoppe in hys owne dioces thorow out the ²whole realme. So that no church, how small soeuer, but it hath the truth of Gods word, and of his sacraments, truly deliuered vnto it.

The Bishops are graue and learned men, set over Dioceses.

[² Sig. K. 4, back]

Theod. Are those preaching prelates, that the bishops do place in euerie congregation, or else reading ministers?

Amphil. It were to be wished that all were preaching prelates, and not reading ministers only, if it could be brought to passe, but though all be not preachers, yet the most part be, God be praised therefore.

All our ministers don't preach, some read only.

Theod. Be any, readers onlie, and not preachers: that is a great

72 11. 2. *Some Ministers are mere Readers, not Preachers.*

abuse. For I am perswaded that he that cannot preach, ought not to supplie a place in the church of God to read onlie: how say you?

Amphil. It is no good reason to say, bicause all ought to be preachers, that therefore readers are not necessarie. But indeed I am of this iudgement with you, that whoſo can but read onelie, and neither is able to interpret, preach, expound, nor explaine the scriptures, nor yet to refell and conuince the aduerſarie, nor to deliuer the true ſenſe and meaning of the ſcriptures, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the paſtor thereof. For God commandeth that the paſtors be learned, ſaieng: *Labia ſacerdotum custodiant veritatem, and edificant populi verbum dei ex ore eorum,* Let the lips of the prieſts preferue knowledge, and let the people learne the truth out of their mouthes. And therefore thoſe that haue not this dexteritie in handling the worde of God, they are not ſent of God, neither are they Chriſts vicegerents or paſtors to inſtruct his flocke. To ſuch, the Lord ſaith: They rule, but not by me; they run, but I ſent them not; they crie, thus ſaith the Lord, whereas hee neuer ſpake it. Theſe are thoſe idoll ſhepheards, and dumbe dogs, of whom ſpeaketh the prophet, that are not able to barke againſt ſinne. And therefore I beſeech the Lord to remooue them, and place able and ſufficient paſtors ouer his church, that G O D may be glorified, and the church edified in the truth.

But bare Reading
is better than
nothing.

Theod. Bare reading, I muſt needs ſay, is bare feeding: but what then? Better it is to haue bare feeding than none at all.

Amphil. Verie true. And therefore are not they more ſcrupulous than they ought, more curious than needes, and more precise than wiſe, that bicause they cannot haue preaching in euerie church, doe therefore contemne reading as not necessarie? This is as though a man ſhould deſpiſe meane fare, bicause he cannot come by better, whereas I thinke it is ^abetter to haue meane fare than none at all, or as though a man, bicause he cannot come by the carnell at the firſt, will therefore caſt awaie both the nut and the carnell. It were good (as ſaith the apoſtle) that all could prophesie, that is, that all could preach and expound the truth, but bicause that al haue not the gift, is therefore reading naught? And therefore a ſort of nouatians lately ſprong vp, haue greatly faulted herein, in that they hold that no reading miniſters only ought to be permitted in the church of God, as though

[² Sig. K 5, back]

If you can't get
at a kernel at
firſt, don't throw
away the whole
nut.

II. 2. *The best men don't get Preferment.* 73

(as I say) because a man can not haue daintie fare, therefore it is good to haue none at all. But to be plaine, as I will not defende a dumbe reading miniserie only, so I will not condemne it for necessities sake, when otherwise euery place cannot be sufficiently furnished at the first with good and sufficient men as it ought.

Keep your Reading Ministers till you can get Preaching ones.

Theod. But it is thought that there are inow able men in the vniversities and elsewhere to furnishe euery particular church with a preaching minister?

Amphil. Truly I thinke there are so, if they were sought for & preferred: but alas those that are learned indeed, they are not sought for nor promoted, but the vnlearned for the most part, sometimes by frendship, somtime by money¹ (for they pay wel for their orders, I heare say) and sometimes by gifts, (I dare not say bribes) are intruded. This maketh many a good schoolar to languish, and discourageth not a fewe from goyng to their bookes. Whereby learning greatlie decaieeth, and barbarisme, I feare me, will ouerflow the realme, if speedie remedie be not had herein.

We've enough learned men, but, alas they don't get Preferment.

¹ Sig. K 6]

Theod. As farre as I can gather by your speeches, there is both a reading and a preaching miniserie: whether doe you prefer before the other?

Amphil. I preferre the preaching miniserie before a reading miniserie only: and yet the reading miniserie, if the other can not be had, is not therefore enill, or not necessarie.

Theod. But tell me this. If there might a preaching miniserie be gotten, ought not the reading miniserie to giue place to the same?

Amphil. Yea, doubtlesse. And therefore the bishops ought to seeke for the learned sort, and as it were to sue and make instance to them, and finding them worthy, as well for their life as doctrine, to call them lawfully according to the prescript of Gods word, & so to sende them forth into the Lords haruest. And where the foresaide dumbe miniserie is, to displace the same, and place the other. By this meanes² the word of God should flourish, ignorance (mauger the head of satan) be abandoned, the church edified, and manie a one encouraged to go to their bookes, whereas now they practise nothing lesse, and all by reason that by their learning they haue no promotion nor preferment at all.

Bishops ought to seek out learned Ministers.

[² Sig. K 6, back]

74 II. 2. *Preachers may travel. New-fangled Brownists.*

Preaching
Ministers
preach mainly
in their own
parishes,

but sometimes
out of them,
and rightly so,

[¹ Sig. K 7]
notwithstanding
the Brownists,

for the Apostles
went from place
to place
preaching.

Evils of
Pluralities.

[² Sig. K 7, back]

Theod. Do these preaching ministers preach onely in their owne cures, flockes and charges, or else indifferently abroad else where?

Amphil. They preach for the most part in their owne charges and cures whereouer the holie Ghost hath made them ouerseers, and for which they shall render a dreadfull account at the day of iudgement, if they doe not their dutie diligently, as God hath commanded. But though they preach most commonly in their owne cures, yet doe they sometimes helpe their felowe brethren to breake the bread of life to their charges also. Wherein me thinke they do not amisse. For if a watch man appointed by a whole citie, or towne to giue warning when the enimie commeth, feeling an other citie or towne to be in danger, giueth sufficient warning to his owne citie, and goeth and warneth the other citie also, and so by this meanes deliuereth them both, I say, that in so doing, hee doth well, and according to charitie. And yet ¹notwithstanding, diuers new phangled felows sprong vp of late, as the Brownists, and there adherents, haue spoken verie blasphemouslie hereof, teaching in their railing pamphletes, that those who are lectors or preach els wher than in their owne cures are accursed before god. Than the which, what can be more absurdlie, or vntruely spoken? For if they grant (as they cannot deny) that the word of God is good, then cannot the declaration of that which is good in one place, be hurtfull in another. And read we not that the apostles themselues went from place to place, preaching the word to euerie congregation? Christ Iesus did the same, & also taught vs, that he came not to preach to one citie onely, but to many?

Theod. Doe the reading ministers onely continue and read altogether in their owne charges, or not?

Amphil. The reading ministers, after they be hired of the parishes (for they are mercenaries) they read commonly in their owne charges, and cures, and except (which is a horrible abuse) that they haue two or three cures to serue, all vpon one day, and peraduenture two or three myles distant, one from another. Which maketh them to gallop it ouer as fast as they can, and to chop it vp with all possible expediti³on, though none vnderstand them, and as fewe be edified by them.

Theod. Be these reading ministers well provided for, so as they want nothing, or not?

11. 2. *Bad Pay and Pluralism of Reading Ministers.* 75

Amphil. No truly. For if the other preaching ministers be not well provided for (as in truth they be not) then how can the other be well maintained? And therefore they haue, som of them ten pound a yeere (which is the most), some eight pound, some sixe pound, some five pound, some foure pound, some fortie shillings; yea, and table themselues also of the same. And sometimes failing of this too, they runne roging like vagarents vp & downe the countries like maisterlesse men, to seeke their maintenance. Whereby some fall to one mischiefe, some to another, to the great slander of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and scandall of the godlie. And yet part of these reading misters be too well provided for, for some of them haue two or three, yea foure or five benefices apeece, being resident but at one of them at once, and peradventure at neuer a one, but roist it out else-where, purchasing a dispensation for their discontinuance, and then may no man say: *Domine, cur ita facis?* Sir, why doe you so? For hee hath ¹plenarie power and authoritie granted him so to doe.

Reading Ministers' pay runs from £10 to £12 a year, and keep themselves.

Some have 3 or 4 benefices apiece,

[¹ Sig. K 8]

Theod. That is an horrible abuse, that one man should haue two or three, or halfe a dozen benefices apeece as some haue: may anie man haue so manie liuings at one time, by the lawe of God, and good conscience?

Amphil. As it is not lawfull for anie man to haue or enioie two wiues at once, so is it not lawfull for any man, how excellent soeuer, to haue mo benefices, mo flocks, cures or charges in his handes, than one at once. Nay, I am fullie perswaded that it is more tollerable (and yet it is a damnable thing) for a man to haue two wiues or mo, than for a man to haue two benefices at once, or mo. For by possibilitie a man might discharge the dutie of a good husband to two or three wiues (yet to haue mo than one is the breach of Gods commandements), but no man, though he were as learned as Saint Paule, or the apostles themselues to whome were given supernaturall and extraordinarie giftes and graces, is able sufficientlie to discharge his dutie in the instruction of one church, or congregation, much lesse of three or foure, or halfe a dozen, as some haue. And as one father cannot bee manie fathers, one pastor ²manie pastours, nor one man

which is worse than having 2 or 3 wives.

[² Sig. K 8, back]

One Pastor cannot take charge of

three flocks or mo at once, and to feed them wel and in due season, dooing the dutie of a good shepheard in euerie respect, they being distant from him, ten, twentie, fortie, fixtie, an hundred, two hundred, or three hundred miles? Much lesse is there any man able to discharge the dutie of a good pastor ouer so manie flocks, churches, and congregations so farre distant in place, wheras the simplest flocke that is, requireth a whole, and perfect man, & not a peece of a man. Therefore I aduise al benefice mongers, *that* haue mo charges then one, to take heede to themselues, and to leaue them in time, for the blood of al those within their cures, or charges, that die ghoslie for want of the truth of Gods word preached vnto them, shall be powred vpon their¹ heads, at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

more flocks
and churches
than one.

If he tries to,
he must be
non-resident
in one parish.

[² Sig. L. x.]

Theod. If they haue so many benefices a peece, and some so farre distant from another, then it is not possible that they can be resident vpon them all at once. But the matter is in dispute, whether they may not as well be ab²sent, or present: what is your iudgment of that?

Amphil. To doubt whether the pastor ought to be resident with his flocke, is to doubt whether the soule should be in the bodie, the eie in the head, or the watchman in his tower. For this I am fully perswaded of, that as the soule is the life of the bodie, and the eie the light of the same, so the word of God preached is the life, and light, as well to the bodie as to the soule of man. And as necessarie as the one is to the bodie, so (and much more) necessarie is the other both to soule and bodie. Now certain it is, these things cannot be applied without the presence of the preacher or pastor; and therefore is his absence from his flocke a dangerous and a perilous thing, and as it were a taking away of their life and light from them, which commeth by the preaching of Gods word vnto them.

This takes
away the
Word preacht,
which is the
Life.

Theod. But they say, though they be not present by themselues, yet be they present by their substitutes and deputies: is not that a sufficient discharge for them before God?

Amphil. I grant they are present by their deputies and substitutes, but if a man shoulde looke into a great sort of them, he should finde them such as are fitter to feed hogs, than christian soules. For as for

Ministers'
Substitutes
are mainly like
Hogherds.

¹ *Orig.* their their.

II. 2. *Ministers' ignorant tippling hired Deputies.* 77

some of them, are they ¹not such as can scarcely read true english? [¹ Sig. L. 1. back.] And for their zeale to Gods worde and true religion, are they not such as can scarce tell what it meaneth? The truth of Gods word they cannot easily preach nor expound. The aduersarie they cannot refell: barke against sinne they dare not, bicause their liues are licentious. They will read you their seruice faire and cleanly (as the doting papists did their blasphemous masses out of their portesses), and when they haue done, they will to all kinde of wanton pastimes and delights, with come that come will, and that vpon sabboth day, festiuall day, or other; no day is amisse to them. And all the weeke after, yea all the yeere (if I said all the yeeres of their life, I lied not) they will not sticke to keepe companie at the alehouse from morning till night, tipling and swilling till the signe be in Capricornus. Inso-much as if you would know where the best cup of drinke is, go to these malt woormes, and I warrant you you shall not misse of your purpose. By these mercenaries their deputies, and the like, I grant they are present in all their flocks, but so as it were better or as good they were absent, for any good they doe, but rather hurt by their euill example of life. The residence of these their deputies is no discharge for them ²before the tribunall seate of God: for notwithstanding the same, let them be sure to answere for the bloud of euerie one of their sheepe, that miscarrieth through their default, or their deputies. Their deputies shall not excuse them at the day of iudgement, I dare be their warrant. Therefore I wish them to take heed to it betime, least afterward it be too late.

Tho they can
read the Service,
yet after it,

and on week-
days, they'll
swill all day at
the Alehouse.

[² Sig. L. 2.]

Theod. But I heare say, that what is wanting either in their deputies, or in themselves for not being daily resident, they supply either by preaching their quarter sermons themselves, or else (if they be not able) by procuring of others to do it for them. Is not that well?

Pluralists may
preach once a
quarter, but
that's no more
good

Amphil. It is as though a man euery quarter of a yeere once, shuld take his plow, & go draw a furrow in a field, & yet notwithstanding should looke for increase of the same: were not he a foolish husbandman that wold do thus? And euen so he is no lesse vnwise, that plowing but one furrow, that is, preaching but one poore sermon in a quarter of a yeere (& perchance but one in a whole yeere, nay in 7. yeeres) will notwithstanding loke for gret increase of the same. Now the cause why this ground bringeth not forth fruit is, for that it

than if a man
plowd one furrow
every quarter.

[¹ Sig. L. 2. back.]
Our churches
don't bring forth
fruit because
they're not tilled
with preaching.

God's Word
should be
preacht night
and day with-
out ceasing.

[² Sig. L. 3.]

Woe to Minis-
ters who won't
preach it!

Tho there's a
law against
Pluralism,

is not plowed, furowed, & tilled al together as it ought to be. So the cause wherefore the pore churches doe not bring forth fruit ¹is, for that they are not furrowed, manured, and tilled, as they ought, and bicause the word of God is not preached vnto them, and as it were braied, punned, interpreted, and expounded, *that* it, sinking down into the good ground of their harts, might bring forth fruit to eternal life. If the strongest mans body that liueth vpon the earth should be nourished with nothing for a whole quarter of a yeeres space, but onely with two or three drops of aqua vite, aqua angelica, or the like, euery day, and at euery quarters end should be fed with all manner of dainties, I am perswaded that his bodie notwithstanding would soone be weake inough. Nay, do you thinke it were possible to liue one quarter of a yeere? Euen so falleth out in this case. For although our soules (which liue by the word of God, as our bodies doe by meate) be daily fedde with hearrng the word read as it were with aqua vite, or sweet necter, and at euerie quarters ende, haue a most excellent & sumptuous banquet to pray vpon, yet may they macerate and pyne away notwithstanding, for lacke of the continuance of the fame. And therefore the worde of God is to be preached night and day, in time, and out of time, in season and out of season, and that without ceasing, or intermission. And if that saieng of the prophet be ²true (as without all controuersie it is most true) that he is accursed, *Qui fecerit opus domini negligenter*, That doth the worke of the Lord negligently, or fraudulently, then must it needs be, that those who hauing cure of soules, and doe seldome, or neuer preach, are within the compasse of this curse. Let them take heede to it. The apostle Paule said of himselfe, *Vae mihi nisi euangelizauero*, Woe be to me if I preach not the gospel; and doe they thinke that the same wo is not proper to them if they preach not? Haue they a greater priuiledge than the blessed apostle saint Paule had? No, no, these vaine excuses will not serue them; therefore, as they tender the saluation of their owne soules, and many others, I wish them to take heede, and to shew themselues painefull laborers in the Lords haruest.

Theod. As far as I remember, by the lawes of *Dnalgne* there is a restraint, that none shall haue no more benefices at once than one: how is it then, that they can holde so manie a peece, without danger of the law?

II. 2. *Dodges to avoid the Law against Pluralities.* 79

Amphil. They make the lawes (as it were) shipmens hoofen, or as a nose of waxe, turning and wresting them at their pleasure, to anie thing they lust. But bicause they will auoide the lawes, they purchase a dispensation, a licence, a commission, a pluralitie, a qualification, and I cannot tell what else, by vertue whereof they may hold totquots for manie, how manie soeuer, and that with as good a conscience as *Iudas* receiued the mony for the which he sold Christ Iesus the Sauour of the world. Or if this way will not serue, then get they to be chaplines to honorable & noble personages, by prerogatiue whereof they may holde I cannot tell how manie benefices, yea, as manie as they can get. But I maruell whether they thinke that these licenses shall go for good payment at the daie of iudgement. I thinke not. For sure I am that no license of man can dispense with vs, to doe that thing which is against Gods worde (as these totquots is) and therefore vnlawful. They may blind the foolish world with pretended dispensations, and qualifications, but the Lorde will bring them to account for it in his good time: GOD grant they may looke to it!

it's avoided by
buying a
dispensation,
[^r Sig. L. 3.back]

getting a
chaplaincy to a
Nobleman, &c.

But God 'll be
down on these
folk.

Theod. In whome doth the patronage, right, and gifture of these ecclesiastical promotions and benefices consist? in the churches themselves, or in whom else?

Amphil. Indeede you saie well. For who shoulde haue the patronage, the right, the interest, and gifture of the benefices, but the churches themselves, whose the benefices are by right, and to whome, *Proprio iure*, They doe appertaine? For doe not the benefices consist either in tithes, or contributions, or both? Nowe, who giueth both the one and the other? Doe not the Churches? Then by good reason ought they to haue the gifture and bestowing of them, and the right and interest thereof ought to remaine in the power of the church, and not in anie other priuate man whatsoever.

The Patronage
of Benefices
ought to be in
the Churches'
hands.
[^r Sig. L. 4.]

Theod. Why? Then I perceiue you would not haue anie priuate or singuler man of what degree soeuer, to haue the patronage, the right, or gifture of anie ecclesiastical liuing, but the churches themselves: is not that your meaning?

Every parish
Church ought
to haue the
patronage of its
own Living.

Amphil. Yes truely, that is my meaning, and so I am of opinion it ought to be.

Theod. Why so, I beseech you?

80 II. 2. *Every Congregation should own its Patronage.*

It wouldn't
abuse it as pri-
uate Patrons do.

[¹ Sig. L. 4 back]

Private Patrons
often cheat their
Pastors of half
their income.

And they move
their cattle and
sheep so as to
avoid paying
tithes on em.

[² Sig. L. 5]

Amphil. Bicause one man may easly be corrupted, and drawne to bestowe hys benefice eyther for fauour, affection, or monie, vppon such as bee vnworthie; the whole Church will not so. Againe, the whole liuing is nothing else but pure almes, or deuocion, or both, the Gentelman or other that pretendeth the gifture thereof, ¹giueth not the whole liuing himselfe, *ergo* hee ought not to haue in his owne power, the only gifture of the same. Thirdly, the whole church will not giue the same for simonie; one priuate man may be induced to doe it. Fourthlie, the church will keepe no part of the liuing backe from the pastor, if he doe his dutie, nor imploie it to ther owne vse; the singularitie of one man may easilie be abused: nay, the most patrones keepe the fattest morsels to themselues, and giue scarcely the crums to their pastors. But if the benefice be woorth two hundred pound, they will scarcely giue their pastor foure score. If it be woorth an hundred pound, they will hardly giue fortie pound. If woorth forty pound, it is well if they giue ten pound, imploieing the better halfe to their owne priuate gaine. Now if this be not sacri-lege, and a robbing of the poore churches of their substance, as also defrauding of the Lords minister of his dutie and right, then I knowe not what sacrilege, and fraude meaneth. Yea there are some, that hauing ground in another parish than where they dwell, against the time that their sheepe, kine, and other cattell should bring forth increase, will driue them thither, so that the fruit falling in the other parish, he shall not need to pay tithes for the same to his owne pastor ²where he dwelleth. And against the time that the other pastor of that parish where his cattell fell, shall demand his tithes thereof, they will haue fetched home their cattell, so that by these sinister kinde of meanes, they will neither pay in the one parish, nor in the other. But if the one commence sute against him, he answereth, they fell not in his parish: if the other doe the same, he pleadeth that he is not of his parish, nor oweth him ought. But indeed they wil pay for their ground in the other parish a little herbage (as they call it), a thing of nothing, to stop his mouth withall. So that hereby the poore pastors are deteined from their right, and almost beggered in most places that I haue come in.

Theod. How came temporall men by the right of their patronages, and how fell they into their clowches, can you tell?

II. 2. *How Laymen got their Church Patronage.* 81

Amphil. I will tell you, as farre as euer I could coniecture, how they fel into their hands. In the beginning, when Antichrist the pope exercis'd his vsurped authoritie, and challenged the title of supreme head ouer the vniuersall church of Christ vpon the face of the earth, to whomsoever would either erect churches, temples, and oratories (as the then world was giuen to blinde superstition, as to instaure abbeies, priories, nunries, with other sumptuous edefices, and houses of religion, thinking the same a worke meritorious, and to gilte, crosses, images, and the like fooleries) or else giue ground for the same to be built vpon, his vnholie holines did giue the patronage and pretended right of the same church, and benefice belonging to the same. Other some thinke (to whome I willingly subscribe) that the Churches (consisting of simple and ignorant men for the most part) abusing the same benefices, and bestowing them vpon vnmeet persons, the princes haue taken them out of their handes, and giuen the right patronage and possession of the same to the temporalitie, to the ende they might bestowe them better. But as they were taken from the churches for some causes, so ought they to be remooued and giuen againe to the Churches for greater causes. For nowe are they bought and sold for simonie, euen as an oxe or a cow is bought and sold for money.

Theod. Are there no lawes for the refraine of simonie, being for horrible and detestable vice in the church of God?

Amphil. Yes, that there are. As he that is patrone taking monie for his benefice, to loose the patronage of the same, and the ecclesiasticall person, that giueth it, to loose the same benefice, the monie giuen or promised to be giuen, and to remaine incapable of anie other ecclesiasticall promotion afterwarde for euer. But doe you thinke they are fooles? Haue they no shift to defeate the lawe? Yes, I warrant you. For though they giue two hundred, or three hundred pound for a benefice, yet it shall be done so cloosely, as no dogges shall barke at it. But bicause at the time of their initiation, institution, induction and admision, they are sworne whether they came by it by simonie or no, whether they gaue anie monie for it or no, therefore, to auoide the guilte of periurie, they, the pastors themselues, will not giue anie monie, but their friends shall doe it for them; and than may they sweare (with as good a conscience as euer Iudas betraied Christ) that they gaue not a penny, but came

Laymen get their Church Patronage by the Pope having

given it to all men who'd build churches or give ground for em;

[^r Sig. L 5, back]

and by the King having taken the patronage from congregations, and given it to individuals.

We have laws against *Simony*,

[^r Sig. L 6]

but they're easily evaded.

Simony is avoided by pastors getting friends to pay money for them.

82 II. 2. *Abuses of Private Patronage of Livings.*

Or they buy a
worthless thing
for £100.

[¹ Sig. L 6, back]

Private
Patronages
should be
abolisht.

Poor Pastors
haven't money
to buy books.

[² Sig. L 7]

Pagans take
better care of
their Priests.

by it freely, as of gifte. Or if this waie fayle them, than must they giue the patrones a hundred pounce, or two hundred pounds vpon some bargayne, that is not woorth a hundred pence, and then maye they sweare, if neede be, that they came by the benefice frankelye, and freelye, and that they gaue the money vpon such and such a bargaine, ¹without some of these practises, or without such a dish of apples as Master Latimer talketh of, with thirty angels in euery apple, though he be neuer so learned a man, I warrant him he gets nothing. But if he can get a graffe of this tree loden with such golden apples, it will serue him better then all Saint Pauls learning. For these and the like abuses infinite, if the patronages were taken away from them that now enioy them, nay, that make hauocke of them, and either to rest in the right of the Prince (as they ought) or else in the right of the churches, who will not be corrupted, it were a great deale better than nowe they bee. For now the poore pastours are so handled at the hands of their patrones, that they neyther haue mony to buy them bookes withall, nor, which is lesse, not to maintaine themselues vpon, though but meanelye, but are manye times constrained either to wander abroad to seeke their livings, or els to take vp their Inne in an alehouse, or in some od corner or other, to the great discredite of the gospell of Christ, and offence of the godlie. This argueth flatly that we loue not Christ Iesus, who make so little of his messengers, and ambassadors. He that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that receaueth and maketh much of you, he receiueth ²me, and maketh much of me, saith Christ. The heathen gentils, and pagans, prouide better for their idolatrous priests, then we doe for the true preachers of the gospell, and disclosers of the secrets of God. For when the Egyptians were fore pooled of Pharao, the priests, by his commandement, were excepted, and permitted to haue all necessarie maintenance whatsoever. But we are of another mind, for we thinke whatsoever we get of them is won, it is our own good, whereas in truth, what we withdrawe from them (prouided that they be diligent preachers of the gospell) we withdraw it from God, and ferrie it to the deuil. But hereof more shal be spoken (Christ willing) hereafter, when we come to this question, whether it be lawful for preachers and ministers of the Gospell, to receiue wages and stipends for preaching of the worde.

II. 2. *The Minister's Right to his Tithes.* 83

Theod. By what law may a minister of the Gospell make claime to tithes, and other profits, emoluments, duties, and commodities, belonging to him, by y^e law of God, or of man? Ministers can claim Tithes

Amphil. God, in the law of Moses, gaue speciall commandement that tithes, and other oblations, commodities and profits should be giuen to the priests, to the end that they might attend vpon the diuine seruice of God and not ¹busie themselues in worldly affaires, which [¹ Sig. L 7, back] ordinance or sanction being meere ceremonial, is now fully abrogate by Christ (for in him the truth, al ceremonies, shadowes, types & figures ceased, & toke their end) And therefore cannot a preacher of the Gospell claime his tithes by the lawe of Moses, but by the positue lawes of Christian princes which are to be obeyed in all things (not directly against true godlinesse) vpon paine of damnation. by the positive law of Christian kings,

Theod. Are tithes then due to be paid by the positue lawe of man, and not by the law of God?

Amphil. Yea truly, by the positue lawe of man: which godlie constitution is now no lesse to be obeyed vnder the Gospell (being commanded by a christian prince) than the diuine institution was to be obeyed vnder the law. And although tithes bee due by the positue lawes of man, yet are the same grounded vpon the word of God, as commanded as well by God as by man. And therefore he that breaketh this ordinance (being an excellent policie) violateth the commandements of God, and breketh the constitution of his liege prince to his damnation, except he repent. grounded on the word of God.

Theod. Must euerie one pay his tithes truly to euery pastor, whether he be ought or ²naught, learned or vnlearned, without any [¹ Sig. L 8] exception; or may he deteine it with good conscience from him that is an vnfit and vnable minister?

Amphil. If he be a good pastor, and diligent in his calling, and withal able to discharge the dutie of a faithful shepheard ouer his flock, then ought he to haue al tithes paid him whatsoever with the better; and if any should withhold the least mite from him, he sinneth against the maiestie of God most greuously. And although he be a wicked man and not able to discharge his dutie, though but in small measure, yet ought euerie man to pay him his due faithfully and truly. For in denieng him his dutie, they might seeme to withstande authoritie, which they ought not to doe. In the meane time giuing

Even tho a Minister's a wicked man, his tithes should be paid him,

84 II. 2. *Ministers may preach to other Flocks gratis.*

themselves to praier, and suing to them that haue the authoritie for his displacing, and placing of another that is more able in some measure to discharge the dutie of a faithfull paritor. Notwithstanding I know some are of opinion that if any man giue either tithes, or anie dutie else, to their pastor being an vnfit and an vnable person, he is partaker with him of his sinne, he communicateth with other mens offences, and he maintaineth him in his idleneffe, sloth, ignorance,¹ and securitie, and therefore offendeth grieuoufly. But I am of opinion that euerye man ought to pay their dutie (for else he might seeme, as I said, to resist the power) & if he be not able to discharge his dutie, to pray for his remoouing, and to make instance to them that are in authoritie appointed for the redresse of such inormities, for his displacing, and so not to attempt anything without good and lawfull authoritie grounded vpon the word for the same.

[¹ Sig. L 8, back]

but his
parishioners
should try to get
him removed.

Theod. May a pastor that hath a charge and a flocke assigned him to watch ouer (hauing a maintainable liuing allowed him of his flock) preach in other places for monie?

An endowd
Minister
may not

Amphil. Hee may sometimes, obtaining licence for some reasonable cause of his owne flocke, preach the word of God abroad in other places, but then he ought to doe it *gratis*, contenting himselfe with the liuing allowed him at home of his owne parish. Notwithstanding, if the other churches where he shall have preached, will voluntarily impart any thing to the supplie of his necessities, in respect of his painstaking, he may thankfully receiue the same, but he may not compell, nor constraîne them to giue it him whether they will or not, against their wils, as manie impudently doe.

force men to
pay him for
preaching in
other places.

[² Sig. M. 1.]

Theod. Then I perceiue if it be not law²full for a pastor that hath a flocke, and a stipend appointed him, to receiue monie vpon constraint of strangers for preaching the worde abroad in other places, then is it not lawfull for him to take monie in his cure for preaching funerall sermons, marriage sermons, christening sermons, and the like, as many do. What say you to this?

Ministers may
not take fees
for sermons

Amphil. There are manie woorthie of great blame in this respect. For though they receiue fortie pound, a hundred pound, or two hundred pound a yeere, of some one parish, yet will they hardly preach once a moneth, nay happily not once in a quarter of a yeere, and sometimes not once a twelue moneth, for the same. And if a

II. 2. *Preachers not to take fees for Funeral Sermons.* 85

man request them to preach at a burial, a wedding, or a christening, they will not doe it vnder an angell, or a noble at the left. And therefore the papists and aduersaries to the Gospel call our Gospel, 'a polling Gospel,' our sermons 'roiall sermons, angell sermons, and noble sermons.' You call, say they, our blessed masse 'a polling masse;' but, say they, your preachings are more polling. For we say they would haue sold a masse for a grote; you will not sell a sermon vnder a roiall, or a noble. And thus these fellowes are a slander to the Gospel, and robbers of their fellowe brethren. If I should hire a¹ man for fortie pound, an hundred pound, or more, or lesse, to teach my children nurture or knowledge, if he for the execution therof should aske me more for the same than we agreed for, were not this man a naughtie, exacting, and fraudulent felowe? Nay, if I compound with him to teach them in the best maner he is able for so much, and he doth it not, and yet receiue my monie, haue not I good lawe against him? If he should say vnto me, I will not doe it except you giue me more, were not this a very vnreasonable man? For, hauing his monie that was couenant, is hee not bound both by lawe and conscience to teach them to the vttermost of his power? Or if he shall not doe it, and yet take my monie, is not he a theefe and robber? Is this true in a priuate man, & not in an ecclesiasticall person? Is he not hired to that end & purpose to preach the word of God to his flocke? And hath hee not wages for the same? Shall he now denie to preach the same word except he haue more monie? Or is he not bound in conscience to preach the same night and day without ceasing? And if he doe not, is he not a deceiuer, a theefe, & a robber? The pastor therefore, hauing taken vpon him the cure & charge of his flocke, and hauing his stipend appointed for the same, is bound to preach the worde of² God to all his flocke indifferently whether it be at buriall, wedding, christening (yea then especially) or at any other time whensoever, without taking or requiring of any more monie, than the stipend he was hired for. For if he take any more, it is plaine theft before God, and one day shall be answered for: let them be sure of it.

Theod. You condemne not funerall sermons then, so that they be good, doe you?

Amphil. No, God forbid. Why should not godlie sermons be as

at Burials,
Weddings, &c.

Those that do
are a slander to
the Gospel.

[¹ Sig. M. r. back]

They get their
salary, and yet
won't preach
without more
pay.

[² Sig. M. a.]

86 II. 2. *Funeral Sermons Good. Ministers should be paid.*

I think godly
Sermons at
Funerals are
very needful,
and do great
good.

wholsome (and as necessarie) at the burials of christians, when wee haue such liuely spectacles before our eies, of our mortality, miserie, and end, as they be at all other times? Yea truely at that present I thinke godlie sermons verie necessarie to put the people in remembrance of their mortalitie, of their great miserie, and frailtie, of their fatall end, of the immortalitie of the soule, of the generall resurrection at the last day, and of the ioie, felicitie, and beatitude of the life to come, with the like godlie instructions, that they may the better prepare themselves to the same when God shall call them hence to himselfe. And although of late some phantasticall spirites haue taught that the vse of them is naught, in that they ¹ stand in place of popish diriges, and I cannot tell what, yet cannot I be easilie drawne to assent vnto them, for that I see them in that respect a great deale more curious than godlie wise.

[¹ Sig. M. 2. back]

Ministers
ought to have
Stipends, so as
to be free from
worldly business,
and keep their
families.

Theod. Is it lawfull, thinke you, for ministers, and preachers of the Gospell, to receiue stipends, and wages for their preaching?

Amphil. Why not? Otherwise how should they bee able to keepe themselves free from worldly occupations, and trauels of this life (as they ought) to applie their studies for the discharge of their duties, to maintaine themselves, their family, and household; or how should they keepe hospitalitie for the releefe of the poore³ all which they are bound to doe both by Gods lawe, and good conscience. Therefore take away liuings and wages from the preachers, and ouerthrowe preaching altogether, the ordinarie meane to saluation in Christ. This caused the apostle to enter disputation of this point, where he proueth by inuincible arguments, that a preacher or minister of the Gospell of Christ Iesus, may (*Salua conscientia*, With a good conscience) receiue wages and stipends for his peines susteined in the affaires of the Gospell, and that for the causes abouesaid. Therefore saith this apostle: *Boui² trituranti non ligabis os*, Thou shalt not muffle the mouth of the oxe that treadeth forth the corne. Whereby is ment, that he that laboreth and taketh paines in any good exercise, ought not to be denied of his meed for his paines. Againe he saith: *Dignus est operarius mercede sua*, The workman is woorthie of his reward. And still insisting in the same argument, hee saith: *Qui euangelium prædicant, ex euangelio viuant*, They that preach the Gospell, let them liue vpon the Gospell. And yet further prosecuting the same more at

[² Sig. M. 3.]

St. Paul says
that Ministers
who preach the
Gospel should
live by it.

II. 2. *Benefist Clergy not to take Money of other Flocks.* 87

large, he saith : *Quis militat*, etc. ‘Who goeth on warfare at any time of his owne charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit? Who feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flock?’ By al which reafons and arguments it appeareth, that he who preacheth the Gospell ought to liue of the Gospell. But as euerie pastor that hath a peculiar flocke assigned him, may, with the testimonie of a good conscience, receiue wages and maintenance of his flocke, for his paines taken amongst them : so may he not, nor ought not, to take wages or salarie of any other flocke adioining, if so be it, that either vpon request, or his owne voluntarie good will, he preach the word of God amongst them. To them that are thus prouided for, Christ our ¹sauiour saith : *Gratis accepistis, gratis date*, Freely you haue receiued, freely giue againe. But if any haue not a speciall flocke or charge assigned him, then may he with good conscience receiue the beneuolencie, the friendly contributions and rewards, of the churches to whom he hath preached. And this is probable, both by the word of God, and the examples of the apostles themselves.

But benefist Ministers may not take extra pay.

[¹ Sig. M. 3. back]

Theod. What say you of preachers, and lecturers, that haue no peculiar flocks, nor charges appointed them ; are they necessarie, and may they receiue wages, with a good conscience, of the flocks and charges where they preach the word of God?

Amphil. First you aske me whether preachers and lecturers that haue no peculiar flocks nor charges of their owne to attend vpon, be necessarie. Whereto I answere. That considering the state & condition of the church at this day, they are most necessarie. But if it were so, that euerie church and congregation had his preacher (as euery one ought to preach, else is he not sent by the Lord) then were they not so necessarie ; but considering that most churches are planted and fraught with single reading ministers, they are verie behouefull to helpe to supplie the defect of the others, that ²through the good industrie as well of the one, as of the other, the churches of GOD may bee instructed and nourished with the worde of GOD to eternall life. Then you aske mee whether these lecturers and preachers may receiue wages of the churches to whom they preach, with a good conscience, whereto I answere, that they may. But yet I am perswaded, that it were much better for them to haue particular flocks of their owne, to the end that they, receiuing sufficient maintenance of them, might

Unbenefist preachers are now necessary,

as most Churches have only Readers.

[² Sig. M. 4.]

Unbenefist clergy may take pay for Preaching.

88 II. 2. *Ministers to be content with poor Livings.*

(if they were at anie time disposed to bestowe any spirituall graces abroad) doe it *Gratis*, frankly and freely, without any charges to the poore churches of Iesus Christ.

Theod. But what if the pastors liuing be not maintaineable nor sufficient for him to liue vpon, may hee not take wages of other flocks abroad?

But benefi-
caries may not,
even if their
Livings are
very poor.

[¹ Sig. M 4. back]

They must be
content with em,

and wait till
the Lord opens
men's hearts to
give them more.

Amphil. I am persuaded no. For if his liuing be too little, then ought the church to mend it; but if the church, either for want of zeale will not, or through extreame pouertie cannot, increase his liuing, then ought the pastor to content himselfe with that little which God hath sent him, following the example of the apostle, who biddeth the children of G O D ¹to be content with their wages, bee it little or be it much: for if they haue meate, drinke, and cloth, it is enough, and as much as nature requireth. We brought nothing (saith he) into this world, neither shall we carrie any thing out. Againe, those that will be rich, fall into diuers temptations, and snares of the diuell, which drowne men in perdition and destruction. Therefore if it be sufficient to yeelde him meate, drinke, cloth, and other necessaries, he is bound to content himselfe with the same. Which if he doe (for the zeale he beareth to his flocke), I doubt not but the Lord will open the harts of his flock towards him, and both make them able and willing to support his necessities. For if hee deliuer vnto them spirituall things, doubtlesse the Lord will moue them to giue vnto him temporall things. And therefore ought he to perseuere; and in his good time, without all peradventure, the Lord will looke vpon him, as he hath promised.

Theod. Doe you allow of that vagarant ministerie, which is in manie countries, but most specially in *Dnalgne* sprong up of late, to the discredite of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and offence of the brethren?

[² leaf M 5]

The present
Vagrant
Ministers,

Amphil. Allow of it, quoth you? No, God forbid! But I rather deplore it with all my hart, ²knowing that it is most directly against the word of God, the example of the primitiue age and all good reformed churches thorough the world. Is it not a pitifull case that two hundred, three hundred, five hundred, a thousand, five thousand, yea possible ten thousand, shall be called into the ministerie, in one countrie, not a quarter of them knowing where to haue any liuing or

charge? And what do they then? Runne fragling and rousing ouer countries, from towne to towne, from citie to citie, from shire to shire, and from one place to another, till they haue spent al that euer they haue, and then the most of them either become beggers, or else attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes to liue by, to the great dishonour of God, and slander of the word.

roaming all
ouer the country,
I condemne.

Theod. Me thinke this is a great abuse, that so manie, or any at all, should be called into the ministerie, not hauing flocks and charges prouided for them before.

Amphil. It is a great abuse indeed. For if pastor come of *Pasco*, to feed, if he be not a shepheard that hath no flock, and if he be not a feeder, that giueth no sustinance, nor a father that hath no childe, then are they no shepheards, nor no watchmen sent from the Lord, that haue neither flocks, nor charges to watch ouer. For ¹he that is made a shepheard (or a minister) that hath no particular flocke readie to receiue him, is so far from being a lawfull shepheard, by reason of his former admissiō, that he is rather made a pastor by the church that hireth him to be their watchman and guide, than of him that first called him into that function. And therefore woulde I wish that bishops and others to whome it doth (*Ex officio*) apperteine to call, and admit pastors, and teachers in the church of GOD, to bee verie carefull heerein, and not rashly to lay their handes vpon any, before they haue had sufficient triall, as well of their life and doctrine, as also of the flock and charge where they shal be resident, that they go not like maisterlesse hounds, vp and downe the countries, to the slander of the Gospell.

[¹ leaf M 5, back]

Bishops
should stop

these men
running about
like masterless
dogs.

Theod. Why? Then I perceiue you would haue none called into the ministerie, before there be a place void for him: is not that your meaning?

No one should
be ordaind till
a place is
ready for him.

Amphil. That is my meaning indeed.

Theod. But are you able to prouoe your assumption out of the word of God, or else I will giue but smal credit to you in such matters of controuersie as this is?

Amphil. I haue not, neither doe I meane to speake anie thing vnto you touching these matters, but what I am able (I trust) to ² prouoe by the worde of GOD. And yet I grant *Errare possum* (for *Hominis est labi, & decipi*, Man may bee deceiued and fall) but

Bible examples
prove this.
[² leaf M 6]

Hereticus esse nolo, Erre I may, but heretike I will not be. No, so soone as I shall be conuincd by the manifest worde of God, of any of my former positions or assertions, I will willingly subscribe to the truth. But being perswaded as I am, giue me leaue, I beseech you (vnder correction) to speake what I thinke. But now to the purpose. In the first chapter of the Actes of the apostles recorded by the Evangelist Saint *Luke*, wee read that *Matthias* succeeding *Judas* the traitour in the administration of the apostleship, was not chosen nor elected (notwithstanding that the apostles by the reuelation of the Spirite of GOD, knew that he should fall from the same in the end) vntill the place was voide, and emptie. In the fixt chapter of the Actes of the apostles wee reade also of seuen deacons, which were chosen for the dailie ministring to the poore; but when, I pray you? Not before the church (desitute of their seruice) had need of them, nor before there¹ were places readie to receiue them, wherein they might exercise their function, and calling. Then if the apostles would not choose not so much as deacons, which is an office in the church of God farre inferiour to the office of the pastor, or preacher, before places were void and readie to receiue them, much lesse would they, or did they choose or call any pastor into the church of God, before the church stood in need of him, and before there be a place readie to receiue him. Besides that, we read not thorough the whole euangelicall historie, that euer the apostles called any to be pastors and preachers of the word, before such time as there were places void for them. Common reason, me thinke, and daily experience, should teach us this truth sufficiently, if we were not wilfully blinded, that when any church or congregation is desitute of a pastor, it were better to place there one able person, than to make two or three hundred or mo vnable fellowes, and they, for want of liuing, to runne stragling the countries ouer, without any liuing or maintenance at all, being glad of any thing. For as the old saieng is: Hungrie dogs eate sluttish puddings.

Theod. What order would you have obserued in this?

² *Amphil.* Me thinke this were a verie good order: That euerie church or congregation being desitute of a pastor, should present to the bishops, and others to whom it dooth appertene, one or two, three or foure able persons, or mo, or lesse, as they conueniently can,

Matthias
wasn't elected

till Judas's place
was empty.

The Apostles
wouldn't choose
Deacons until
[¹ leaf M 6, back]
places were
ready for em.

Common sense
says, better
wait and get one
able man than
have 200 unfit
ones struggling
about after
places.

[² leaf M 7]

Any congrega-
tion wanting
a Pastor, should
propose 2 or 3
tried men to
the Bishop,

II. 2. *How Ministers should be appointed to Churches.* 91

whose liues and conuerſations they haue had ſufficient triall of, whoſe ſoundneſſe in religion, integritie of life, and godly zeale to the truth they are not ignorant of. Then the biſhops and others to whom it doth appertaine, to examine and trie them thoroughly for their ſufficiencie in learning, ſoundneſſe in doctrine, and dexteritie in teaching, and finding them furniſhed with ſufficient gifts for ſuch an honorable calling, to admit them, to lay their hands vpon them, and to ſend them forth (the chiefeſt of them) to that congregation or church ſo deſtitute. Which order, if it were ſtrictly obſerued and kept (as it ought to be) then ſhould not ſo manie run abroad in the countries to ſeek liuings, then ſhould not churches bee peſtered with inſufficient miniſters. Then ſhould not the biſhops be ſo deceiued in manie as they be. And no maruell. For how ſhould the biſhop chooſe but be deceiued in him, whom he neuer ſawe before, whoſe conuerſation he knoweth not, whoſe diſpoſition hee is ignorant of, and ¹whoſe qualities and properties in generall, he ſuſpecteth not? and he ſhould ordain the beſt for that Church.

Whereas if this order were eſtabliſhed, that euerie church deſtitute of a paſtor ſhould preſent certeine able men, whoſe conuerſation and integritie of life in euerie reſpect they perfectly knowe (for the whole church is not likely to erre in iudging of their conuerſations, who haue been either altogether, or for the moſt part conuerſant among them) then (as I ſay,) ſhould not the biſhop be deceiued in any, nor yet any church ſcandalized with the wicked liues of their paſtors (or rather depaſtors) as they be. For now it is though ſufficient for the certaintie of his conuerſation, if he either haue letters dimiſſorie from one biſhop to another (whereas they little or nothing knowe the conuerſation of the man) or elſe letters commendatorie from any gentleman, or other, eſpecially if they be of any reputation. If he can get theſe things, he is likely to ſpeede, I warrant him. Which thing is ſcarce well, in my iudgement. For you knowe one priuate man or two, or three, or foure may, peraduenture either write vpon affection, or elſe bee corrupted with bribes or gifts, whereas the whole church cannot, nor would not. Therefore is the other the ſurer way.

² *Theod.* How prooue you that the churches that are deſtitute of a paſtor, ought to preſent him whom they would haue admitted, to the biſhop, and not the biſhop to intrude vpon the church whom he will? [² leaf M 8]
Now, a Biſhop gets but ſmall proof of a candidate's fitness.
Bishops ought not to intrude their nominees on churches,

92 II. 2. *Bishops ought not to appoint whom they like.*

for the Apostles

hade the Church
present suc-
cessors to Judas
Iscariot.

They also hade
the Church
choose Deacons.

[¹ leaf M 8, back]
So now each
Church should
choose its
Pastor.

If it doesn't, it
won't like him.

[¹ Sig. N. 1.]

Amphil. In the first chapter of the Actes of the apostles before cited, we read, that after the defection of Iudas the traitour, the apostle *Peter* knowing it necessarie that one shoulde be chosen in his place, to giue testimonie and witnesse of the resurrection and ascension of Christ Iesus, commanded the church to present one or two, or mo, as they thought good, that hee with his fellowe brethren might confirme and allow them. And therevppon, saith the text, they chose two, to wit, *Matthias*, and *Ioseph*, surnamed *Bersabas*. And the church hauing presented them, they were elected, confirmed and allowed of the apostles and elders. Also in the foresaide sixt chapter of the Actes of the apostles, when the deacons (whose office was to make collections for the poore, and to see the same bestowed vpon them without fraud or deceit) were to be chosen, the text saith, that the apostles desired the church to choose fourth seuen men from amongst them, of honest report, & ful of the holie Ghost, which they might appoint to that businesse. ¹By all which reasons appereth, that the church ought to present him, or them, whom they would haue to be admitted, and not that the bishop ought to present, to allow, or to intrude him vpon the church at his pleasure, against the will thereof.

Theod. Why would you not haue pastors to be thrust vpon the churches, whether the churches will or not?

Amphil. Bicause it is manifest that no church will so willingly receiue, nor yet so louingly imbrace, him that is intruded vpon them against their wils, as they will doe him that they like of, choose, and allow of themselves. And if the churches beare not a singular loue, fauour, good will, and affection to their pastor, it is vnpossible that they should heare him, or learne of him with profit to their soules. And if they heare him not *Auide & stienter* (as we say) Greedily and thirstily thereby to profit, then shal they perish euerlastingly, in that the word of God is the ordinarie meane appointed by the diuine maiestie. And therefore in conclusion, if there be not a mutual amitie, loue, and affection betwixt the pastor and his flocke, and if that the one loue not the other, as themselves, it is not to be looked for that either the one shal teach, or the other receiue, any thing to their soules ²health, but rather the cleane contrarie.

Theod. I pray you what is your iudgement in this? What if a

II. 2. *When a Minister may turn Layman again.* 93

man be once lawfully called into the ministerie, may he euer vpon anie occasion whatsoeuer, leaue off the same function, and applie himselfe to secular affaires?

As to a Minister giving up his office,

Amphil. There is a twofold calling. The one a diuine calling immediately from God, the other a humane calling immediately from and by man. Now he that hath the first diuine calling (his conscience suggesting the same vnto him, and the spirit of God certifieng his spirit of the certentie thereof) being furnished with gifts and graces necessarie for such a high function and office (as God calleth none, but he indueth them first with gifts, and graces necessarie for their calling) and afterwards is lawfully called of man according to the prescript of Gods word, hauing a flocke appointed him wherevpon to attend, this man may not, nor ought not at any hand to giue ouer his calling, but to perseuere in the same to the end, for that he hath both the diuine and humane callings, being furnished with all gifts and graces necessarie (in some measure) for the discharge of his high function and calling. Yet notwithstanding, in time of extreame persecution, when Gods truth is persecuted, and his glorie defaced, if he haue not wherewithall to maintaine his estate otherwise, he may for the time giue himselfe to manuell occupations, and corporall exercises in the affaires of the worlde, as we see the apostles themselves did, who, after Christ Iesus was crucified, gaue themselves to their old occupations of fishing, making of nets, tents, pavilions, and the like. But vpon the other side, if a man haue not this diuine calling, his conscience bearing him witnesse thereof, nor yet the graces, gifts, and ornaments of the minde, fit for his calling (which, whosoever hath not, it is a manifest argument that the Lorde hath not sent him, for those that hee sendeth, hee furnisheth with all kinde of graces and giftes necessarie for their callings) this man, though he be called by humane calling neuer so precisely, yet he may, nay, hee ought, to leaue his function, as vnwoorthie to occupie a roome in the church of God, representing (as an idoll doth) that thing which hee is not. Besides, hee that is compelled and inforced either by friendes (as manie are), or by pouertie (as not a few bee), or for anie other respect else, to take that high function vpon him, without the testimonie of a good conscience, being not furnished with gifts, and graces fit for such a calling (which argueth directly that God hath not called him)

if he's calld by God's Spirit,

and then by man, and is given a flock, he must continue a Minister to the end.

[¹ Sig. N. r. back]

But if he's not calld by God, and hasn't fit gifts for his work, he

should at once give up his office.

Men forst by friends or poverty into the Ministry, and being unfit,

[² Sig. N. 2.]

94 II. 2. *Unfit Ministers ought to give up their charges.*

ought to leave
their callings.

hee, I say, is so farre from being bounde neuer to leaue his function and calling, that hee ought not one minute of an houre to continue in the same, though he bee called by man a thousande times. Therefore he that is a minister, and hath charge of soules committed vnto him, let him if hee bee not furnished with such gifts as his high calling requireth, in the name of G O D make no doubt of it to giue ouer his function vnto others that are able for their giftes to discharge the same, in the meane time giuing himselfe to godlie exercises of life, as God may be glorified, his conscience disburthened, and the commonwealth profited.

Theod. But I haue heard of some that, considering the naughtinesse of their calling, and their owne insufficiencie to discharge the same, haue therefore left off their function, giuing themselues to secular exercises, and in the ende haue beene inforced to resume their former function vpon them againe, and that whether they would or not. How thinke you of this?

[¹ Sig. N. 2. back]
Those who
would drive
them back into
Orders, offend
griuously.

Amphil. I thinke truely that they who compelled them to take againe that function which they were not able to discharge, and ¹therefore left it, haue greuously offended therein. This is as if I, knowing a simple ignorant foole presumptuously to haue taken vpon him a great and weightie charge, yea, such a charge as all the wisedome in the world is not able thoroughly to performe, and when he, in taking a view of his owne insufficiencie, shuld be mooued to leaue his charge to others better able to execute the same than hee, I should notwithstanding not onely counsell, but also compell him to resigne againe his former great charge, which I knowe he is neither woorthie, nor yet able, euer to accomplish. Thinke you not that he that compelleth him to take againe that office or calling which before he had leaft for his inabilitytie, shal not answere for the same? yes truely, you may be sure of it. In conclusion, he that is sufficiently furnished with such gifts as are necessarie for his calling, & withal is found able to discharge in some sort his duty, ought not to leaue his function (for to such a on that so doth, Christ saith 'hee that laieth hande vpon the plough, and looketh backe, is not fit for the kingdome of God'). But againe, he that hath not these gifts, and graces sufficient for his calling, to the discharge of his dutie, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the pastor thereof, much lesse ought he, ²when

No unfit Pastors
should be
re-appointed.

[² Sig. N. 3.]

II. 2. *No unfit Pastor should be re-appointed.* 95

he hath (for his inabilitie) leaft the fame, to be contrain[n]ed to refume againe his former function and calling, which he is not able to difcharge. But hereof enough.

Theod. Then I perceiue that any minifter or ecclefiaticall perfon that hath not gifts fufficient to difcharge his duty, may with good confcience leaue their functions, and giue themfelues to liue by their labors, as other temporall men doe : may they not? They'd better work for their bread.

Amphil. Yes, with a better confcience than to retaine them, being not able to difcharge them in any fmall meafure. For with what confcience can he receiue temporall things of his flocke, and is not able to giue them fpiritual? With what face can a fhepeheard receiue of his fheepe, the milke, the wooll, and fleece, and yet will not, or cannot giue to the fame either meate or drinke fufficiently? With what confcience can he receiue fortie pound, a hundred pound, or two hundred pound, a yeere, of his poore flocke, and is not able to breake to them the breade of life, in fuch forme and maner as he ought? Nay, how can he euer haue quiet confcience that knowing that the blood of all thofe that die ghofilie for want of inftruction fhall be powred vpon his head at the day of iudgment, and be demanded at his handes, will yet not¹withftanding reteane the fame charge and function to himfelfe ftill, not being able to difcharge the leaft iote of the fame? Therefore would I wifh euery man of what office, function, or calling foeuer he be, if he be not able to difcharge his dutie in the fame, to giue it ouer, and not for greedineffe of a little mucke or dung of the earth, (For monie is no better) to caft away their foules, which Iefus Chrift hath bought with his moft precious blood. How can a Pastor fairly take pay for what he can't give?

Theod. Is it lawfull for a paftor or minifter that hath a flocke to departe from the fame, In the time of plague, peftilence, or the like, for feare of infection? [¹ Sig. N. 3. back]

Amphil. Is he a good fhepeheard that, when he feeth the wolues comming, will take him to his heeles and runne away? Or is he a fure freend that, when a man hath moft neede of his helpe, will then get him packing, not fhewing any freendfhip towards him at all? I thinke not? And truly no more is he a good paftor, or minifter, (but rather a depaftor, and minifter) that in time of any plague, peftilence or ficknes whatfoeuer, will conuey himfelfe away Let unfit men resign at once.

A minifter is no Pastor, but a Depaftor, who 'll run away for feare of infection.

96 II. 2. *No good Pastor will run away in Plague time.*

[¹ Sig. N. 4.]

Such runaways,
to save their
bodies, will
hazard a
thousand souls.

[² Sig. N. 4. back]

But God will
follow and
strike them.

Cannot God
protect his
servants now
from death?

from his flocke, for feare of infection, at the houre of death, when the poore people haue most need of comfort aboue all other times, then is he their pastor that shoulde feede ¹them, the furthest from them. When they stande vpon the edge, as it were, of saluation or damnation, then permits he the wolfe to haue the rule ouer them. Our Sauour Christ faith *Bonus pastor animulam dat pro ouibus*, A good shepheard giueth his life for his sheepe, but these felowes are so far from giuing their liues for their sheepe, that they seeke to saue their owne liues with the destruction of their whole flocke. This is the loue that they beare vnto their flocke, this is the care they haue ouer their foules health, which Christ Iesus bought so deere with the price of his blood. Out vpon those shepheards that for feare of incurring of corporall death (which is to the Godly an entraunce into perpetuall glorie) will hazard manie a thousande to die a corporall and a spirituall death both, yea, a death of damnation both of body & soule for euer. Do they thinke that their blod shall not be asked at their handes at y^e gret day of the Lord. Do they thinke *that* their flieng away from their flock, is a mean to preferue their liues y^e longer vpon earth? Is not God able to strike them as well in the fields, as in the city, as well in the country as in the towne, in one place, as well as in another? Is not his power eueriewhere? Is not his messenger death in al places? Saith he not in the booke of Deuteron. that if we doe ²not those things which he hath commanded vs in his sacred word, cursed shall wee bee at home, and cursed in the fields. And faith he not further, that the plague and pestilence, the botch, bile, blaine, or else what deadly infection soeuer, shall followe vs, and lay hold vpon vs, in what place soeuer we be, and shall neuer depart from vs, till it haue quite consumed vs from the face of the earth? And doe these fugitiues that ouerrun their flocks in time of infection, thinke that they shall escape the heauie wrath and vengeance of God for their tergierfation and backsliding from their duties? Doe they thinke that God cannot saue them from corporal death but with the breach of their duties towards God? Is not the Lord as well able to defend them from any deadly infection, if it be his good pleasure, as he was to defend *Sidrach*, *Misach*, and *Abednego* from the flaming fire? *Daniell* from the mouth of the lions, *Jonas* from the iawes of the mightie whale, with manie others that trusted

II. 2. *God can protect his own. Duty to the death.* 97

in him? Doe they thinke that his arme is shortened, or his power weakened? Is he not able to deliuer his children, that in dooing of their duties depend vpon his prouidence? And to bee plaine with them, me thinke that in flieng away from their flockes, they shew themselves to thinke ¹that either God is not almightie, or else not mercifull, or neither. For if they beleueed that he were almightie, and that hee were able to saue them, then they would neuer run awaie from their flocke, but depending vpon his prouidence, beleuee that he is as well able to deliuer them in one place as in another, if it bee his good pleasure. And if they beleueed that he were mercifull, then would they rest vpon the same, not doubting, but as he is almightie, and omnipotent, and therefore can doe al things, so he is most mercifull, and therefore wil preferue al those that put their trust in him. If a temporall magistrate that exerciseth but a ciuil office in the commonwealth, shuld go away from his charge for feare of infection or plague, wheras his present abode might do more good than his absence, he greatly offendeth; how much more then offendeth he, that being a pastor or feeder of soules, flieth away from his charge, wheras his presence might doe a thousand times more good than his absence? And if it please the Lord to take them away to himselfe, are they not most happie? Enter they not into eternall glorie? And haue they not an end of all miseries and paines in this life, and the perfect fruition of perpetuall ioie in the heauens? Are they not blessed, if when the Lord shal call them, he find ²them so well occupied as in feeding, & breaking the bread of life to, the pore members of Christ Iesus for whose sakes he shed his hart blood?

[leaf N 5]
He will preserve
all those who
trust in him.

And if he takes
them to himselfe,
happy are they.

[² leaf N 5, back]

Theod. But they say, we ought not to tempt God, which thing they must needs doe if they shoulde tarrie when they see death before their face. And they say further, that it is written that we must keepe the whole from the sicke, and the sicke from the whole. Besids, saie they, *Natura dedit, potestatem tuendi vitam omni animanti*, Nature hath giuen power of defending of life to euerie liuing creture. Againe, euery thing fleeth from his contrarie, but death is contrarie to nature, for it came through the corruption of nature, therefore we flie from the same by the instinct of nature. These and the like fond reasons they alledge for their excuse in flieng from their flocks and charges: what say you to them?

Cowardly
Pastors' excuses
for fleeing from
infection.

98 II. 2. *The excuses of cowardly Pastors refuted.*

These refuted :

God has bidden
his Pastors to
feed his Sheep.

[¹ leaf N 6]

Men with no
duty to stay in
danger may
go from it.

But Ministers

[² leaf N 6, back

are specially
bound to be at
the deathbeds of
their flocks.

Many who've
led a wicked life

Amphil. I can saie little to them. But onelie this, that none of all these reasons doe priuledge them to discontinue from their flocks and charges. And whereas they saie, that their staieing were a tempting of God, it is verie vntrue, it is rather a reuerent obedience to this tripled commandement, *Pasce oues meas, pasce oues meas, pasce oues meas*, Feede my sheepe, feede my sheepe, feede my sheepe. But indeede if it were so that a priuate man who hath no ¹kind of function nor office, neither ecclesiasticall nor temporall, seeing himselfe if he staie stil in great danger of death, & might auoid the danger by flieng, & so by the grace of God prolong his life, and yet will not, this man, if he tarrieth, tempteth the Lord, and is a murtherer of himselfe before God. And to such it is said, 'thou shalt keepe the whole from the sicke, & the sick from the whole.' This is the meaning & sence of these words, and not that they do priuledge any man for not doing of his dutie. But notwithstanding all that can be said in confutation of this great & extreeme contempt of their duties, I haue knowne and doe know some ministers (nay, wolues in sheepes clothing) in *Dnalgne* that in time of any plague, pestilence or infection, though there hath bin no gret danger at all, that haue bin so far from continuing amongst their flock, *that* if any one of them were sicke, although of neuer so common or vsuall disease, yet fearing to be infected with the contagion thereof, they haue absented themselves altogether, from visiting *the* sick according as they ought, & as dutie doth bind them. Yea, some of them (suppose you of mercenaries, & hirelings, but not of good pastors) are so nice, so fine & so feareful of death forsooth, *that* in no case they cannot abide to visit the sicke, neither by day nor ²by night. But in my iudgement it is as incident to their office and dutie, to visite, to comfort, to instruct, and relieue the sicke, at the houre of death, as it is for them to preach the word of God to their flocke al the daies of their life. And peraduenture they may doe more good in one howre at the last gaspe, then they haue done all the daies of their life before. For he that in his life time hath had in small estimation the blessed worde of God, but following his owne humors in hope to liue long, hath lead a very wicked and impenitent life, nowe through the consideration and sight of death, which he seeth before his eies, together with godly exhortations, admonitions, and consolations, out of the word of

II. 2. *Sinners converted on Deathbeds. Ministers elected.* 99

God, may easilie be withdrawne from his former wicked life, and dieng in the faith of Iesus Christ, with true repentance for his sinnes tofore committed, liue for euer in ioye both of body & soule, whereas, if exhortations had not bin, he might (happily) haue died irrepentant or vterly desperate to his euerlasting destruction for euer. Yea, it is commonly seene, that those who could neuer be wonne to Christ Iesus, all the daies of their life before, yet at the last howre they are soone recouered. Therefore ought not the pastors to neglecte their duties therein, but ¹warely and carefully to watche ouer their flocks night and day without ceasing, that when the great shephard of the sheepe commeth, he may rewarde them with the immercessible crowne of eternall glory. And thus much be it spoken hereof.

may easily be drawn to repent on their dying beds.

[¹ leaf N 7]

Theod. In whome doth the election of the minister or pastor consist? in the church onely, or in the bishops?

The Election of Pastors.

Amphil. I tolde you before (as I remember) that the church might examine the life, the conuersation, and disposition of him, or them, whome they would haue to be their pastor, and finding the same good, to present him, or them, to the bishops or elders to whome it appertaineth, to examine for his sufficiencie in knowledge, and dexteritie in teaching and handling the word of God; and finding him a man furnished with gifts and graces necessary for such a high vocation, to call him lawfullie according to the word of God, and so to sende him forth into the Lords haruest, as a faithfull laborer therein.

Their lives should be lookt into by the Church; then the men should be presented to the Bishop.

Theod. But some are of opinion that the churches themselues of their owne absolute and plenarie power ought to choosé their pastor, and not bishops.

Amphil. The churches haue no further ²power in the election of their pastor, than as I haue told you, that is, to iudge of his conuersation & integritie of life, referring the whole action besides to the bishops and elders. For if the churches should elect their minister or pastor of themselues absolutely, besides that it would breed confusion (for some would choosé one, some another, some this, and some that, neuer contenting themselues with any) the church should doe that also, which were directly contrarie to the word of God. For certeine it is, the church hath no absolute power by the word of God

[² leaf N 7, back]

Churches should not elect their Ministers without the Bishop's approval.

100 II. 2. *No sole right in a Church to appoint its Pastor.*

Bishops represent the Apostles.

[² leaf N 8]

But a Church should have a voice in its Pastor's call.

to elect their pastor, to choose him, to call him orderly in such forme as is appointed in the word, obseruing all kinde of rites, ceremonies, & orders belonging thereto. Neither was it euer seene that any church did euer practise the same. For in the daies of the apostles, did the churches any more than choose forth certaine persons of a tried conuerfation, & presented them to the apostles? And did not the apostles then, (whom our bishops now in this action do represent) lay their hands vpon them, approue them (after triall had of their sufficiencie in knowledge) and sent them forth into the Lords vineyard? The churches laid not their hands vpon them, or as some call it, consecrated them not, nor vsed not any other ceremoniall rite in the ¹election of them, as the apostles did. But as I grant that the church for som cause, and in som respects, is not to be excluded from a consultatiue voyce (as before) or from being made priue at al to the election of their pastor, so I denie that the church may absolutely of his owne plenarie power call their pastor, all ceremonies and rites thereto belonging obserued, for that is to be done and executed of the bishops & elders, and not of the churches consisting of lay men, and for the most part rude, and vnlearned.

Theod. What say you to a seignorie or eldership? were it not good for the state of the church at this day that y^e same were established in euery congregation, as it was in the apostles daies.

Seignory or Eldership in every Church is not needfull now.

[² leaf N 8, back]

A Seignory in every Congregation, as in the Apostles' time,

Amphil. The feuerall estates and conditions of the apostolicall churches, and of ours (al circumstances duly considered) are diuers and much different one from another, and therefore, though a seignorie or eldership then in euerie particular church were necessarie, yet now vnder christian princes it is not so needfull. The churches then wanted christian princes and magistrates to gouerne the same, and therefore had need of some others to rule in the church. But God be thanked, we haue most christian kings, princes, and gouernors, to rule and gouerne the church, & therfore ²we stand in lesse need of the other. And yet notwithstanding, I grant that a seignorie in euery congregation were to be wished, if it could be brought to passe, yet cannot I perceiue, but that it would rather bring confusion, than reformation, considering the state of the church at this day. For in the apostles times when seigniories were ordeined, we read not of any shires, dioces, or precincts, where bishops and ecclesiasticall magistrates

II. 2. *Elders not needed. Churchwardens as Deacons.* 101

might exercise their authoritie and gouvernement, as now they doe, and therefore, there being neither bishops, ecclesiasticall nor ciuill magistrates (as we haue now), it was necessarie that the seigniories shuld be ordeined. But now we, hauing al these things, stand not in such necessitie of them, as the churches in the apostles daies did. Besides, the institution of elders was but meere ceremoniall, and temporall, and therefore not to continue alwaies, neither ought the necessitie thereof to binde all churches. Neither doe I thinke that all churches are bound for euer to one forme of externall gouernement, but that euery church may alter, and change the same, according to the time and present state therof, as they shal see the same to make for the glorie of God, and the comon peace of the church.

is not needed now.

Every Church may alter its form of external government from time to time.

¹ *Theod.* What say you to deacons? Is their office necessarie or not in the church of God at this day? [¹ Sig. O. r.]

Amphil. Their office (which was to make collections for the poore, to gather the beneuolences, and contributions of euerie one that were disposed to giue, and to see the same bestowed vpon the poore and needie members of the church) is very necessarie, and without doubt ought to be continued for euer. But yet is not the church tied to their names onely, but to their office. Which office is executed by honest substantiall men (called Churchwardens or the like) chosen by the consent of the whole congregation to the same end and purpose, who daily gathering the friendlye beneuolencies of the churches, bestow, or see the same bestowed vpon the poore and indigent of the same church, which was the greatest part of the deacons duties in the apostles daies. So that albeit wee haue not the name, we yet hold their office in substance and effect.

The office of *Deacon* is still very necessary.

Now it is filled by Churchwardens, who daily gather alms and give em to the poor.

Theod. What is your iudgement, ought there to be any bishops in the churches of christians?

Amphil. To doubt whether there ought to be bishops in the churches of christians, is to doubt of the truth it selfe. For is there not ² mention made of their names, dignities, functions, and callings, almost in euery chapter of the new testament, in all the epistles of *Paule*, of *Peter*, of *Iohn*, of *Iude*, and of all the rest? Besides that, did not the apostles themselues constitute and ordeine bishops and elders; and doe they not woonderfully commend the excellencie of their calling, inferring that those that rule well, are worthye of double

[² Sig. O. r. back]

The Apostles ordaind Bishops.

102 II. 2. *Bishops needful, but mustn't claim superiority.*

The state of the Church couldn't be kept up without em.

honour? Whereby appeereth that bishops are not onely needfull in the churches of christians, but also most needfull, as without whome I can scarcely see how the state of the church could well bee maintained. And therefore those that contend that they are not necessarie in a Christian Common wealth, shewe them selues either wilfull, waiwarde, or maliciouslye blinde, and struing to catch their owne shadowes, they labour all in vaine, giuing manifest demonstration of their more than extreame follie to all the world.

[¹ Sig. O. a.]

Theod. Well. Let it bee granted (as it cannot bee denied) that they are moste necessarie, yet in this I would verie gladlye bee absolved, whether they maye lawfully vendicate or challenge to themselves superioritie, and primacie aboue their fellowe ¹brethren of the minifterie or no? for some holde that there ought to be equalitie in the minifterie, and no superioritie at all: how say you?

They don't claim superiority to other Pastors as to their calling, but only as to the dignity that the prince has given em.

Amphil. They doe not vendicate or challenge anie superioritie or primacie to themselves ouer their brethren in respect of their common callings and functions (for therein the poorest pastor or shepheard that is, is coequall with them, they themselves will not denie) but in respect of dignitie, authoritie, and honour, which the prince and church doth bestowe vpon them. So that the superioritie that they haue ouer their brethren, resteth in dignitie, authoritie, and honour, which it hath pleased the prince to dignifie them withall aboue their fellowe brethren, and not in calling, function, or office, for therein they are all coequall together. But if any curious heads should demand why the prince should aduance any of the cleargie to such high dignitie, authoritie, and primacie aboue his brethren, I answer as it is in the Gospell: 'Is thine eie euill, because the prince is good?' May not the prince giue his gifts, his dignities, and promotions to whom he will? And if the prince of his roiall clemencie be minded to bestowe vpon his subiect any dignity or promotion, is it christian obedience^{2 3} to refuse the same? Nay, is it not extreeme ingratitude towards his prince? Besides, who seeth not, that if there should be no superioritie (I meane in dignitie, & authoritie only) the same honorable office or calling would growe into contempt? For is it not an old saieng, and a true, *Familiaritas, sive æqualitas parit contemptum*, Familiaritie, or coequallitie doth euer bring contempt. And

[³ Sig. O. a. back]

There must be superiority in dignity.

Familiarity breeds contempt.

² *Orig.* abedience.

II. 2. *Bishops to be tolerated. Their business to rule.* 103

therefore take away authoritie and honor from the magistrates either temporall or spirituall, and ouerthrowe the same altogether. If authoritie should not be dignified, as well with glorie and eternall pompe the better to grace the same, & to shew forth the maiestie thereof, would it not soone grow to be dispised, vilipended, and naught set by? And therefore the more to innoble and set foorth the excellencie of this honorable calling of a bishop, hath the prince & the churches thought it good to bestow such authoritie, dignitie, and honor vpon them, and not for anie other cause whatsoever. And therefore, seeing it is the pleasure of the prince to bestowe such dignitie, authoritie, and honor vpon them, me thinke, any sober christians should easely tolerate the same.

Sober Christians
should tolerate
Bishops.

Theod. Yea, but they saie, that there ought to be no superioritie in the ministerie, ¹bringing in the example of the apostles themselues, [1st Sig. O. 3.] amongst whom was no superiority, inequality, or principallitie at all?

Amphil. Indeepe amongst the apostles there was no superioritie, I grant, neither in office, calling, authoritie, nor otherwise, but al were equall in ech respect, one to another. But what than? The apostles were sent to preach to the churches, and not to gouerne (and therefore they choose elders to rule the same) but our bishops are as well to gouerne and to rule the churches in some respects, as to preach the worde. And therefore, though there were no superioritie amongst the apostles, yet maye there be amongst our bishops in respect of gouer[n]ment, dignitie and authoritie. And wheras they saie there ought to be no superioritie in the ministerie at all, I answere, no more there is in respect of euerie ones function, forme of calling, and office to preach the word and minister the sacraments. But in respect of gouernement, authoritie, dignitie, and honor, there is superioritie, and I am perswaded so ought to be. In which opinion, vntill they haue disprooued it, I meane, Christ willing, to persiste.

Bishops have
to rule as well
as preach.

Theod. But they adde further, and say that it strengtheneth the hands of the aduerfaries, ²the papists. For, saie they, the papists may [2nd Sig. O. 3. back] as well affirme that christian emperours, kings and potentates, and euen the churches of God themselues, haue giuen to the pope that authoritie, that dignitie, and honor which he hath or claimeth aboue his fellowe brethren, as well as the bishop may say so. Besides, it confirmeth the opinion of soueraigntie ouer all the churches in the

The Papist
argument
that the

Pope has his power from Kings, &c., as Bishops do.

world. For, say they, may not the pope saie that he receiued plenarie power to be head ouer all the world, from christian kings, emperours, and potentates, as well as the bishops may say, we receiued this power to be superior to our brethren from christian kings and princes. Now whether these reasons be a like, I would gladly know.

But, 1. Papists say that

Amphil. They be verie vnlike, and so vnlike as there is no equallitie, comparison, or semblance betwixt them. For, first of all, let them note, that the pope nor any of his complices and adherents doe not holde, nor pretende to holde, (no, they dare as well eate off their fingers as to say so, for then were there state in a wofull case) that their archdiuell, their god, the pope, I should say, doth receiue his power either of authoritie, superioritie, primacie, soueraigntie, or head ouer all the world, from any earthly creature, but immediately from God himselfe. But whereas hee sayth that hee receiued his power of superioritie ouer all the worlde from no earthie creature, but from God himselfe, it is manifest that he receiued it neyther from God (for his vsurped power is contrarie to God, and to his worde in euerie respecte) nor from anie christian man, but from the Deuill himselfe, whose vicegerent or Liefetenant generall in his kingdome of impietie he shewes himselfe to be. Than let them note, that although hee pretended to holde his vsurped authoritie from man (as hee doth not,) yet is there no man howe mightie an Emperour, King, Prince, or Potentate soeuer, that is able *proprio iure* to giue him authoritie ouer all the worlde, without great and manifeste iniurye done to all other Princes, as to giue the soueraigntie, or chieftie of their Landes from them, to a straunger. But a Prince may lawfullye bestowe and geue to his subiectes anie prerogatiue, title, authoritie, office, function, gouernment, or superioritie of anie thing within his owne dominions and kingdomes, but no further he maye not. And therefore this reason of theirs holdeth not, that the Pope maye as well arrogate the one to himselfe, as the Byshops may the other to themselues.

the Pope gets his power from God.
Not true.

[¹ Sig. O. 41
The Pope didn't get his superiority from God,

but from the Devil, whose Lieutenant-General he is.

Prince may lawfully give Prerogative in his own land.

[² Sig. 4. back]

²*Theod.* Seeing now it cannot be denied, but that bishops are most necessarie, and that they may also lawfully hold superioritie ouer their brethren (in respect of gouernement, regiment or authoritie) being giuen them of the prince, what say you then to this? Whether may a bishop be called by the name of an archbishop, metropolitane, primate, or by the name of 'my Lord bishop, my Lords grace, the

May a Bishop be called 'My Lord,' &c.?

II. 2. *Bishops may bear Titles given by Princes.* 105

right honourable,' and the like, or not? For, me thinke, these titles and names are rather peculiar to the temporalitie than to them, & do fauour of vainglorie, and worldly pompe, rather than of any thing else. And which is more, me thinke they are against the expresse word of God. Wherefore I couet greatly to heare your iudgement thereof?

Amphil. These names and titles may seeme to fauour of vaine-glorie indeed, if they should arrogate to themselves *Iure diuino*, as they doe not. But if you wil consider by whom they were giuen them, and how they doe require them, you will not thinke it much amisse, nor farre discrepant from the sinceritie of the Gospell. First therefore note that they were giuen them by christian princes to dignifie, to innoble, to decore, and to set forth the dignitie, the excellencie, and worthines of their callings. Secondly let them note that they require them as due vnto them by the donation and gifture of men, and not *Iure diuino*, and therefore being giuen them for the causes aforesaid by christian kings and princes, they may in that respect hold them still without any offence to the diuine goodnesse, or his faithfull spouse vpon the earth. But if they should claime them as due vnto them by the lawe of God, as they doe not, then should they offend. For our sauiour Christ, seeing his disciples and apostles ambitiously to affect the same vaine-glorious titles and names, set before them the example of the heathen kings, thereby the rather to withdrawe them from their vaine humour, saieing: *Reges gentium dominantur eis*, &c. The kings of the gentils beare rule ouer them, and those that exercise authoritie ouer them, be called gracious Lords, but *Vos autem non sic*, You shall not be so. In the which words he vtterly denieth them (and in them, all others to the worlds end, that in the same office and function of life should succeed them) the titles of Lords, graces, or the like. The apostle also biddeth them to beware that they challenge not those vaine titles to themselves by the lawe of God, when he saith (speaking to bishops and pastors) Be not Lords ouer your flocks, &c. By ²these and manie other the like places of holie writt, it is cleare that they cannot arrogate these names or titles to themselves by y^e word of God; neyther doe they, but (as I haue said) by the donation, the beneuolence, and gifture of christian Princes, for the reuerent estimation they beare and ought to beare to

Yes, tho' these titles look vainglorious. God doesn't give 'em, but the Prince does.

[¹ leaf O 5]

If Bishops claim these titles by God's law, they do wrong.

Christ 'nd have none of this.

[² Sig. O 5, back]

These titles of 'Bishop,' &c., are not given by God's Word, but only by Christian Princes,

and they dignify
their holders
callings.

They are not
Anti-christian
but Christian,

[¹ Sig. O 6]

and Bishops may
lawfully assume
them.

their high function and calling, in that they are his Liefetenants, his vicegerents in his Church, his messengers, his Ambassadors, the disclofers and proclaimers of his secretes, and his Aungels (for so are they called in the scriptures) & therefore, in respecte of the excellencie hereof, these names were giuen and attributed vnto them. And truely to speake my simple iudgement, I see not but that these names doe dignifie their callinges, shewe forth the maiestie thereof, and doe moue the Churches to haue the same high calling in more reuerence, & honor, than otherwise they would, if they were called by bare & naked names onelie. But notwithstanding either this that hath beene saide, or anie thinge els that can be said herein, there are some waiward spirits lately reuiued, who hold the same names to be meere Antichristian, blasphemous and wicked, and suche as at anie hande a Minister of the Gospell ought not to bee called by. But whereas they holde them to bee Antichristian, I holde them to be Christian names, and geuen by Christian Princes to the innobling and garnishing of their offices, functions, and callinges, which doubtlesse is a glorie to God, denie it who will, or who can. And therefore in conclusion I say, that Byshops, though not by the lawe of God, yet by the positieue law, donation, and gifture of Christian Princes, maye lawfully assume the saide titles and names to them, for the causes before cited. And therefore these names and titles beeing meere indifferent, and not derogating from the glorie of God, but rather making for the same, they are not, of anye wise, sober, or faythfull Christian, neyther to bee inueighed against, nor yet to bee in anye respecte dislyked beeing vsed as before. And thus much of the names and titles of Byshops.

Theod. Maye Byshops exercise temporall authoritie together with Ecclesiasticall; and maye they bee Iustices of peace, Iustices of Quorum, Iustices of Assises, Ewer, Determiner, and the lyke; or maye they, as Capytall Iudges, geue definytiue sentence of lyfe and death vpon malefactors and others, that by the iudiciall lawe of man haue deserued to dye?

[² Sig. O 6, back]

A man can only
fulfill one calling.

² *Amphil.* There is neither of the callings temporall, nor ecclesiasticall, but it requireth a whole and perfect man, to execute the same. And if there were neuer founde any one man yet so perfect, as could throughly and absolutelie performe his office in either of

II. 2. *Bishops may not be Magistrates or Judges.* 107

the callings temporall or ecclesiasticall, much lesse can there euer one man be found, that is able to discharge them both. It is hard therefore that these two callings should concur in one man. This is as though a man hauing an importable burthen already vpon his backe, should yet haue an other almost as burthenous vrged vpon him. And therefore as it were absurde to see a temporall magistrate mount into the pulpit, preach the worde, and minister the sacraments, so absurde it is to see an ecclesiasticall magistrate exercise the authoritie temporall, and to giue sentence condemnatorie of life, & death, vpon any criminous person, which properlie belongeth to the temporall power. Befids, it is a great discredite to the temporall magistrate, because it may be thought that they are not wise nor politique enough to execute their office, nor discharge their duties without the aide and assistance of the other. And which is more, it hindereth them from the discharge of their duties in their owne calling, for ¹it is written, no man can serue two masters but either he must betraie the one or the other. When the woman taken in adultery was apprehended, and brought vnto Christ, he refused to giue iudgement of hir; and yet it was a matter in effect ecclesiasticall, & appertained to an ecclesiasticall iudge. Then what ought they to do in matters meere ciuil? Againe, our sauior² Christ, when the yong man requested him to deuide the inheritance betwixt his brother, & him, refused the same, saieing, *Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos?* Who made me a iudge or a deuider betwixt you? Whereby appeareth how farre ecclesiasticall persons ought to bee from hauing to doe with temporall matters. But whereas they say the bishops of *Dnalgne* do exercise temporall authoritie, and doe it as iudges capitall, giuing sentence condemnatorie of life and death, it is verie vntrue otherwise than thus, to be present at the same, & to haue a consultatiue exhortatiue, or consentatiue voice onely. Which vse me thinkes is verie good and laudable in my iudgement. For whereas the temporall magistrates not vnderstanding in euerie point the deapth of Gods lawe, if they shoulde doe anie thing either against the same, or the lawe of a good conscience, they might informe them thereof, that ³all things might bee done to the glorie of God, the comforte of the poore members of Christe Iesus, and the benefit of the common welth.

No ecclesiastical officer

should exercise temporal authority, like condemning men to death.

[¹ Sig. O 7]

No man can serve 2 Masters.

Christ refused to be a Judge.

And English Bishops have only a consultatiue voice in giving temporal judgments.

[³ Sig O 7, back]

[² sauior do *Orig.*]

108 II. 2. *The Ministers that flaunt in Satin Doublets.*

Theod. What fashion of apparell doe the pastors and Ministers weare vsually in their common affaires?

Pastors dress
like other folk,

and generally
in black.

But some are
very fond of new
Fashions,

and wear silks,
&c.,
[¹ Sig. O 8]

satin doublets,
&c.

This is a foul
blemish in them.

Christ wore but
one poor coat,

[² Sig. O 8, back]

Amphil. The same fashion that others doe, for the most parte, but yet decente, and comlie, obseruing in euerie point a *decorum*. But as others weare their attire, some of this colour, some of that, some of this thinge, some of that, so they commonly weare all their apparell, at least the exterior part, of blacke colour, which, as you know, is a good, graue, sad, and auncient colour. And yet notwithstanding herein some of them (I speake not of all) are muche to bee blamed, in that they cannot content themselues with common, and vsuall fashions, but they must chop and chaunge euerie day with the worlde. Yea, some of them are as fonde in excogitating, deuising, and inuenting of new fashions euerie day, & in wearing the same, as the veriest Royster of them all. And as they are faultie in this respect, so are they herein to be blamed, in that they cannot contente themselues with cloth, though neuer so excellent, but they must weare filkes, veluets, satans, damaskes, grograms, taffeties, and the like. I speake not agaynst ¹those that are in authoritie, for wearing of these thinges (for they both maie, and in some respectes ought to weare them for the dignifying of their offices and callings, which otherwise mighte growe into contempte), but against those that bee meane pastors and Ministers, that flaunt it out in their saten doblets, taffetie doblets, silke hoses, garded gownes, cloakes, and the like. Alas, how shoulde they rebuke pryde, and excesse in others, who are as faultie therein as the reste? Therefore sayde Cato verie well, *Quae culpare soles, ea tu ne feceris ipse*: for, sayeth he, *Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum*. Which is, those thinges which thou blamest in others, see that thou thy selfe bee not guiltye in the same, for it is a foule blemish and a great shame and discredit, what that euill which thou reproveest in an other, is apparent in thy selfe. For in so doing, a man reprehendeth as well himselfe as others, is a hinderance to the course of the Gospell, and what he buildeth with one hand, he pulleth down with the other. Christ Iesus, the great pastor of the sheepe, was himself contented to go daily in one poore coat, beeing knit, or wouen all ouer without seeme, as the maner of y^e Palistinians is to this day. This me think was but a simple cote ²in the eie of the world, and yet Christ Iesus thought it pretious inough. Samuel was accustomed to

II. 2. *Dress, &c., whereby a Minister is known.* 109

walke in an old gowne girded to him with a thong. *Elias* and *Elizeus* in a mantell, *Iohn* the baptist in camels haire, with a girdle of a skin about his loines. The apostle *Paule* with a poore cloke, and the like; wherby appeareth, how farre a minister of the Gospell ought to be from pride, and worldly vanitie, obseruing the rules of christian sobrietie, as well in apparell, as in al things else, knowing that he is as a citie set vppon an hill, and as a candle set vppon a candlesticke to giue light, and shine to al the whole church of God. Therefore saith Christ: *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, &c.* Let your light so shine before men, that they, seeing your good works, may glorifie your father which is in heauen: which God grant we may all doe.

and Paul a poor
cloak.

Let the Ministers
be sober in
dress.

Theod. Haue they no other kind of apparell different from the common sort of men?

Amphil. Yes, marie, haue they. They haue other attire more proper, and peculiar vnto them (in respect of their functions and offices) as cap, tippet, surplese, and the like. These they weare, not commonly, or altogether, but in especial when they are occupied in, or about, the execution of their offices and callings, to ¹this end and ²purpose, that there may be a difference betwixte them and the common sorte of people, and that the one maie be distincte from the other by this outward note or marke.

But, when
officiating, they
wear Cap, Tip-
pet, Surplice, &c.

[¹ Sig. P. 1.]

Theodo. Is it of necessitie than required, that the Pastors and Ministers of the worde, shoulde be distincted from other people, by anie seuerall kind of attire?

Amphil. It is not required as of necessitie, but thought meete and conuenient to be used for a decencie, and comelines, in the Church of God. But notwithstanding the chiefeest thyng wherby a pastor or minister ought to be known from the common & vulgare sorte of people is, the preaching of the word of God, the administration of the sacraments, the execution of ecclesiastical discipline, and other censures of the Church, and withall his integritie of lyfe, and soundnesse of conuersation in euerie respecte. These are the true notes and markes wherby a Minister of the Gospell ought to bee known and distincted from the other common sorte of people. And yet though these bee the chiefeest notes whereby they are distinct from others of the temporalitie and laitie, yet are they not the onelie notes,

But their chief
distinction
should be in
Preaching and
Holy Life,

110 II. 2. *Ministers may well have a distinct dress.*

[1 Sig. P. 1, back]
tho their out-
ward mark is
Cap, Surplice, &c.

or markes, for they are known and discerned from others also, by exteriour habite, and attire, as namely by cappe, tippet, sur^lpleſſe, and ſuch like: That as the firſt doth diſtinguiſh them from others, whileſt they are exerciſed about the ſame, (for who is ſo doctiſhe, that ſeeing a man preache, miniſter the ſacraments, & execute other eccleſiaſticall cenſures of the church, that will not iudge him to bee a Miniſter of the Goſpell) ſo the other notes of apparell (the ſurpleſſe except) may make a difference, and diſtinguiſhe them from others of the laitie abroad. To this end, that the reuerence which is due to a good paſtor, or miniſter of the Goſpell may be giuen vnto them. For as the Apoſtle ſaith, thoſe elders that rule well, are worthie of double honour.

As to thoſe who
object to a
different dress
for Paſtors,

Theod. But I haue heard great diſputation and reaſoning *pro & contra*, to and fro, that the paſtors and miniſters of the Goſpell, ought not to be diſſeuered from the common ſorte of people, by anie diſtincte kinde of apparell, but rather by ſounding the Lordes voice on high, by miniſtring the ſacramentes, and the like: what ſay you to the ſame?

and try to
juſtify their
opinion by the
Bible,

Amphil. Indeeде there are ſome, I confeſſe, that are of that opinion, and they bring in the example of Saule, enquiring of Samuells for the ſeers houſe, inferring that the Prophet was not diſtincte from other common people in his attire, for than Saule ſhould eaſelie² haue known him by the ſame. And the example of the damoſell that ſpake to Peter, inferring that whereas the mayde ſayde, *Thy ſpeech beu-rayeth thee*, if he had bene diſtincte from others in attire, or outwarde apparell, ſhee would than haue ſayd, *Thy apparel ſheweth thee to bee ſuch a fellowe*. Theſe, with the like examples, they pretende to prooue that paſtors and Miniſters are not to bee diſcerned and known from the lay people, by anie kinde of apparell. But as I will not ſaie that they are to bee known and diſcerned from others by apparell or habite onelye, (but rather by the lifting vp of their voices like Trumpets, as ſaith the Prophet,) ſo I wyll not denye the ſame to bee no note or marke at all to knowe a Paſtour or Miniſter of the Goſpell by, from others of the temporaltie, and laitie. And truelye for my parte, I ſee no great inconuenience, if they bee by a certaine kinde of decente habite (commaunded by a Chriſtian Prince) known and diſcerned from others. Yet ſome more curious than wiſe,

[2 Sig. P. 2.]

I can't agree
with em.

I think a dif-
ferent dress
juſtifiable.

II. 2. Ministers may wear Surplices, &c. 111

before they would weare anie distinct kind of apparell from others, they haue rather chosen to render vp both liuings, goods, families, and all, leauing their flockes to the mouth of the wolues.

Theod. Is it lawfull for a minister of the Gospell to weare a surpleisse, a tippet or forked cappe, and the like kind of attire?

[¹ Sig. P. 2. back

If Tippetts, forked Caps, &c.,

Amphil. As they are commaunded by the Pope, the great Antichrist of the worlde, they ought not to weare them; but as they be commaunded, and inioyned by a Christian Prince, they maie weare them without scruple of conscience. But if they should repose any religion, holinesse or sanctimonie in them, as the doting Papiests doe, than doe they greuouslie offende; but wearing them as things meere indifferent (although it be controuerstiall whether they bee things indifferente or not), I see no cause why they maie not vse them.

are ordered by a Christian Prince,

I think Ministers may wear them,

Theod. From whence came these garments, can you tell? from Rome, or from whence els?

Amphil. The most hold that they came first from Rome, the poison of all the world; & most likelie they did so; but some other searching the same more narrowlie, do hold *that* they came, not from Rome, but rather from Grecia, which *from* the beginning, for the most part, hath euer been contrarie to the Church of Rome. But from whence soeuer they came it skilleth not much, for beeing mere indifferent, they maie be worn or not worne without offence, according to the pleasure of the Prince, as things which of them²selues bee not euill, nor cannot hurte, excepte they be abused.

even tho they first came from Rome.

[² Sig. P. 3.]

Theod. Notwithstanding they holde this for a *maxime*, that in as much as they came first from the Papiests, and haue of them bene idolatrouslie abused, that therefore they are not, nor ought not to bee, vsed of anie true pastors, or Ministers of the Gospell. Is this their *assumption* true, or not?

Amphil. It is no good reason to say such a thing came from the Papiests, *ergo* it is naught. For we read that the Deuils confessed Iesus Christ to be the sonne of God: doth it follow therefore that the same profession is naughte, because a wicked creature vttered the same? All thinges are therefore to bee examined, whether the abuse consist in the thinges themselues, or in others that abuse them. Which being found out, let the abuses be remoued, and the thinges remaine still. A wicked man maye speake good wordes, doe good

Use of a good thing by Papiests, doesn't make the good thing bad.

If a good thing is abused,

112 II. 2. *Clear away abuses from good things abused.*

take away the Abuse, and let the Good Thing stay.

[² Sig. P. 3. back]

If everything that idolatrous Papists have used is to be done away with,

the Bible and most other good things 'll have to go.

[² Sig. P. 4.]

These Garments are a mere matter of Indifference: do as you like about em.

Put up with Garments: a man's no better or worse for em.

works before the world, (but because they want the oile of faith to souple them withall, they are not good workes before the Lord) and maie ordaine a good thing which maie serue to good ends, and purposes. And because the same hath afterward beene abused, shall the thing it selfe therefore be quite taken away? No, take away the abuse, let the thinge ¹remaine still, as it maye very well without anie offence, except to them, *quibus omnia dantur scandalo*, to whom all thinges are offence. And further, if these prescicians would haue all things remoued out of the Church which haue beene abused to Idolatrie, than must they pull downe Churches (for what hath bene abused more to Idolatrie and superstition?) pulpits, belles, and what not. Than must they take away the vse of bread and wine, not onely from the church, but also from the vse of man in this life, because y^e same was abused to most shamefull idolatrie in beeing dedicate to *Ceres*, and *Bacchus*, twoo stinking Idols of the Gentiles. Than must they take away not onely the Epistles, and Gospels, but also the whole volume of the holy scriptures, because the Papistes abused them to idolatrie. By all which reasons, with infinite the like, it manifestly appeareth, that manie things which haue beene instituted by Idolaters. or by them abused to Idolatrie, may be applied to good vses, and may serue to good ends, y^e abuses being taken away. Yet wold I not that any thing that hath been idolatrously abused by the papists, should be reteined in the churches of Christians, if by any meanes they might be remoued, and better put in place.

Theod. Is the wearing of these garments ²a thing meere indifferent, or not? for some hold it is, some hold it is not?

Amphil. It is a thing without all controuersy mere indifferent; for, whatsoeuer gods word neither expressly commandeth, neither directly forbiddeth, nor which bindeth not y^e conscience of a christian man, is a thing mere indifferent to be vsed, or not to be vsed, as the present state of y^e church, & time requireth. But it is certen that the wearing of this kind of attire is not expressly commanded in the word of God, nor directly forbid by the same, & therefore is mere indifferent, and may be vsed, or not vsed, without burthen of conscience, as y^e present state of time shall require. And therefore seeing they be things indifferent, I wold wish euery wise christian to tolerate y^e same, being certen that he is neither better nor worse, for wearing or not wearing of them.

II. 2. *Princes to be obeyd as to Garments, &c.* 113

Theod. Being things, as you say, mere indifferent, may any man lawfully refuse y^e wearing of them against the commandement of his prince, whom, next vnder God, he ought to obey?

Amphil. Euery man is bound in conscience before God to obey his prince in all things, yea in things directly contrary to true godlines hee is bound to shew his obedience (but not to commit y^e euil) namely to submit himselfe life, lands, liuings or els whatsoever he hath, to y^e wil of his¹ Princes, rather than to disobeie. If this obedience than be due to Princes in matters contrarie to true godlinesse, what obedience than is due to them in matters of small waight, of small importaunce, and meere trifles as these garments be, iudge you? He that disobeieth the commaundement of his Prince, disobeieth the commaundement of God; and therefore, would God all Ecclesiasticall persons that stande so muche vpon these small pointes, that they breake the common vnitie, & band of charitie in the church of God, would nowe at the last quallifie themselues, shewe obedience to Princes lawes, and fall to preaching of Christ Iesus truelie, that his kingdome might daillie bee increased, their consciences discharged, and the Church edified, which Christe Iesus hath bought with the shedding of his precious hart blood.

Theod. Maie a pastor, or a Minister of the Gospell, forsake his flocke, and refuse his charge, for the wearing of a surpleesse, a cappe, tippet, or the like, as manie haue done of late daies, who being inforced to weare these garmentes, haue giuen up their liuings, and forsaken all?

Amphil. Those that for the wearing of these garments, being but the inuentions, the traditions, the rites, the ceremonies, the ordinances & constitutions of man, will leaue their flocks,² and giue ouer their charges, not caring what become of the same, doe shew themselues to be no true shepheards, but such as Christ speaketh of, that when they see the Wolfe comming, will flie away, leauing their flocke to the slaughter of the greedie wolfe. They giue euident demonstration also, that they are not such as the holie Ghost hath made ouerseers ouer their flocke, but rather such, as being possessed with the spirite of pride and ambition, haue intruded themselues, to the destruction of their flocke. If they were such good shepheards as they ought to be, and so louing to their flocke, they would rather giue their life for

[¹ Sig. P 4. back]

And if your Prince orders them, of course obey him in such a Trifle.

Any Pastor who leaves his Flock because he won't wear a Surplice, &c., [² Sig. P 5]

shows that he's no good Shepherd.

114 II. 2. *Surplices may be worn if the Prince bids.*

their sheepe, if neede required, than to runne from them, leauing them to the bloodie teeth of the mercilesse wolues. Is hee a good shepheard that watcheth dailie vpon his flocke, or hee that runnes from them for euerie light trifle? I thinke we would count him a verie negligent shepheard. And shall wee thinke him a diligent, or a good pastor, and one that would giue his life for his sheepe, as a good pastor should doe, that for such trifles wil estrang himselfe from his flocke for euer? Therefore I beseech God to giue them grace to looke to their charges, and to let other trifles alone, being no part of our saluation or damnation.

How can he
be a good
Shepherd who
should give his
Life for his
Sheep, when
he'll leave em
for trifles like
Garments?

[1 Sig. P 5, back]

Theod. But they saie they refuse the wea'ring of these garments, because they are offensiuē to the godlie, a scandall to the weake brethren, a hinderaunce to manie in comming to the Gospel, & an induration to the papists hardning their hearts, in hope that their trumperie will once come in again, to their singular comfort.

Amphil. It is an old saying, Better a bad excuse, than none at all. And truly it seemeth they are driuen to the wall, and sore graueled, that will flie to these simple shifts. But whatsoeuer they say or affirme, certain it is, that offensiuē to the godly they cannot be, who haue already learned to distinguish betwixt the things abused, and the abuses themselues. And who know also how to vie things mere indifferent, to good ends and purposes. And therefore this question thus I shut vp in few words, that the wearing of these garments beeing commaunded by a Christian Prince, is not offensiuē, or scandalous to anie good Christians; and to the other, it mattereth not what it be. For they are such as the Lorde hath cast off into a reprobate fence, and preiudicate opinion, abusing all things, euen the truth it selfe, to their owne destruction for euer, excepte they repent, which I pray God they maye doe, if it bee his blessed will.

If these
Garments are
orderd by a
Christian Prince,
no good
Christian should
be offended
by em.

* Sig. P 6]

² *Theod.* I pray you why doe they weare white in their surples, rather than any other colour? and why a forked cappe rather than a rounde one? for the Papistes (if they were the authors of these garments) haue their misteries, their figures, & their representations in all things. Wherefore I desire to know your iudgment herein.

The Papists say
that White
signifies
Holiness;

Amphil. You say the truth, for the Papistes haue their misteries in all things after their maner. Therefore thus they say, that white doth signify holines, innocency, & al kind of integrity, putting them in

II. 2. *Don't make Schisms for Trifles of Clothes.* 115

mind what they ought to be in this life, and representeth vnto them the beatitude, the felicitie, and happines of the life to come. And thys they prooue *ab exemplis apparitionum*, from the example of apparitions and visions, in that aungels, and celestial creatures haue euer appeared in the same colour of white. Therefore forsooth they must weare white apparell. The cornered cappe, say these misterious fellows, doth signifie, and represent the whole monarchy of the world, East, West, North, & South, the gouernment whereof standeth vpon them, as the cappe doth vpon their heades. The gowne, saye they, doth signifie the plenary power which they haue to doe all things. And therefore none but the Pope, or hee ¹with whome hee dispenceth, maie weare the same euerie where, bicause none haue *plenariam potestatem*, plenarie power, in euerie place, but (Beelzebub) the Pope. Yet the Ministers, saith he, maie weare them in their Churches, & in their owne iurisdiccions, because therein they haue full power from him. Thus foolishlie do they deceiue themselues with vaine shewes, shadows, and imaginations, forged in the mint of their owne braines, to the destruction of manie. But who is he, that because these sottishe Papistes haue and doe greenoullie abuse these thinges, will therefore haue them cleane removed? If all thinges that haue bene abused, should be remooued because of the abuse, than should we haue nothing left to the supply of our necessities, neither meat, drinke, nor cloth for our bodies, neyther yet (which is more) y^e word of God, the spirituall food of our soules, nor any thing els almost. For what thing is there in y^e whole vniverfall world, that eyther by one Hereticke or other hath not bene abused? Let vs therefore take the abuses away, and the things maie well remaine still. For may not we christians vse these thinges which the wicked Papists haue abused, to good ends, vses, and purposes? I see no reason to the contrarie. And therefore in conclusion I beseech the Lorde that wee ²may all agree together in one truth, and not to deuide our selues one from another for trifles, making schismes, ruptures, breaches, and factions in the church of God, where we ought to nourish peace, vnitie, concord, brotherly loue, amitie, and frendship, one amongst another. And seeing we do all agree together, and iump in one truth, hauing al one God our father, one Lord Iesus Christ our sauour, one holy spirit of adoption, one price of redemption, one faith, one

the Cornerd
Cap the Mon-
archy of the
World,

and the
Gowne the Pope's
plenary power :
[Sig. P 6, back]

all this is
gammon.

But because
Papists haue
abused these
things,

as well as the
Word of God,

aren't we to
uze em?
Surely we are.

[² Sig. P 7]
Do let us Re-
formers all
agree, and not
make rows.

We've all one
God and
Saviour,

116 II. 2. *Don't quarrel about the Bone, or Shell.*

let us then
agree about
outward
rites, &c.

We've got the
Kernel. Don't
let's wrangle
over the Shell.

[Sig. P 7, back]

Let us fast and
pray, and be-
seech God to
keep our Queen
Elizabeth as the
apple of His
eye; and grant
us Eternal Life
in Heaven, thro
Christ's Death.

May you and I
meet again, if
not on Earth,
yet to rest for
ever in Heaven!

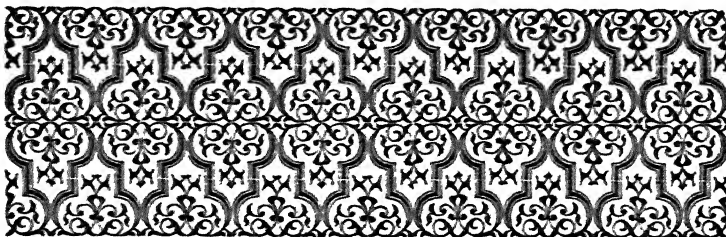
hope, one baptisme, and one and the same inheritance in the kingdome of heauen, Let vs therefore agree together in these externall shadowes, ceremonies and rites. For is it not a shame to agree about the marrow, and to strue about the bone? to contend about the karnell, & to vary about the shell? to agree in the truth, and to brabble for the shadow? Let vs confider that this contention of ours among our selues, doth hinder the course of the Gospell from taking such deepe roote in the heartes of the hearers, as otherwise it would doe. And thus for this time, brother *Theodorus*, we will breake off our talke concerning this matter, vntill yt please God that we may meete againe. Which if it please God we doe, I promise you in another worke to discourse of the same more at large. In the mean time let vs giue our selues, ¹to fasting, and prayer, most humbly beseeching his excellent maiesty to blesse our noble Queen, and to keepe hir grace as the apple of his eie from all hir foes, to maintaine his word and gospell amongst vs, to plant vnity and concord within our walles, to increase our faith, to graunt vs true and vnfained repentaunce for our sins, and in the end eternall life in the kingdome of heauen, thorow y^e precious death, passion, bloodshedding, and obedience of Christe Iesus our Lord, and onely sauour, to whom, with the father and the holy ghost, one true, and immortal God, be al honor, praise, power, empire, and dominion throughout all congregations for euermore. And thus, brother *Theodorus*, I bid you farewell in the Lord, till I do see you againe.

Theodo. And I you also good brother *Amphilogus*,
beseeching the Lord that if we meete not

vpon earth, we maye meete yet in the
kingdome of heauen, there to rest
in perfect felicitie
for euer.

Amphil. The Lord grant it
for his mercies sake.
Amen.

FINIS.



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Printed by Roger
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